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THE CIVIL WAR IN DORSET 1642-1660

A. R. BAYLEY

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THE GREAT CIVIL WAR IN DORSET,
1642—1660.

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THE GREAT CIVIL WAR IN DORSET

1642-1660

BY

A. R. BAYLEY, B.A.,

Pembroke College, Oxon.,
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Taunton:
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PREFACE.

THIS volume was written at the suggestion and with the encouragement of Professor C. H. Firth. In fact he originally drew out the plan of the book; indicated the authorities to be consulted; supplied the transcripts from the Clarendon and Tanner MSS., of Drake's 'Diary,' and the Ballad; and kindly lent me many contemporary newspapers and tracts. But he is not, of course, in any way responsible for the narrative; nor do I seek to hide my personal shortcomings beneath the Ægis of the Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford.

My debt to Canon C. H. Mayo's invaluable edition of the Minute Books of the Dorset Standing Committee is apparent on almost every page.

I have also to thank Mr. A. M. Broadley for his generosity in allowing me to examine at my leisure his extensive Dorset Collections of MSS. and printed matter, at The Knapp, Bradpole, and for the County map here reproduced; Mr. John Benett-Stanford for kindly going through with me his valuable MSS. at Hatch House, Wilts; and Mr. A. J. P. Skinner for sending me, unsolicited, certain entries regarding the family of the Diarist of Lyme siege extracted from the Colyton parish registers. The following extracts may be given:

1640 Marie Drake wiffe Edward Drake bur. xii Dec.
1640 Marie Drake dau. Edward Drake bur. xv Dec.
1653 Ane Drake dau. Edward Drake gent. bap. xxi Aug.
1655 Mary Drake dau. Edward Drake borne xiii Dec. bap. vi Jan.
1657 Ane Drake wife Edward Drake gent. bur. xiii Jan.
1668 Edward Drake gent. buried xv Dec.
1701 Mrs. Allise Drake was buried xvi Dec.

Robert Turner of Bournehaine, Colyton, buried xxv Ap. 1660, in his will dated 30 July, 1658 (proved 13 Aug. 1660 P.C.C.) mentions "my dau. Anne Drake, my grand-children Mary and Agnes Drake (Agnes probably = Ane)."

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From Axmouth parish registers :—

1660 Mr. Edward Drake of Colliton and Alis Pullman of Leppitt (Luppitt) were married the eight day of May.

Mr. Skinner adds: "Edward Drake was an Attorney-at-Law. He was probably a descendant from a younger son of Drake of Wiscombe, Southleigh—descended from a second son of Drake of Ashe, Musbury."

A.R.B.

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SOME LEADING DATES.

1642	2-6 September . . .	Unsuccessful siege of Sherborne Castle by Lord Bedford for Parliament.
	19 September . . .	Bedford's second and successful siege of Sherborne Castle.
	23 October . . .	Indecisive Battle of Edgehill.
1643	April	Colonel Alexander Popham retakes Sherborne Castle for Parliament.
	6 May	Portland surrenders to Popham and Major Hercules Langrishe.
	May	Most of Dorset in hands of Parliament.
	23 June to 4 August . .	Sir W. Erle and Parliament forces ineffectually besiege Corfe Castle.
	2 August	Dorchester capitulates to Royalists under Lord Carnarvon.
	9 August	Weymouth, Melcombe Regis, and Portland in the hands of the Royalists.
	Before 29 September .	Unsuccessful attempt of Lord Crawford and Royalists on Poole.
	About 23 November . .	Successful attempt of Captain Lay with part of Poole garrison on Wareham.
	Before 20 December . .	Captain Francis Sydenham successfully attacks Dorchester.
1644	11 April	Wareham retaken by Royalists.
	20 April—15 June . .	Unsuccessful siege of Lyme Regis by Prince Maurice.
	17 June	Surrender of Weymouth and Melcombe to Lord Essex.
	2 July	Great Parliamentary victory of Marston Moor.
	10 August . . .	Wareham surrenders to Parliamentarians under Sir A. A. Cooper and Lt.-General John Middleton.
	2 September . . .	Lord Essex checkmated by the King at Lostwithiel; the Parliament's infantry lay down their arms.
	30 September—15 October.	Charles I in Dorset.
	13 October . . .	Royalists under Lord Cleveland and Sir Bernard Astley raise the siege of Portland.
	Beginning of November .	Sir A. A. Cooper storms Abbotsbury, the house of the Royalist Sir John Strangways.

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1645	9 February	Royalists under Sir Lewis Dyve surprise Weymouth.
	29 February	Weymouth evacuated by Royalists.
	14 June	Great Parliamentary victory of Naseby Field.
	10 July	Sir Thomas Fairfax annihilates Lord Goring's army at Langport.
	23 July	Fairfax takes Royalist fortress of Bridgewater.
	4 August	Oliver Cromwell disperses the Clubmen on Hambledon Hill.
	31 July—15 August	Fairfax's siege and reduction of Sherborne Castle.
	16 December	Corfe Castle blockaded by Parliamentarians.
1646	27 February	Fall of Corfe Castle.
	About 12 February	Royalists under Colonel Cromwell surprise Wareham.
	6 April	Portland surrenders to Batten for Parliament.
1649	July	Royalist plot against the western garrisons discovered.
1651	September	Charles II in Dorset as a fugitive.
1655	March	Penruddock's rising in Wilts, Dorset, and Devon.
1659	July—August	Royalist Plot, in connection with Booth's, detected at Shaftesbury and Sherborne.

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AUTHORITIES CONSULTED,

WITH THEIR ABBREVIATIONS.

MSS.

Add. MS.	Additional MSS. (Brit. Mus.) vols. 18980, 18981, 18982, 29319, 33231.
Clarendon MS.	Clarendon MSS. (Bodley) vols. 22, 23, 63.
Egerton	Egerton MSS. (Brit. Mus.) vol. 2126.
Hatch House	MSS. at Hatch House, Wilts., in the possession of John Benett-Stanford, Esq.
Hist. MS.	Historical MS. Commission:
	3rd Report (Lord Shaftesbury) 1872.
	5th Report, Appendix (Mr. Sherren's Collection) 1876.
	6th Report (Bridport) 1877.
	8th Report, Pt. I (MSS. of Ralph Bankes, Esq., of Kingston Lacy) 1881.
	9th Report, Pt. II, Appendix (Mr. Alfred Morrison's Collection) 1884.
	10th Report, Appendix 6 (MSS. of Lord Braye) 1887.
	13th } Report, Appendix, MSS. of Duke of Portland
	14th } at Welbeck Abbey, 3 vols., 1891-4.
	15th Report, Pt. II, Mr. Elliot Hodgkin's Collection.
Lansdowne	Lansdowne MSS. (Brit. Mus.) vol. 213.
Rawlinson	Rawlinson Poet. MSS. (Bodley) vol. 84.
Sloane	Sloane MSS. (Brit. Mus.) vol. 3233.
Stowe	Stowe MSS. (Brit. Mus.) vol. 189.
Strode	MS. of Sir Richard Strode of Newnham's Annotated Almanach: "An Ephemeris for the year 1652; Being Leap-Year and a Year of Wonders, etc.," in the possession of A. M. Broadley, Esq.
Tanner	Tanner MSS. (Bodley) vols. 53, 59, 60, 61, 62.
White Lackington ...	MS. from White Lackington House: Edward Drake's Diary of the Siege of Lyme Regis.

CALENDARS.

C.C.C.	Calendar of Committee for Compounding (Mary A. Everett Green) 1892.
C.S.P.	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic 1644 (W. D. Hamilton) 1888.
	Ditto, 1644-5 (W. D. Hamilton) 1890.
	Ditto, 1645-7 (W. D. Hamilton) 1891.
	Ditto, 1648-9 (W. D. Hamilton) 1893.
	Ditto, 1650.
	Ditto, 1651.
Jl. H.C.	Journals of House of Commons, vols. II, III, VI, VII
Jl. H.L.	Journals of House of Lords, passim.
P.C.A.M.	Calendar of Proceedings of Committee for Advance of Money 1642-56 (Mary A. Everett Green).

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NEWSPAPERS.

Exact Diurnall ... ... An Exact Diurnall, No. I, 1644.
Kingdome's Weekly ... The Kingdome's Weekly Intelligencer, Nos. 9 and 10, 1643.
" " " " No. 54, 1644.
Le Mercure ... ... Le Mercure Anglois, No. 43, 1645.
Mercurius Acad. ... ... Mercurius Academicus, 1645-6.
Mercurius Aulicus ... Mercurius Aulicus, 1642-3.
Mercurius Britannicus ... Mercurius Britannicus, No. I, 1643.
Mercurius Civicus ... Mercurius Civicus; London's Intelligencer, No. 47, 1644
" " " " No. 60.
Mercurius Rusticus ... Mercurius Rusticus, 1643.
M.M.A. ... ... Certaine Informations of all the Most Memorable Accidents and Remarkable Truths etc. from 17 October to 1 November, 1642.
M.N.I. ... ... A Modest Narrative of Intelligence, No. 23, 1649.
Moderate ... ... The Moderate (ed. Gilbert Mabbot) No. 11 (1648).
Ditto, Nos. 27, 28, 39, 40, 42, 52, 54, 55 (1649).
Moderate Intellig. ... The Moderate Intelligencer, No. 26, 1645.
" " " " 1649.
Perfect Diurnall ... ... A Perfect Diurnall of Passages in Parliament, 22 to 29 August 1642.
A Perfect Diurnall of Passages in Parliament, Nos. 38, 44, 50, 54, 55, 66, 71 (1644).
Ditto, Nos. 84, 86 (1645).
P.O.P. ... ... Perfect Occurrences of Parliament, 12th week, 14 to 21 March, 1645.
S.P. .. .. Some Speciall Passages from Westminster, Hull, Yorke, and other parts, 19 to 26 July 1642.
S.P.D. ... ... Speciall Passages from Divers Parts of this Kingdome etc., 16 to 23 August 1642.
S.R.P. ... ... A Continuation of Certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages from both Houses and divers other Parts of the Kingdome, 13 to 17 September, 1642
" " 12 to 15 October, 1642
" " 9 to 16 March, 1643
" " 27 April to 4 May, 1643
True Diurnall ... ... A continuation of the True Diurnall of Passages in Parliament, No. 5, 1642.

TRACTS.

Tract, Bath ... ... Full Relation of the Taking of Bath by Fairfax, 30 July, 1645 (*penes* A. M. Broadley).
Tract, Bridgewater 1 ... Continuation of Proceedings of Army under Fairfax from 19 to 23 July, 1645, with storming and taking of Bridgewater (ditto).
" 2 ... Brief Relation of taking of Bridgewater by Parliament Forces (ditto).
" 3 ... Fairfax's entering by storming on Monday last, 1645 (ditto).
" 4 ... Fuller Relation of Bridgewater sent to Speaker by a worthy Gentleman in Fairfax's Army, 26 July, 1645 (ditto).
" 5 ... Fairfax's Letter to Speaker concerning taking of Bridgewater, 28 July, 1645 (ditto).

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Tracts—continued.

Tract, Clubmen	1 ...	Desires and Resolutions of Clubmen of Counties of Dorset and Wilts. With Articles of their Covenant etc. agreed on at Meeting at Gorehedge-Corner, 25 May, 1645. And read at Badburie in Dorset by Mr. Young a Lawyer, 1645 (*penes* C. H. Firth).
,,	2 ...	King's Answer to Propositions for Peace as was pretended in the Clubmen's Address; with copy of a letter from Sir Lewis Dives, etc., etc., 1645 (*penes* A. M. Broadley).
,,	3 ...	Proceedings of Army under Fairfax from 1 to 6 July; containing story of the Clubmen, and relief of Taunton, 1645 (ditto).
,,	4 ...	Continuation of Proceedings of Army under Fairfax from 11 to 19 July; wherewith is added a Petition presented at a Rendezvous of Clubmen, 1645 (ditto).
,,	5 ...	Two Great Victories: one obtained by Colonel Fleetwood at Shaftesbury, 3 August, 1645. Another obtained by Lieutenant-General Crumwell against the Clubmen at Hambleton Hill, 1645 (ditto).
Tract, Dorset	1 ...	Petition to House of Commons of Knights, Gentry, Ministers, and Inhabitants of Dorset. Broadside of 21 February, 1641 (ditto).
,,	2 ...	His Majesty's Two Proclamations to Counties of Southampton and Dorset given at His Court at Reading, 28 November 1642 (ditto).
,,	3 ...	Copie of King's Message sent by Duke of Lenox: a Declaration by Committee of Dorset against the Cavaliers in those parts; with other cruelties of the Cavaliers manifested in this Kingdome, 1644. Reprint of 1882 for Clarendon Historical Society.
,,	4 ...	England's Remembrancer in two parts; or A Catalogue of all or most of the several Victories and Strongholds obtained by Parliament in 1645 [with a fine portrait of Fairfax], 1645 (*penes* A. M. Broadley).
,,	5 ...	Memorable Dayes and Workes of God in yeares past, 1645. A Catalogue etc., 1646 (ditto).
,,	6 ...	Perfect List of Many Victories obtained by Fairfax's Forces to April 1646. Broadside of 1646 (ditto)
,,	7 ...	Perfect Table of 299 Victories since King's attempt to enter Hull, by Essex and Fairfax. Broadside of 1646 (ditto).
,,	8 ...	The Yeare of Jubile, or England's Releasment, a Summary of Fairfax's achievements from Naseby to the late reducement of Oxford and Faringdon by S. Sheppard, 1646 (ditto).
,,	9 ...	Declaration of County of Dorset, shewing their consent to join with other Counties in the Loyall work of redeeming his Majesty and setling Kingdom, 1648 (*penes* C. H. Firth).
,,	10 ...	A Letter from Sir Lewis Dyve; giving an account of the Manner of his escape out of the King's Bench, 1648 (ditto)
,,	11 ...	The Unhappy Marksman or Discovery of late Murther by George Strangwayes, sometime Major in King's Army, on his brother-in-law Mr. John Fussel, an Attorney, 1659 (*penes* A. M. Broadley).

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Tracts—continued.

Tract, Dorset	12	...	Declaration of Knights and Gentry of Dorset who were in his late Majesty's Army, 16 April, 1660 (*penes* A. M. Broadley).
,,	13	...	Humble Address of Nobility and Gentry of Dorset to the King: presented at Whitehall 12 June 1660 (ditto).
,,	14	...	Claustrum Regale Reservatum, or The Kinge's Concealment at Trent published by A.W. [With fine title-page]. London: printed for William Nott at Queen's Arms in the Pell-Mell, 1667 (ditto).
Tract, Lyme Regis	1	...	Exact and True Relation in Relieving Resolute Garrison of Lyme by Robert, Earl of Warwick, Lord High Admiral of England, 10 June, 1644 (C. H. Firth).
,,	2	...	Letter from Earl of Warwick to Speaker of House of Peers; with exact Diurnall of all Passages since Colonell Were's comming etc., 11 June, 1644 (ditto).
,,	3	...	Letter sent from the same to the same, 18 June, 1644 (ditto).
,,	4	...	Three Severall Letters of Great Importance: the First containing brave exploits of Lyme men at Axminster in Devon, 6 December 1644 (A. M. Broadley).
,,	5	...	Joanereidos: or Feminine Valour: Eminently discovered in Westerne Women: by James Strong, 1645, (C. H. Firth).
Tract, Poole	...	...	True Relation of a Plot to betray the Towne of Poole, September, 1643. (Brit. Mus. King's Pamphlets, Vol. 126, No. 11).
Tract, Sherborne	1	...	True Description of treacherous plot by Lord Digby at Sherborne with exact numbers of Armes etc. by him hid in an old Cellar. London. Printed for John Hammond, 1642 (C. H. Firth).
,,	2	...	Examination of George Leddoze of Dorchester taken 27 August, 1642; with a letter from Coker near Sherborne, 1 September, 1642 (A. M. Broadley).
,,	3	...	Abstract of some Letters sent from Dorchester, 3 September, 1642 (ditto).
,,	4	...	Relations of Actions of Parliament's Forces under Earl of Bedford against those who came from Shirbourn to Babell-hill near Yerrell on 7 September; with Captain Aiscogh's Letter, 1642 (C. H. Firth).
,,	5	...	Latest Remarkable Truths from Worcester, Chester, Salop etc. Among other things a cruell and bloody Speech of the Lord Paulets which he spake to his fellow-souldiers in Sherbourne 7 of September, 1642. King's Pamphlets, Vol. 75, No. 5.
,,	6	...	Happy Newes from Sherborn, and Sherborne Castle, 13 September, 1642 (A. M. Broadley).
	7	...	Copy of Letter from Robert, Earl of Essex to Mr. Pym; also order for printing of Sir Edward Nicholas' Letter to Sir William Boswell, 1642 (ditto).
,	8	...	Queen of Bohemia; her Desires and Propositions to House of Commons. Likewise Victorious Newes from Shereborn in a Letter from Earl of Bedford to House of Commons, 23 September, 1642 (ditto).
	9	...	Fairfax's Letter to Speaker Lenthall concerning taking of Sherborn Castle and another letter to Mr. Speaker with a list of prisoners, 15 August 1645 (C. H. Firth)

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Tracts—continued.

Tract—Sherborne	10	...	True Relation of taking of Sherborn-Castle. Sent in two letters: one to the Speaker; the other to Edmund Prideaux and Dennis Bond, M.P.'s, 1645 (A. M. Broadley).
Tract, Taunton	1	...	Letter sent to Speaker of House of Commons concerning the raising of the siege of Taunton by a worthy gentleman in Fairfax's Army, 10 July, 1645 (C. H. Firth).
,,	2	...	Exact and Perfect Relation of Proceedings of Army under Fairfax from 6 to 11 July, 1645 (A. M. Broadley).
Tract, Wareham ...		...	Wareham taken by Parliament: also Colonel Mitton's exploits at Shrewsbury and Welch-Poole; with other achievements performed by him and Sir Thomas Middleton: London, Printed by Thomas Forcet for W. H., 14 August, 1644 (ditto).
Tract, Weymouth and Melcombe Regis	1	...	An Exact of Lieutenant-General Middleton's Letter to Sir William Waller read in the House of Commons on 24 August, 1644, concerning Victory obtained against the Enemy by a Party of Horse and Dragoons under Captain Fincher, Quarter-Master-General to Waller at Farringdon etc., 28 August, 1644 (ditto).
,,	2	...	God Appearing for the Parliament in sundry late Victories including that of Weymouth, 10 March, 1644-5 (ditto).
,,	3	...	Brief Relation of Surprise of Forts of Weymouth and Siege of Melcombe; Recovery of Forts; Raising of Siege; by P. J. Minister to Garrison, 20 March, 1645 (ditto).
,,	4	...	Last Speeches and Confession of Captain John Cade and John Mils, Constable: who were hanged at Weymouth for endeavouring to betray the garrison; by William Sydenham, Colonel-Governor of Weymouth and Captain William Batten, Vice-Admiral to the Navy, 27 March, 1645 (ditto).
,,	5	...	True and Wonderfull Relation of a Whale, pursued in the Sea by multitudes of other Fishes, as certified by divers Mariners of Weymouth who coming from France in the good ship called 'The Bonaventure' shot said whale which came to land 3 miles of Weymouth; where being opened there was found in the belly of it a Romish Priest with pardons for divers Papists in England and Ireland. October, 1645 (ditto).

Books.

Bankes	...	...	George Bankes: 'Story of Corfe Castle,' 1853.
Bell	...	...	R. Bell's 'Memorials of the Civil War: the Fairfax Correspondence,' vol. I, 1849.
Bellum Civile	...	...	Bellum Civile: Hopton's Campaign 1642-4 (ed. C. E. H. Chadwyck-Healey for Somerset Record Society), 1902.

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Books—continued.

Besse	Joseph Besse's 'Brief Account of Prosecutions of People called Quakers,' 1736.
Bib. Dorset.	C. H. Mayo's 'Bibliotheca Dorsetiensis,' 1885.
Blount	Thomas Blount's 'Boscobel, etc.,' reprint of 1894.
B.N.J.	British Numismatic Journal, vol. II, 1905.
Boscobel	Boscobel Tracts and King's Account of his escape from Worcester, reprint of 1891.
Bulstrode	Sir R. Bulstrode's 'Memoirs and Reflections, etc.,' 1721
Burton	Thomas Burton's 'Diary' 1656-9, vol. I, 1828.
Calamy	Edmund Calamy's 'Account of ejected or silenced Ministers, etc., after Restoration of 1660,' vol. II, 1713.
Calamy	Edmund Calamy's 'Continuation of Account, etc.,' 1727.
Carlyle	Thomas Carlyle's 'Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches,' vol. I, 1888.
Carte	Thomas Carte's 'Life of Duke of Ormond,' vol. III, 1851.
Christie	W. D. Christie's 'Life of First Earl of Shaftesbury,' 2 vols., 1871.
Clarendon's 'Rebellion'...	Edward, Lord Clarendon's 'History of the Rebellion' (ed. W. D. Macray) 6 vols., 1888.
Clarendon's 'Life' ...	Edward, Lord Clarendon's 'Life,' 3 vols., 1827.
Clarke	Clarke Papers (Camden Soc: ed. C. H. Firth), vols. II, III, IV, 1891, etc.
Constitutional History ...	Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England, vol. XIV, 1763.
Cox	J. C. Cox: 'The Royal Forests of England,' 1905.
Devereux	W. B. Devereux: 'Lives and Letters of the Devereux Earls of Essex,' vol. II, 1853.
Devon N. & Q.	Devon N. & Q., IV, Pt. V, John Were's Apologie, etc. (ed. A. Fisher).
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography, passim.
Dorchester Records ...	Municipal Records of Borough of Dorchester (ed. C. H. Mayo and A. W. Gould) 1908.
Dorset N.H.A.F.C. ...	Proceedings of Dorset Nat. Hist. and Antiquarian Field Club, vols. XIII, XV, XX.
Eng. Hist. Rev.	English Historical Review, vol. XXII, No. 87.
Firth's 'Cromwell's Army'	C. H. Firth's 'Cromwell's Army,' 1902.
Firth's 'Oliver Cromwell'	C. H. Firth's 'Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England,' 1900.
Gardiner's Civil War ...	S. R. Gardiner: History of Great Civil War, 4 vols., 1901.
Gardiner's England ...	S. R. Gardiner: A Student's History of England, vol. II, 1891.
Godwin	G. N. Godwin's 'Civil War in Hampshire,' 1882.
Grey	Zachary Grey's 'Examination of 3rd vol. of D. Neal's History of the Puritans' appendix XXXIV, 1737.
Grueber's Coins	H. A. Grueber's 'Handbook of Coins of Great Britain and Ireland in Brit. Mus.,' 1899.
Grueber's Medals ...	H. A. Grueber's 'Guide to English Medals in King's Library,' 1881.
Harvey	W. M. Harvey's 'Hundred of Willey.'
Hetherington	W. M. Hetherington's 'History of Westminster Assembly' 1843 (ed. R. Williamson) 1878.

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Books—continued.

Hoskins	S. E. Hoskins: 'Charles II in the Channel Islands,' 2 vols., 1854.
Hutchins	John Hutchins: 'History of Dorset,' 4 vols., 1861.
Longmore	Sir Thomas Longmore's 'Richard Wiseman,' 1891.
Ludlow	Edmund Ludlow's 'Memoirs' (ed. C. H. Firth), 2 vols., 1894.
Masson	David Masson's 'Life of Milton,' vol. II, 1894.
Memorials of Old Dorset.	Memorials of Old Dorset (ed. Thos. Perkins and Herbert Pentin), 1907.
Minute Books	Minute Books of Dorset Standing Committee 1646-50. (ed. C. H. Mayo) 1902.
Money	W. Money's 'First and Second Battles of Newbury,' 1884.
Moule's Old Dorset ...	H. J. Moule: Old Dorset, 1893.
Moule's Weymouth Docs.	,, Weymouth and Melcombe Regis Documents, 1883.
Newcastle	Life of Duke of Newcastle by Margaret his Duchess (ed. C. H. Firth), 1886.
N. & Q.	Notes and Queries, 10 S. IV.
Peacock	Edward Peacock's 'Army Lists of Roundheads and Cavaliers 1642,' 1874.
Proc. Som. Arch. Soc. ...	Proceedings of Somerset Archæological Soc. for 1884, vol. XLII.
Roberts' 'Lyme Regis' .	George Roberts: 'History of Lyme Regis and Charmouth,' 1834.
Roberts' 'Social History'	George Roberts: 'Social History of West of England,' 1856.
Ross	Lt.-Col. W. G. Ross, R.E.: 'Military Engineering during the Great Civil War' in Professional Papers of the Corps of R.E., 1888.
Rushworth	John Rushworth's 'Historical Collections,' vol. V, edn. 1692 and 1708.
Sanford	J. L. Sanford's 'Studies and Illustrations of Great Rebellion,' 1858.
Shaw	W. A. Shaw's 'History of English Church 1640-60,' 2 vols., 1900.
Siege of Bridgwater ...	Siege of Bridgewater: Extra Illustrated with rare portraits; Broadsides of Essex and Fairfax's Victories; and holograph letter from Colonel Edmund Wyndham, Governor of Bridgewater, of 14 December 1644 to Prince Rupert (*penes* A. M. Broadley).
Social England	H. D. Traill and G. S. Mann: Social England, vol. IV, 1901.
Som. and Dor. N. and Q.	Somerset and Dorset N. and Q., VIII.
Sprigg	Joshua Sprigg's 'Anglia Reviva; England's Recovery' reprint of 1854.
Symonds	Diary of Richard Symonds (Camden Soc.), 1859.
Thurloe	John Thurloe's 'State Papers' (ed. T. Birch), vols. 3 and 7, 1742.
V.H. Dorset	Victoria History of Dorset, vol. II.
Vicars	John Vicars: Parliamentary Chronicle, viz.:— Jehovah Jireh, etc., 1644. God's Arke, etc., 1646. Burning Bush, etc., 1646.
Verney Memoirs	Verney Memoirs, vol. II, 1892-9.

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Books—continued.

Wadham Coll. Reg.	...	R. B. Gardiner: Wadham College Register, 1889-95.
Walker	...	John Walker's 'Sufferings of the Clergy,' Pt. II, 1714.
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A. R. B.

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THE CIVIL WAR IN DORSET.

1642—1660.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory.

THE dividing line between the two parties in the great Civil War was at once a social, a geographical, and a religious one. But it is the religious division which from the first underlay the others, and which emerges with more and more prominence as the struggle continues. But at the beginning of the era of contest the constitutional questions almost united the country: the King's absolutism must be rendered impossible for the future. The actual raising of the royal banner, however, by which means Charles definitively threw down the gauntlet, gave the King a party. For the most part, the country squires, the Constitutionalists, the Cavaliers or professed soldiers, the Catholics, and the Peasantry—until after the Battle of Marston Moor—sided with the Crown. Roughly speaking, the party boundary may be drawn as a line from Scarborough to Southampton: but, of course, much cross division must be allowed for, as in Dorset for example; or in Royalist Somerset, where the yeomen and that large class, half peasant and half-artisan, stood firm for Parliament. Many towns, too, such as Dorchester, Wareham, Poole, and Lyme Regis, although surrounded by Royalist districts, were staunch for Parliament. To the east of this imaginary line from Southampton to Scarborough lay two-thirds of the population and three-fourths of the wealth of the whole realm: there dwelt the most orderly, the best organized, the most educated part of the population—the part which had maintained its lead throughout the Middle Age, which had raised up, in the House of York, a native dynasty to be the champions of strong government and founders of the new Monarchy, which was now Puritan because Puritanism

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seemed to be the one hope of both political and religious freedom. But every district and every class was divided in itself—however unequally. Even Oxford—the Royal military, political, and ecclesiastical centre—was divided into two parties: for if the University, in spite of educating Pym, Hampden, Nathaniel Fiennes and his father, Ireton, Lenthall, Ludlow, Marten, Nye, Pembroke, Prynne, Selden, Strode, the two Vanes, Waller, and Whitelocke, was chiefly on the side of the Crown; the City, for the most part, favoured Parliament. The most considerable gentry of Dorset were attached to the King; but the people where the clothing trade was carried on, and in the coast-towns, were chiefly disaffected. Lyme Regis and Poole were always garrisoned by Parliament. The remaining towns, being open and places of no strength, were alternately kept by the party which was master of the field. Sherborne, Corfe, and Chideock Castles, with the Island and Castle of Portland, were garrisoned for Charles; and the sieges of the first two fortresses with that of the town of Lyme, the rising of the Clubmen, and a few casual skirmishes were the most remarkable events which occurred in this County.[1]

The importance of Dorset in the Civil War arose from its geographical position. It lay between the Royalist strongholds of the south-west and that of Oxford. While the towns of Somerset were Parliamentarian, the fortresses of Sherborne and Corfe afforded keys respectively to the northern and southern communications with the west. On the other hand the seaboard towns, with their useful harbours and proximity to the French coast, were of inestimable importance in the Royalist communications with their continental friends and helpers. Hence, although this county never saw any first-class engagement, its importance both naval and military never ceased during the whole war.

Dorset was not without its constitutional grievances, having suffered somewhat from Charles's system of unlawful taxation. In 1625, after the dissolution of his first Parliament, the King sent letters to the Lords Lieutenants for a general loan. After 1629, more especially, Charles, to fill his empty treasury, had appealed to the Star Chamber; which proceeded to exact fines on the most trivial grounds, and by this means raised very large sums for the King. The old law of Knighthood was revived; and at least £100,000 raised by fines from those who had not taken up their Knighthood. Many other obsolete laws were revived, and an examination of the boundaries of

1. "Social England" (1903) IV, 302. (A. L. Smith). Hutchins' I, xvii. "V.H. Dorset," II, 146, onward.

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forests discovered the fact that extensive encroachments had been made. By exacting enormous fines or annual rents from the occupiers of land within the forest boundaries; by the establishment and sale of monopolies; by benevolences, forced loans, and customs; and by many similar methods—Charles managed to raise, between 1629 and 1634, very large sums of money.

In July, 1632, the local Justices of the Peace complained that 'this little county' was taxed in equality with Hampshire and Wiltshire; which was the more unjust because "they had performed the service of many thousand loads of stones in the Isle of Portland, for building the banqueting house (at Whitehall), and that service is still continued upon them towards H.M's buildings, besides that there is £5000 and upwards due to this county for billeting soldiers." They therefore begged to be spared the carriage of 1290 loads of timber out of the New Forest. It appears that the county eventually tacitly declined the service of this carriage. William Twyne, who did perform his share, could get no money in return.[1]

After the dissolution of Parliament in 1626 Charles, requiring a loan, had sent to London and the Port Towns to furnish ships for the guard of the seas: Weymouth, Poole, and Lyme Regis were to be joined and the county to contribute for the supply of two ships. The Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of Dorset excused themselves by saying that the case was without precedent; but their excuse was not allowed. The Corporation of Bridport possesses a writ of 5 November 1628. It provides for the outfit of a man-of-war of 400 tons with equipment and provisions for 26 weeks, and for an assessment to cover the cost. It contains the clause: "Should any person be found rebellious, they shall be committed until further order is made for their delivery." Ship-money writs continued to be issued, the sums demanded having increased in severity; and piracy was as prevalent as ever. In 1634 Charles, by the advice of Attorney-General Noy, took care to ask for ships larger than any port, except London, possessed; and then offered to supply ships of his own, on condition that the Port Towns should equip and man them. Poole, in this year, was assessed at £60 for ship-money; Dorchester at £100; Wareham at £30; and Corfe at £10. By 21 March 1635, the sum received from the Dorset maritime towns under the writ of the preceding year was £1400, Gloucestershire and Hampshire having paid only £1000 each. In 1635 the

1. C.S.P., 1631-3, p. 381. ibid., 1633-34, p. 110.

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King asked for ships not merely from the ports, but from the inland as well as from the maritime counties. Again London only provided ships; in all the rest of England money, including £5000 from Dorset, had to be found to pay for the equipment and manning of ships belonging to the King. In this way Charles got a strong navy which he manned with sailors in the habit of managing ships of war; and it is from the ship-money fleet that the separation of the naval and mercantile marine dates. This same year the men of Poole protested against the levy. And about the same time Sir Thomas Trenchard, Sheriff—remonstrated with by Council for omitting to state how the ship-money was assessed by him, and the amount to be paid by every hundred and corporate town—replied that he had already paid to Sir William Russell £3100, and to his successor in office (John Freke) £908 1s. 6d. with a memorial of the sum still owing £991 18s. 6d. He had been delayed in returning his account by the daily concourse of people to pay in their moneys to him. A list, drawn up by him in April 1636 of those who had not paid, shows that Sir Walter Erle owed, £3 6s. 8d. for lands in Morden, £5 3s. od. for lands in Combe Almer, and £4 11s. od. for lands in Chelborough. Sir William Strode would not pay, and suffered his goods to be distrained. His case is the first mention of distraint. But the method was necessarily soon resorted to in the collection of so unpopular a tax at a time of peculiar hardship, when the county was suffering severely from plague. In the assessment of 1636 Shaftesbury paid nothing, so heavy was the loss from the disease. In this year Dorset was charged for one ship of 500 tons and 200 men, £5000 being demanded from the County. The following sums were set on the corporate towns:—Dorchester £45; Corfe and Lyme £40 each; Weymouth with Melcombe Regis £35; Shaftesbury £35; Poole £30; Wareham and Blandford £25 each; and Bridport £20. This was the sheriff's own assessment; the Mayor of Dorchester having declined with the other mayors of the county, at a meeting held 23 November 1636, to make any rate towards the £5000 demanded. John Freke, the sheriff, wrote that autumn that the money was paid "like drops of blood, and some sell their only cow which should feed their children, and some come to the parish." The arrears amounted to £320. The assessment of 1637 (Richard Rogers, sheriff) was heavier on the towns than that of the preceding year. Shaftesbury now paid £5; Poole £24; Wareham £25; Bridport £20; Corfe and Lyme £40 each; Dorchester £45; and Weymouth with Melcombe £85. Sir W. Erle was distrained, which with the similar treatment of

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"some great ones reduced the rest to conformity" for the time being. By 1 September only £200 of the £5000 was wanting. Arrears under the writ of 4 August 1635 still came in, in driblets; and the official return of the whole arrears of the county, in October 1637, was £1200. But old arrears were never got in before new writs were issued, and disputes as to rating became more and more common. In 1637 £4800 were received by the sheriffs of Dorset and Somerset, and the Mayor and Sheriffs of Bristol, for building a ship of 400 tons by Sir William Russell and Henry Vane. Richard Bingham, the new Sheriff who endeavoured to collect under a new writ of December 1638, found that the corporate towns could not agree upon this rating. On 10 November 1639, in a distribution of ships made for the counties with their tonnage and number of men, to Dorset was assigned a vessel of 400 tons and 160 men; the arrears amounting to £978. This same year letters were sent to the nobility and others to contribute to the King's journey into the North; but in Dorset only one person promised, one paid £50, and all the rest—many of whom were well affected—refused. So late as 4 February 1640 Sir John Croke, sheriff in 1639, had received no money under the writ of 1637. William Churchill, Sheriff in 1640, began office evidently meaning to collect all arrears. But his measures were ineffectual. Even in 1631 there had been serious rioting which was ordered to be repressed with all severity. Matters had not been improved by further vexatious illegalities: the tax of sixpence per 12lb. on all the hard soap made in the county, and the close monopoly of this manufacture; the obligation imposed in 1636 on every ale housekeeper to become bound in £20 not to dress any venison, red or fallow, or any hares, pheasants, partridges, etc.; and the abuses in the collection of the ship-money itself, the common report being that nearly £1000 more were collected than were actually required. By 1640 resistance had come to a head. Goods distrained yielded no money, for want of buyers. Should buyers come the sale was a farce, and could not be proceeded with. Offers of sevenpence or ninepence were made for an ox worth £8. The people also rescued their goods when distrained, beating off the bailiffs with bills and stones. Of £6000 the sheriff could, in half a year, get but £300 from the entire county. Sending his servants to levy £5 12s. 4d. on the goods of Ann Lady Ashley (born Samways) on her farm at Martinstown, Churchill found that her servants, William and Roger Samways, came with violence and rescued two of her horses which had been seized. Two days later, Lady Ashley having horses at Dorchester, the

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sheriff's servants endeavoured to distrain them; but William Samways again violently rescued them, saying that Denzil Holles (son-in-law to the lady) would bear them out in what they had done. These attempts at resistance awoke a like spirit in others. In 1640 none of the Mayors had paid in anything at all five months after the issue of the writ; and the constables and bailiffs refused, in many cases, to distrain.[1]

Englishmen began to complain, not that they had a navy, but that the money needed for the navy was taken from them without a Parliamentary grant. The independent spirit of the trading-classes, and especially of those who dwelt in or near the coast-towns, had become inflamed through opposition to the levy of ship-money. Dorset, from its geographical position, was especially liable to this unjust imposition. But although Dorset has great extent of sea-coast, it has but few harbours and those not good except Poole—the principal and only port—of which Lyme, Melcombe, and Weymouth are members. To Lyme belong the creeks of Bridport and Charmouth; to Melcombe and Weymouth those of Portland and West Lullworth. The creeks of Swanage and Wareham do not depend on any of the members, but belong to the port of Poole. A port is defined as a place to which only the officers of the Customs are appropriated, and which includes all the privileges and guidance of all the members and creeks thereto allotted. A member of a port is a place where anciently a custom-house has been kept, and officers or their deputies attend; and such are lawful places for importation and exportation. A creek is a place where commonly officers are, or have been, placed by way of prevention—not out of duty or right of attendance; and such are not lawful places for importation or exportation, without particular licence or sufferance from the port or member under which they are placed. Camden says that Henry VI, with the consent of Parliament, granted to Poole the privileges of a Port or Haven-town, which he had taken from Melcombe; and licensed the Mayor to wall it about. On 16 January, 1642, an order of Sessions was made for watching the town of Poole. One watchman, one rounder, and one gunner were appointed for the daytime at the town-gate; and six ordinary watchmen of the commonalty and two rounders for the night-watch. The rounders were to be burgesses and such other inhabitants as should be appointed by the Mayor and Justices. The seaport towns were tenacious of their rights and

1. Whitelocke, 7. C.S.P., 1625-49, Addenda. Hutchins, I, lii. "V.H. Dorset," II, Political History, 146 etc.

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privileges; and, as early as the first half of the fifteenth century, Lyme, Poole, and Weymouth had been numbered among those towns which were exempted or claimed to be exempt from the Lord Admiral's arm. This example was followed by a few great landowners. For instance, in 1585 Elizabeth granted Corfe Castle and the Isle of Purbeck to Sir Christopher Hatton with power to appoint an admiral for the same—the grant excluding the Lord High Admiral from exercising his jurisdiction therein. Those seaport towns that previously to the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act in 1835 possessed admiralty rights appear to have exercised them mainly in respect of wreck. Wreck, flotsam, jetsam, or lagan, brought into their harbours and presented in their admiralty courts, was awarded in shares (usually one-half each) between the town and the finder. In 1698 a survey of the ports on the south-west coast of England from Dover to the Land's-end was made by Edmond Dummer and Captain Thomas Wiltshaw, Commissioners of the Navy, together with Captains James Conway and William Crust, Masters of the Trinity House at Deptford. They thus describe Poole Harbour: "Though assisted by a considerable Fresh from Dorchester, and is a capacious water when all its shoal grounds are covered with the tide, nevertheless it has not above 8 foot of water for a great space without the mouth of it at low water, and the rise of the spring tides do not exceed 8 foot more, and those very uncertain and remiss. The shoals are very large, and the channels very crooked. There are very few vessels that will venture into it when they can choose to do otherwise. The entrance into this haven is covered by Studland Point. The town stands about 3 miles within the haven, which together with its general situation affords nothing in our opinion proper or improveable for the service of the navy." Of the Port of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis they say: "It stands upon a small fresh from the land eastward of the Bill and Road of Portland. But here the tides rise no more than 7 foot or thereabouts—alike uncertain as at Poole and Christchurch—and have not above 3 foot of water in the entrance to the Harbour which, to add no more, are impediments that preclude entirely all thoughts of improvement for the navy. Christchurch, Poole, Weymouth, and Exmouth appear to have other, but more original, imperfections than we found in those of Sussex: those may have been great indraughts in former times; but these never seem to have been capable of it. The soil of the adjacent land lies in another nature, the tides at the highest seem not to be above 8 foot, and those both as remiss and uncertain as

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the winds upon which their motion mightily depends; so that their agitation is in no wise capable of that force and virtue which the services of great shipping call for; besides their exits are situated in great Bays which render approaches to them the more difficult."[1]

In 1632 Charles made his unfortunate attempt to reimpose the forest laws, thus creating wide-spread friction and ill-feeling. Attorney-General Noy, "that invincible heap of learned rubbish," in Carlyle's phrase, revived the forest-pleas; and justice-seats were held both at Bagshot and Windsor. The usual disafforesting arrangement of this reign was that the Crown took one-third of the common; the other two-thirds being reserved for the commoners. A forest was subject to the forest-laws; a chace was not, and was tenable by a subject. At the time of the granting of Henry III's Forest Charter there were three royal forests in Dorset—Gillingham, Blakemore, and Poorstock. The only chace in the county was Cranborne Chace. The most important forest was that of Gillingham in the north of the county, which had originally been a division of the great Somerset forest of Selwood. The total acreage within the perambulation of the forest was over 7800; and the liberty comprised the townships of Gillingham, Bourton, and Motcomb. James I had granted the forest to Charles, when Prince of Wales; and in 1625 the latter, as King, disafforested it and removed the deer. The forest and manor were granted to Sir James Fullerton, gentleman of the King's Bedchamber, and ultimately to Thomas Bruce, 1st Earl of Elgin. When the King had taken away his deer out of the forest and begun to inclose, some of the tenants who had subscribed to the improvements and some others resisted the inclosures and laid open the fences, for which many of them were fined in the Star-Chamber.

Their general grievances were:—

(1) The highways mentioned as part of the King's demesne might now be farmed to any particular man, contrary to the promises of the Commissioners.

(2) The straightening of highways by allotments, which must make the passage smaller than before; and the charge to the inhabitants, if they were to maintain

1. Hutchins, I, liv, citing Rushworth. "Eng. Hist. Review" xxii, 87. "Vice Admirals of the Coast" (R. G. Marsden) 468-78. "Sloane MS." 3233, ff. 12, 13. "Add. MS." 33231, A 1 to 4. Coll. of L. Gen. Wm. Skinner, R.E., Chief Engineer of Gt. Britain. Plans of Cobb at Lyme; survey of Boatswain's Hill Coppice at Lyme with plan of intended powder magazines and lines of defence under inspection of Capt. Dixon, Engineer in Ordinary.

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these ways, which would be more than their allotments were worth.

(3) The rent of the acre reserved in these allotments, which they all conceived should be without rent.

(4) Their fear lest this holding by copy according to custom might make their new allotments subject to pay heriots; whereas they were promised to have it made clear and exempt of heriots, by decree or otherwise.

(5) Some complain they must make all the fences against the King and the King make none.

(6) Some complain of want of measure in their allotments, others of inconvenient laying of the allotments.

(7) Some are fearful to make copies; because all that claim common are not compounded with, or agreed to inclose.

The Commission of the last year of the preceding reign had ordered that the allotments were to be after the rate of one acre for every ten acres of their inclosed lands within the forest. In Motcomb thirty acres were assigned for thirty cottages; for seven new erections seven acres; and fifteen acres were granted for the poor of Motcomb, of the Prince's gift. Eight acres were allotted for the inhabitants of Bourton, and by them accepted in lieu of claim of common. For cottages and new erections within the forest fifty acres were assigned; sixty acres for inhabitants without the perambulation of the forest, yet within the Manor of Gillingham, these sixty acres to be in feoffees named for their use; and if any of the inhabitants named refuse to agree and subscribe, he to lose the benefit of his part; and fifty acres more to be assigned to the same feoffees for the poorer tenants of the Manor, on the like proviso. At that Commission were allotted five hundred and five acres. A Commission of 13 June 1627, for reformation of the grievances complained of whilst it redressed certain inequalities probably only added others. There was likewise a large waste or common of nearly one thousand acres, called the Bailiff's Walk, which surrounded great part of the forest. This the tenants insisted was no part of the forest; but, after several debates, it was decreed to be part of it, and out of that walk were most of the allotments assigned. Moreover, upwards of two hundred acres of it were afterwards enclosed and enjoyed by Lord Elgin, which caused several riots and two petitions from the tenants to Parliament: the first in 4 Car, and the other in 16 Car, which was ordered to be heard—but by reason of the breach of that Parliament was never heard.

Poorstock and Blakemore, or the Forest of White Hart, had practically ceased to be forests long before this period.

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James I had granted Cranborne Chace to William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. It was for long a resort of smugglers and poachers—among the latter of whom were numbered some of the neighbouring country gentlemen—and was not regularly disafforested until 1830.[1]

Another constitutional grievance was the exercise of the right of wardship by the Crown. For instance, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper had lost both his parents before he completed his tenth year. Inheriting estates held by tenure of Knight-service of the Crown, he became a King's ward; and all his property so held was, during his minority, under the control of the Court of Wards. His father, Sir John Cooper, had left considerable debts; and now (1631), by corrupt means and by the active instrumentality of Sir Francis Ashley, his mother's uncle, an order for sale was obtained from the Court of Wards, by which the young Baronet's interests were greatly injured. Sir Francis Ashley was the King's Sergeant and as such had great influence with the Attorney of the Court of Wards. Thus he obtained a decree of sale in which his own friends were named Commissioners to the exclusion of the trustees appointed by Sir John Cooper; and properties were sold, much below their value, to Sir Francis and some of the Commissioners themselves. The trustees, however, refused to convey the lands to these purchasers; and applied to the Court of Wards for time to sell to greater advantage, and for permission for Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper to buy—he having property not in wardship from which he could do so. This was refused, unless the purchaser should consent. One, the purchaser of Pawlett, consented; but Sir Francis Ashley and Mr. John Tregonwell, senior, of Milton Abbas—who had contracted for Rockborne, Hants, Sir Anthony's paternal estate—were obdurate. The trustees were then ordered by the Court to convey the estates to those purchasers who insisted; they refused, and were imprisoned until they had executed the conveyances. "Thus," says the victim in his Autobiography, "was my estate torn and rent from me before my face by the injustice and oppression of that Court, near

1. Hutchins, II, 317; III, 410, 649; IV, 517. Cox, 330 et passim. The Vale of Blakemore or Blackmore, besides exporting excellent dairy-cows, oxen and pigs, formerly supplied the once thriving ship building trade of Bridport—trees of 120 cubic feet being not uncommon in this forest. William Whiteway in his Diary under December 1628 notes that the inhabitants of Gillingham Forest "rose up against those who were about to enclose it and misused the Bailiff and threw down their work." Next year he records that the gentlemen of Lincoln attacked a pursuivant sent thither to apprehend one that had killed one of the King's deer. "They shaved him, snipt his ears, wash't him in the kennels, and kicked him out at the gate. The King took it much to heart."

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relations, and neighbours, who, I may truly say, have been twenty thousand pound damage to me." He describes old Mr. Tregonwell as "a near neighbour but no good Samaritan, one that never knew generosity or kindness but for himself, his horse, or his dog . . . Yet Mr. Tregonwell had not good success in his hard dealing, for he was so greedy of a good bargain that he looked not into his title; and this manor proved entailed on my father's marriage with my mother (Anne, only child of Sir Anthony Ashley, Bt. of Wimborne St. Giles), my father having left this out of the fine he passed on all his other lands when he conveyed them for the discharge of his debts, not intending to sell the place of his father's bones, especially when his other land would more than serve to pay all. This blot was soon hit, when I came to manage my own matters; and Mr. Tregonwell's grandchild[1] and myself came to an agreement, I suffering him to enjoy his own and his lady's life in the manor, in which I designed to bury all animosity or ill-will as well as lawsuits betwixt the families." With Sir Francis Ashley there was further litigation. The trustees, after the forced conveyance, preferred a bill against him to enforce execution of a trust to which the property was subject, and which he endeavoured to evade. Sir Francis, knowing that the trustees derived the means of litigation from an estate of Sir Anthony's which was not in wardship, then made an endeavour to bring this property within the control of the Court of Wards. The property thus exempt from wardship had come to the young Baronet from his grandfather, and the deed had been drawn by William Noy, now Attorney-General. Sir Anthony's trustees made him go himself to Noy to endeavour to prevail on him to be his counsel. The influence of the Attorney-General in the Court of Wards would probably be paramount; but he might, on the other hand, be unwilling to appear against the Crown. Noy, however, who had been an intimate friend of his petitioner's grandfather, undertook to defend the cause of this ill-used boy of thirteen (1634). Sir Francis Ashley appeared for himself; and Lord Cottington, then Master of the Wards, "sitting with his hat over his eyes, and having heard Sir Francis make a long and elegant speech for the overthrowing of my deed, said openly, 'Sir Francis, you have spoke like a good uncle.' Mr. Attorney Noy argued for me, and my uncle rising up to reply (I being then present in Court), before he could speak two words, he was taken with a sudden convulsion fit, his mouth drawn to his ear, was carried out of the Court,

1. John Tregonwell of Milton 1625-80, who married Jane, daughter of Sir Robert Fenn, Lord Mayor of London.

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and never spoke more." As late as 1641 there was still litigation about these purchases of Sir Francis between Sir Anthony A. Cooper and Denzil Holles, who had married Dorothy—Sir Francis Ashley's only child. The Court of Wards was broken up by the Civil War, and never revived; for one of the first acts of the legislature, after the Restoration, was the abolition of this Court and the Military tenures connected with it, when "Sir Anthony A. Cooper spoke against the Court of Wards and for the Excise (21 November, 1660.)"[1]

Another grievance was the conduct of the King's soldiers on their passage through the county. In 1625 at Lyme there was "given to ensign of soldiers for avoiding the town, £1 os. 4d.;" "to Mr. Carpenter (Town Clerk) for his journey to Beaminster, for avoiding the soldiers, 3s. 6d.;" and "to Mr. John Seward for his journey to Dorchester about the soldiers 5s." In 1626 1000 soldiers from Devon and Cornwall, under martial law, were quartered in Dorset. Richard Chafin of Sherborne informed the Magistrates at the Easter Sessions of 1629 that, at the last removal of the King's soldiers out of Devon towards London, he had two horses—all he had, and of more value than his whole estate besides—impressed and employed for the removal of the said soldiers and armour from Sherborne; that one horse was killed outright; the other spoilt, by their means long kept from him, taken towards London to be sold; and though ultimately recovered, to his damage of £5 at least—for which he is without remedy. The Court ordered the Treasurer of the Western Division to pay Richard Chafin for his loss and damage. In 1629 the Corporation of Dorchester complained to Council of the billeting of soldiers "by a long space, for which they had received no satisfaction;" viz. in particular from 23 April to 3 August, 1628, "amounting to £77 16s. od., whereof £26 only is paid." With other similar items the sum soon amounted to £260 19s. od. But in 1632 the Lord Treasurer wrote to the Mayor to pay the £260 odd, which was said to be "in the hands of 3 or 4 men who collected the loan money of the county." This 'loan money' possibly consisted of contributions, more or less forced, towards the Cadiz expedition of 1625, or the later recovery of the Palatinate. But it is more probable that the reference was to an early ship-money writ. A Proclamation was issued in 1634 for the speedy sending away of Irish beggars into their own country. The disbanding of the Irish Army in 1630 occasioned many of the complaints about the Irish. The temper of the people

1. W. D. Christie's "Life of Shaftesbury" (1871) I, pp. 7-11.

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is indicated by the fact that when in 1640, during the second Scottish War, the pressed men from Dorset reached Farringdon they murdered the lieutenant who conducted them; and threatened to put the rest of their commanders to the sword, "insomuch that they all fled." The Dorset troop in Yorkshire broke into something very like mutiny, and Sir Jacob Astley was obliged to court-martial and shoot one of the men. At Wellington one hundred and sixty soldiers, lately pressed in Devon, on the march towards the north murdered Lieutenant Compton Eyres, and dragged his body about the streets. Having thus brutally behaved themselves, they disbanded. A Proclamation was issued in 1640 calling upon the authorities to seize these men, and naming several of them.[1]

Many of the inhabitants of the county, having espoused the cause and profession of Puritanism, were opposed to the Court's religious policy. In 1629 a band of one hundred and forty Puritans had emigrated from Dorset, and founded the town of Dorchester in Massachusetts under John Endecott, a native of the English town which suggested the name. This movement was inspired and organized by John White—known as the Patriarch of Dorchester from his forty-two years tenure of the Rectory of Holy Trinity in the county town of Dorset. He published in London, 1630, a pamphlet called "The Planter's Plea; or, the Grounds of Plantations Examined," which contains the earliest trustworthy information on the first planting of the colony. His nephew, James White, was a wealthy merchant of Boston, Massachusetts. White was a moderate Puritan; and possessed great influence in the county, both from his benevolent energy and his high character. At Lyme Regis the Puritans eventually succeeded in abolishing the great Cobb Ale, which had long been held there during Whitsuntide. Religious feuds in the Corporation had reached a great height by 1612 when the Vicar of Lyme, John Geare, having preached puritanically, had his licence withdrawn. Geare, now styled "an unbeneficed preacher" by his opponents, then brought an action at law against the Mayor—Walter Harvey, Merchant,—his brethren, and the Cobb Wardens (Wardens of the Ale) for the using of profane and religious abuses. He was supported by Richard Hassard, gentleman. The opposite or Court party agreed that the action should be defended at the town charge. They charged Hassard with misdemeanours wilfully committed during his

1. Roberts' "Social History," pp. 123-5, 188. Firth's "Cromwell's Army" (1902) p. 14. "V.H. Dorset," II, Political Hist. After Monmouth's rebellion some soldiers of Lords Cornbury and Churchill's troops of dragoons broke into a house at Colyton, and stole bone-lace worth £325.

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Mayoralty in 1601, and laid the matter before the Star-Chamber—whereupon he was dismissed from his rule and place of magistrate. Some honourable person interceded, and Hassard was restored; provided that he cleared himself by a judicial hearing in Star-Chamber, which he neglected to do. For this, and for being a professed favourer of John Geare, he was expelled. John Viney was suspended for the latter cause; and was deemed unworthy of his place—until, by some worthy fruits of his conformity and amendment, the Mayor and the rest should be moved to alter and change the order. At Beaminster, in 1625, John Barton, for using many contemptuous words against the Royal Proclamation concerning Jesuits and Recusants and for selling ale without a licence, was committed to the House of Correction. In 1629 William Stone[1] and John Lane, senior, of Castleton by Sherborne, were proved to have spoken and uttered contemptuous and scandalous speeches of the King, his laws, and Courts of Parliament; and were bound over to appear next Sessions. At the Blandford Christmas Sessions of 1629 a warrant was issued against Thomas Bartlett, Clerk, for sowing sedition between William Hopkins and his wife, and the like between one Rake and his wife. Bartlett was charged with prosecuting a suit against one Lucas, and also for refusing to baptize his child; and further for "challenging the field" of Mr. Martin, Lucas, and Fudge; and for alehouse haunting and for drunkenness. At the Sherborne Sessions of 1631 relief was sought and found by informing of divers misdemeanours, disturbances, and uncivil behaviour, offered and used towards Samuel Norrington, Clerk, both in his prayer before sermon and also in the time of service in the parish church of Charmouth by Mary Limbry, wife of Edward Limbry of Charmouth, sailor, and Joan her daughter. Norrington was Rector of Charmouth, 1599 to 1640, when he was sequestered and succeeded by Bartholomew Wesley. It was the wife of Stephen Limbry of Charmouth—a tenant of Captain William Ellesdon of Lyme—who locked up that mariner in his bedroom when he ought to have, according to agreement, transported Charles II to France on 22 September, 1651.

About the date 1635 occurs the petition of Robert Ryves to the King. Understanding that an accusation made against

1. Perhaps the William Stone, clerk to Captain Richard Channing's company, to whom the Treasurer is ordered to pay 40s., on 31 October, 1646, for reduce money ordered him on the reducing of Corfe Castle, which he had not yet received by reason of sickness; and is now (1646) engaged in the service for Ireland. Mayo's "Dorset Standing Committee," 47.

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him by Henry Hastings, Rector of Burton Bradstock (1623-35—Sir Thomas Freke being Patron), has been given in charge to Lord Chief-Justice Finch, he begs that the annexed paper may be sent for his lordship's perusal; wherein the truth of the proceedings is set forth, and that Hastings died long after by the visitation of God, and not of any hurt given him by the petitioner. Ryves states that, being steward to Mr. Freke, he was sent on St. Mark's day to Burton for the dividing of tithe lambs between Mr. Freke and Mr. William Hastings, the parson. He gives details of the quarrel and struggle with Mr. Hastings; and declares that shortly after the latter took a journey of three hundred miles, was at sheep-shearings and rode about the country, and when taken ill confessed to the physicians that his going late in the evening to swim in the sea brought him to a shaking which grew to a fever, of which he died—eleven weeks after the struggle. The prosecution of Ryves has been plotted by Mr. Tregonwell, who is not akin to Hastings, out of a former malice to Ryves. A note, apparently by Tregonwell, states that he cannot but interest himself in the wrong done against the life of the son of Henry Hastings of Dorset, his ally, by Robert Ryves—servant to John Freke the High-Sheriff. As no stone will be left unturned to hide the truth, he begs the cause may be taken into serious consideration and no delay of trial allowed.[1] On Saturday, 19 February, 1642, a petition was delivered to the House of Commons from the Knights, Gentlemen, Ministers, and Freeholders of Dorset against Popish Lords and Prelates. This was "read, reported, and thanks given them for their care and respect of the public good of the Kingdom, and for their expressions of love for the House."[2]

1. Robert Ryves, perhaps of Fifehead Neville, who having been an Officer in the Royal Army was sequestered in 1649. Henry Hastings was fourth son of Henry Hastings of Woodlands; his eldest brother, Sir George, married Alice, daughter of Sir Thomas Freke of Shroton. John Tregonwell's, of Milton, elder son, John, married in 1624 Jane, third daughter of Sir Thomas Freke; his younger son Thomas of Anderson married in 1625 Dorothy, sister of this Rev. Henry Hastings and widow of Sir John Ryves of Damory Court, Sheriff of Dorset.

2. D.N.B., lxi, 60. N. & Q. 10th, S. iv, 47. Roberts' "Social History," 144-6, 343. C.S.P. Dom. Addend. 1625-49, p. 547. "True Diurnall," No. V, 47. Both before the War and after the Restoration Puritanical Dorchester refused to countenance puppet-shows and the like. On 6 October, 1660, William Darrant who came to show "the dauncing of divers creatures on ropes, and dogs" was turned away although armed with a licence purporting to be from General Monck. Another application made in November on behalf of "a puppet-show called Patient Grizell" met with no better success; nor one of 3 months later to show "Crispin and Crispianus." Richard Pavey, of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, London, "coming to shew a motion of the witches of the north," was told "that we have noe waste mony for such idle things."

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The trading and manufacturing classes were generally hostile—in Dorset as elsewhere—to the crown. This was partly on account of commercial grievances, and partly for religious reasons; for Puritanism was strong among the commercial and industrial classes. In 1622, to enquire into the deadness of the clothing trade, Thomas Harbyn, High Sheriff of Dorset, had called the clothiers together who selected John Gardner and Richard Downe to journey to London and present their case. They made two journeys thither, and their expenses were to be paid by the other clothiers; but they never received one penny. Four years later, therefore, they petitioned the Privy Council, who referred the matter to the Magistrates at the Dorset Sessions. These ordered John Gould, senior, Richard Blachford, Dennis Bond, and Joseph Patey—all of Dorchester and clothiers—to make a rate among the clothiers for raising the sum required. Before 1632 the Dorset County Treasurers had been either Knights or Esquires; but the rule was broken through at this epoch and worthies of the cloth-trade elected. Israel Sherley of Blandford Forum, woollendraper, and Josias Cooth of Sherborne, linendraper, were the next year succeeded by John Hill of Dorchester, and Richard Ryves of Shaftesbury, merchants. On 27 March, 1639, John Gardner presents a petition to the King. For eighteen years he had executed the places of Comptroller and Collector of Customs for Poole; and in 1631 informed the Attorney-General of the great frauds perpetrated by John Blachford, Thomas Waltham, James Gould, Thomas Blachford, Thomas Guyer (Geare or Geier) and other merchants of the county who refused to pay customs, and transported their goods at their own pleasure—beating His Majesty's officers. The Attorney-General exhibited an information in the Court of Exchequer, which the petitioner prosecuted at the expense of £2000; and the delinquents were fined £7000—ever since which time they have studied his ruin. John Blachford sued forth a process against him in the Court of Star-Chamber, and procured information of miscarriage in his office to be exhibited in the name of the Attorney-General; making himself, with Waltham and Gould, witnesses in the case together with Henry Hynckley and Robert Wise—upon whose testimony the cause is ready for hearing. Gardner begs reference to the Lord Keeper and the Lord Treasurer, that they, calling the Attorney-General and Farmers of the Customs (who best know how the Petitioner has demeaned himself), may certify the true state of the cause. Sir Abraham Dawes and Sir John Wolstenholme, officers of Customs, certify that Gardner has been faithful and zealous in the

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King's service, and is persecuted more out of malice and revenge than just law.[1] The granting of monopolies by the Crown was another commercial grievance. The increase of the revenue was seldom, if ever, the sole purpose of a grant, but it was generally one of the objects aimed at. In almost all cases this method of raising money was an objectionable one, even apart from the fact that it lay outside the jurisdiction of Parliament. The enrichment of favourites was an even more objectionable motive for the granting of monopolies; and it was undoubtedly this element of the question which roused the greatest hostility to the whole system. The desire to control the materials for war explains the monopolies of gunpowder, saltpetre, and ordnance. The desire to reward inventors, and to encourage the introduction of new industries was the chief motive of many of the grants; and these objects at least were reasonable. For instance, the development of iron works involved a dangerous destruction of woods and forests in the early part of the seventeenth century, since the iron was all smelted with charcoal. Simon Sturtevant undertook to use coal for the smelting, and a patent was granted to him in 1612; but in spite of his monopoly the method was unremunerative. Edward Sutton, fifth Lord Dudley, then tried another method, for which he also obtained a patent (excepted from the Monopolies Act of 1624), and this was fairly successful under the management of his son Dud Dudley. Some patents were given in order to restrict or regulate trades which involved dangers to public morality and order. The most interesting of these was the patent for inns (1617). Under it Sir Giles Mompesson and two others were appointed Commissioners, with authority to give or refuse licences for inns. Most of the money went into the pockets of the Commissioners, and the supervision was merely a means of extortion. Keepers of disorderly houses easily obtained licences; while respectable persons were kept out of the trade unless they would comply with the demands of the Commissioners. Mompesson's fall was chiefly attributable to his corrupt dealings as a Commissioner in the licensing of inns, and in the penalizing of all who engaged in the manufacture of gold and silver thread without special licence. He had threatened all goldsmiths and silkmen that they should "rot in prison" unless they proved submissive. He had been

1. Perhaps the Captain John Gardner, of Bridport division, sequestered for delinquency in 1646. "Mayo's D.S.C." 14, 15, etc. Captain Richard Blachford, Parliamentary officer. Captain James Gould of Dorchester lent £300 for Parliament service in April, 1643 Dennis Bond, M.P., Dorchester, and Committeeman. John Hill, M.P., Dorchester, and Committeeman.

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associated as Clerk of the Council with Sir Albertus Morton, a descendant of the family seated at Mildred St. Andrew. By the Act of 1624 Monopolies were legally abolished, except in the cases of:—(1) new inventions, for which a fourteen years Monopoly right be granted; (2) Charters of trading Companies; (3) certain Municipal privileges; (4) certain specified industries; such as the making of glass and gunpowder. The patents of Elizabeth and James, however oppressive, had not been illegal. Under Charles it was quite different. His patents were less harmful in themselves, but they were plainly unconstitutional ways of raising revenue—more unquestionably so than ship-money, or than tonnage and poundage, raised without the consent of Parliament.

For many reigns Parliament had voted to each King for life, at the beginning of his reign, certain Custom duties known as Tonnage and Poundage. In addition to these James had added in 1608 new impositions to the amount of about £70,000 a year without a Parliamentary grant. In the first Parliament of Charles, the Commons, probably wishing to settle the question of impositions before permanently granting Tonnage and Poundage, had passed a Bill granting the latter for a single year; but that Parliament had been dissolved before the Bill had passed the Lords. The Commons of 1628 in Charles I's third Parliament, after the Petition of Right had been granted and when the Session was drawing to a close, again proposed to grant Tonnage and Poundage for a year only. The King, who had been levying the duties ever since his accession, refused to accept a grant on these terms; and the Commons then asserted that the clause of the Petition of Right forbidding him to levy taxes without a vote of Parliament made his raising of Tonnage and Poundage illegal. It was a nice legal point whether customs were properly called taxes, and Charles replied that he did not think that in demanding the Petition they had meant to ask him to yield his right to Tonnage and Poundage, and that he was sure he had not intended to do so. In 1641 Acts were passed abolishing the Courts of Star-Chamber and the High Commission, declaring ship-money to be illegal, limiting the royal claims on forests, prohibiting fines for not taking up knighthood, and preventing the King from levying Tonnage and Poundage or impositions without a Parliamentary grant.[1]

The yeomen or freeholders, who are estimated to have formed about one-sixth of the population, were largely tinged

1. Roberts' "Social History," 367-8. C.S.P. Addend., 1625-49. "Social England, IV," 191 (J. E. Symes). Gardiner's "England," II, 510.

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with Puritanism, and, for this reason, were more often than not hostile to the royal cause. But as Professor Gardiner says; "there were enough of Puritan nobles and gentlemen, and enough of townsmen and yeomen who were not Puritans, to prevent the religious cleft from accurately coinciding with the social cleft."

The local Members of Parliament, of course, more or less accurately, epitomised the political sympathies of Dorset; and personally, in their turn, re-acted upon their constituencies. The County at this period contained nine Parliamentary Boroughs, viz.—Dorchester, Bridport, Corfe Castle, Lyme Regis, Poole, Shaftesbury, Wareham, Weymouth, and Melcombe Regis. The names of those representing the County and its Boroughs were as follows:—

KNIGHTS OF THE SHIRE OR MEMBERS FOR DORSET.

	JAMES I.		
1.	(1603-4).	Sir Thomas Freke, Kt. of Shroton	John Williams, Esqr., of Herringston (afterwards knighted).
12.	(1614-5).	Sir John Strangways, Kt. of Melbury Sampford and Abbotsbury.	Sir Thomas Freke.
18.	(1620-1).	Ditto.	Sir Thomas Trenchard, Kt. of Wolveton.
21.	(1623-4).	Ditto.	Sir George Horsey, Kt. of Clifton Maubank and Melcombe Horsey
	CHARLES I.		
1.	(1625-6).	Sir Walter Erle, Kt. of Charborough.	Sir Nathaniel Napier, Kt. of More Crichet.
		Sir George Morton, Bt. of Milborne St. Andrew.	Sir Thomas Freke.
3.	(1627-8).	Sir John Strangways.	Sir Walter Erle.
15.	(1639-40).	Richard Rogers, Esqr., of Bryanston.	George, Lord Digby of Sherborne.
16.	(1640-1).	Richard Rogers (excluded and Sir Thomas Trenchard chosen in his room).	George, Lord Digby until June 1641 John Brown, Esqr., of Frampton.
	(1653-4).	William Sydenham, Esqr., of Winford Eagle.	John Bingham, Esqr., of Binghams-Melcombe.
	(1654-5).	Sir Walter Erle.	John FitzJames, Esqr., of Lewesston.
		John Trenchard, Esqr., of Warmwell.	Henry Henley, Esqr., of Colway.
	(1656-7).	William Sydenham.	John FitzJames.
		John Bingham.	Robert Coker, of Mapowder.
		James Dewy of Bloxworth.	John Trenchard.
	(1659-60).	Sir Walter Erle.	John Bingham.
	CHARLES II.		
12.	(1660-61).	John FitzJames.	Robert Coker.

MEMBERS FOR DORCHESTER.

	JAMES I.		
1.	(1603-4).	Matthew Chubbe.	John Spicer, gent.
12.	(1614-5).	Richard Bulstrode.	Francis Ashley.[1]

1. Shaftesbury's great-uncle.

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18.	(1620-1).	Sir Thomas Symonds, Kt., Treasurer of the Household (made his election for Bewdley—in whose room). Sir Francis Ashley, Kt., Sergeant-at-law.	Thomas Parkyns, merchant.
21.	(1623-4).	William Whiteway, senior, merchant.	Richard Bulstrode, merchant.
	CHARLES I.		
1.	(1625-6).	Sir Francis Ashley, Kt., Sergeant-at-law. Richard Bulstrode, merchant	Richard Bulstrode, merchant.
3.	(1627-8).	Denzil Holles, Esqr.	John Hill, merchant.
5.	(1639-40).	Ditto.[1]	Dennis Bond, Esqr., of Lutton and Dorchester.
16.	(1640-1).		
	(1653-4).	None.	
	(1654-5).	John Whiteway, Esqr.	
	(1656-7).	Ditto.	
	(1659-60).	James Gould, Esqr.	John Bulstrode, Alderman.
	CHARLES II.		
12.	(1660-1).	Denzil Holles.	John Whiteway.

MEMBERS FOR BRIDPORT.

	JAMES I.		
1.	(1603-4).	Sir Richard Meller, Kt. of Little Bridy.	John Pitt, gent.
12.	(1614-5).	Sir William Bampfield, Kt. of Poltimore.	? John Browne, Esqr., of Frampton.
18.	(1620-1).	Sir John Strode, Kt. of Parnham, apprentice at law, one of the Masters of the Middle Temple.	John Browne.
21.	(1623-4).	Richard Browne, Esqr., of Godmanston.	William Muschamp, Esqr.
	CHARLES I.		
1.	(1625-6).	Sir Lewis Dyve, Kt. of Bromham, Beds.[2]	Sir John Strode, Kt.
		Ditto.	Sir Richard Strode, Kt. of Newnham.
3.	(1627-8).	Thomas Paulet, Esqr., of Melplash.	Bamfield Chafin,[3] Esqr., of Chettle, a void election.
15.	(1639-40).	Thomas Trenchard (son of Sir Thomas).	Sir John Meller, Kt.
16.	(1640-1).	Giles Strangways, Esqr., (son of Sir John).	
	(1645).	Roger Hill, Esqr.[4]	Thomas Cleye, a recruiter.
	(1653-4).	No writ; and also in 1654-5 and 1656-7.	
	(1659-60).	Edward Cheeke, Esqr., of Gabriel's.	John Lea, senior, a Burgess.
	CHARLES II.		
12.	(1660-17).	John Drake, Esqr.	Henry Henley, Esqr.

1. Feb., 1639, Mayor declared they were resolved to choose townsmen; and were opposed to Court Party and Earl of Suffolk's nominee, Sir Dudley Carleton.

2. In 1626 Dyve gave a silver salt to the Corporation.

3. Besieged by a small detachment of the Parliament Army in his own house at Folke and taken prisoner. Died at Exeter in 1644.

4. Afterwards Judge; resumed his seat on restoration of Long Parliament.

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MEMBERS FOR CORFE CASTLE.

	JAMES I.		
1.	(1603-4).	Sir John Hobart, Kt.	Edward Dackombe, gent. of Corfe Castle.
12.	(1614-5).	Sir Christopher Hatton, Kt. of Kirby, Northants.[1]	Ditto.
		Sir Thomas Tracy, Kt.[2]	Ditto.
18.	(1620-1).	Sir Thomas Hatton, Kt.	Sir Thomas Hammond, Kt.
21.	(1623-4).	Sir Francis Nethersole, Kt.[3]	Sir Peter Osborne, Kt.[4]
	CHARLES I.		
1.	(1625-6).	Sir Peter Osborne.	Sir Francis Nethersole.
1.	(1625-6).	Sir Robert Napier, Kt. ?	Edward Dackombe.
3.	(1627-8).	Sir Francis Nethersole.	Giles Green, Esqr.
15.	(1639-40).	Henry Jermyn, Esqr.[5]	Ditto.
16.	(1640-1).	John Borlace, Esqr., of Co., Bucks.[6]	Sir Francis Windebank, Kt.[7]
		Francis Chettle, a recruiter.	Giles Green (17 December).
	(1653-4-5-6 and 7 none.)		
	(1659-60).	Ralph Bankes of Kingston Lacy.[8]	John Tregonwell of Milton.
	CHARLES II.		
12.	(1660-1).	Ditto.	Ditto.

MEMBERS FOR LYME REGIS.

	JAMES I.		
1.	(1603-4).	Sir George Somers, Kt.[9] In their places, deceased	John Hassard, senior, Gent.[10]
		Sir Francis Russell, Kt.[11]	George Jeffries, Esqr.
12.	(1614-5).	Robert Hassard.	
18.	(1620-1).	John Poulett,[12] Esqr., of Hinton St. George.	Robert Hassard.
21.	(1623-4).	Sir John Drake, Kt. of Ashe.[13]	William Wynne, Esqr.
	CHARLES I.		
1.	(1625-6).	John Drake, Esqr.	Thomas Paramore, gent.
		Sir Walter Erle, Kt.	Ditto.
3.	(1627-8).	Sir Christopher Erle, Kt.[14] ?	Ditto.

1. First cousin once removed, and eventual heir of Lord-Chancellor Hatton.

2. James Whitelocke, M.P., and Recorder of Woodstock and father of Bulstrode was nominated with Dackombe to this Borough by Lady Elizabeth Coke, but yielded up his place when Tracy was chosen.

3. Secretary to the Electress Elizabeth.

4. Governor of Guernsey.

5. Afterwards Earl of St. Albans.

6. Afterwards Sir John Borlace and son-in-law of Sir John Bankes.

7. Windebanke, Secretary of State, returned for Corfe on 22 Oct., but, being accused of many transactions on behalf of the Papists, fled to France on 1 December, 1640.

8. Son of Sir John and Lady Bankes, afterwards knighted.

9. Discoverer of the Bermudas; elected M.P. 25 February, 1604; Mayor in 1605; sailed in June, 1609, as Admiral of the South Virginia Company.

10. Seven times Mayor of Lyme.

11. M.P., 1610-11; afterwards fourth Earl of Bedford, and father of first Duke.

12. Afterwards first Baron Poulett.

13. Maternal grandfather of first Duke of Marlborough.

14. Elder brother of Sir Walter Erle and Recorder.

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15.	(1639-40).	Sir Walter Erle, Kt.	Edmund Prideaux, Esqr.
		(Richard Rose, gent, seems to be a double return; but it was not decided as Parliament sat but a little time).	
16.	(1640-1).	Edmund Prideaux.	Richard Rose.
	(1654-5).	Edmund Prideaux, Attorney-General.	
	(1656-7).	Ditto.	
	(1659-60).	Ditto.	Henry Henley.
	CHARLES II.		
12.	(1660-1).	Walter Young, Esqr.	Thomas Moor, Esqr., of Hawkchurch.
		(The latter vacating for Heytesbury, Wilts, Henry Hyde[1] was elected in his room).	

MEMBERS FOR POOLE.

	JAMES I.		
1.	(1630-4).	Edward Man, gent.	Thomas Robarts, both merchants of Poole.
11.	(1613-4).	Walter Erle, Esqr.	Sir Thomas Walsingham of Scadbury, Kent.
12.	(1614-5).	Sir Walter Erle, Kt.	Edward Man.
18.	(1620-1).	Ditto.	Sir George Horsey, Kt.
21.	(1623-4).	Ditto.	Edward Pitt, Esqr., of Strathfieldsaye.
	CHARLES I.		
1.	(1625-6).	Sir John Cooper, Kt. & Bt.[2]	John Pyne, Esqr., of Curry Mallet, Somerset.[3]
2.	(1626-7).	Christopher Erle, Esqr.	Ditto.
3.	(1627-8).	Sir John Cooper.	Ditto.
15.	(1639-40).	John Pyne.	William Constantine, Esqr., Recorder.
16.	(1640-1).	Ditto.	Ditto.
		(George Skutt, Esqr., in Constantine's room who was displaced).	
	(1653-4).	No return.	
	(1654-5).	Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Kt. and Bt.	
	(1656-7).	Edward Butler.	
	(1659-60).	Colonel John FitzJames	Samuel Bond, Esqr., of Deptford, Kent.
	CHARLES II.		
12.	(1660-1).	Sir Walter Erle.	George Cooper, Esqr.[4]

MEMBERS FOR SHAFTESBURY.

	JAMES I.		
1.	(1603-4).	Robert Hobson, Esqr.	John Boden, gent.[5]
12.	(1614-5).	Sir Miles Sandys, Kt. and Bt. of Wilbeston co. Cambridge—in whose place chosen for Cambridge University—Sir Simeon Stewart, Kt.[6]	

1. Second Earl of Clarendon.?
2. Father of Lord Shaftesbury.
3. Walker, in his History of the Independents, says, "Prideaux, the Postmaster, being King of the West Saxons, his Viceroy or Lord Deputy for the County of Somerset is that cunning Colonel, John Pyne, who, being often inspired with sack, rules the Committee and County by inspirations."
4. Lord Shaftesbury's brother.
5. Almshouse for sixteen women was founded at Shaftesbury in 1611 by Matthew Chubbe, M.P., Dorchester, to which John Boden and his daughter Jane, wife of William Grove, were benefactors.
6. Poet, and kinsman of Oliver Cromwell's mother.

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18.	(1620-1).	Thomas Sheppard and William Baker, or Beecher, Esqr., of London, who were both expelled the House, and in their room were elected—	
		Piercy Herbert.	Ralph Hopton.
21.	(1623-4).	John Thoroughgood (waived for Leominster co. Hereford) and William Whitaker or Whiteacre of Motcombe.	
	CHARLES I.		
1.	(1625-6).	John Thoroughgood.	William Whitaker.
		Samuel Turner, Esqr.[1]	Ditto.
3.	(1637-8).	Sir John Croke, Kt. of Chilton, Berks.[2]	John Thoroughgood.
15.	(1639-40).	William Whitaker, Recorder.	
16.	(1640-1).	Samuel Turner, M.D.	William Whitaker, Recorder.
		John Bingham.	Colonel George Starre.
		Ditto.	John Fry, Esqr., of Iwerne Minster.[3]
	(1653-4, 5, 6, and 7, none.)		
	(1659-60).	Henry Whitaker, of Motcombe.	James Baker, Esqr.
	CHARLES II.		
12.	(1660-1).	Thomas Grove, Esqr., of Ferne, Wilts.	Ditto.

MEMBERS FOR WAREHAM.

	JAMES I.		
1.	(1603-4).	Sir Robert Napier, Kt.[4]	Francis James, LL.D.
12.	(1614-5).	Francis James, LL.D.	? William Pitt, Esqr., of Strathfieldsaye.
18.	(1620-1).	Sir William Pitt, Kt. of Strathfieldsaye.[5]	John Trenchard.
19.	(1621-2).	Ditto.	Ditto.
	CHARLES I.		
1.	(1625-6).	Sir William Pitt, Kt.	John Trenchard.
		Sir Nathaniel Napier, Kt.	Sir Edward Lawrence, Kt. of Creech Grange.
3.	(1627-8).	Sir John Meller, Kt. of Little Bridy.	Gerard Napier, Esqr., afterwards Kt. and Bt.
15.	(1639-40).	John Trenchard.	Gilbert Jones, LL.D.
16.	(1640-1).	Ditto.	Thomas Erle, Esqr., of Charborough.
	(1653-4, 5, 6, and 7, none.)		
	(1659-60).	Elias Bond, Esqr., of Egleston.	James Dewey, Esqr., of Bloxworth.
	CHARLES II.		
12.	(1660-1).	George Pitt, Esqr., of Strathfieldsaye.	Robert Culliford, Esqr., of Encombe.

1. Son of Peter Turner, M.D., who represented Bridport in several of Elizabeth's Parliaments and elder brother of Peter Turner, Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford. Samuel attacked Buckingham; voted against Stafford's attainder; was on 24 Jan., 1644, disabled from sitting in Long Parliament for "being in the King's quarters;" and sat for Shaftesbury in Charles I's Oxford Parliament.

2. Elder brother of Sir Unton Croke.

3. The so-called Regicide; his election for Shaftesbury was declared void.

4. Judge; father of Sir Nathaniel, and grandfather of Sir Gerard.

5. Treasurer of the Navy and Comptroller of the Household; his younger brother, Thomas of Blandford, was ancestor of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

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MEMBERS FOR WEYMOUTH.

	JAMES I.		
1.	(1603-4).	Thomas Barfoot, Mayor.	William Cecil, Lord Cranborne.[1]
		(Sir John Hannam, Kt. of Dean's Court, in his place deceased).	
12.	(1614-5).	Giles Green, Esqr. ?	
18.	(1620-1).	Matthew Pitt, Esqr., of Crickett Malherbe, Somerset.	Giles Green.
21.	(1623-4).	John Freke, Esqr., of Ewern Courtney.	Arthur Pyne, Esqr.
	CHARLES I.		
1.	(1625-6).	Sir John Strangways, Kt.	Sir Thomas Myddelton, Kt., Jun.
		(Of Chirk Castle, who, waiving for Co. Denbigh, was succeeded by)	Giles Green Esqr.
		Sir John Strangways, Kt.	Arthur Pyne.
3.	(1627-8).	Sir Lewis Dyve, Kt.	Hugh Pyne, Esqr.
			Thomas Giar or Geare Alderman.
15.	(1639-40).	Sir John Strangways, Kt.	Ditto.
16.	(1640-1).	Ditto.	Sir Walter Erle, Kt.
		Matthew Allet, gent, a recruiter.	
	(1653-4).	None.	
	(1654-5 and 1656-7).	Dennis Bond of Lutton for Weymouth and Melcombe.	
	(1659-60).	John Trenchard.	Colonel Waldine Ligoe.
	CHARLES II.		
12.	(1660-1).	Edward Montague, eldest son of second Lord Montague, waived for Sandwich when Henry Hyde was elected.	Sir William Penn, Kt., Admiral.

MEMBERS FOR MELCOMBE REGIS.

	JAMES I.		
1.	(1603-4).	John Whyte, Alderman— in whose place excusing himself as unable to attend— Bernard Michel, gent, of Dewlish.	Robert Middleton, merchant.
12.	(1614-5).	John Freke, Esqr. ?	
18.	(1620-1).	John Freke, Esqr.	Christopher Erle, Esqr.
21.	(1623-4).	Sir Thomas Myddelton, Kt., Jun.	Thomas Giar or Geare.
			Henry Waltham, merchant.
	CHARLES I.		
1.	(1625-6).	Bernard Michel, Alderman.	Arthur Pyne.
		Ditto.	Giles Green.
3.	(1627-8).	Sir Robert Wapp, Kt., Jun.	Henry Waltham, Alderman.
15.	(1639-40).	Giles Strangways, Esqr.	Richard King, Esqr.
16.	(1640-1).	Gerard Napier, Esqr., of More Crichel.	Ditto.
		In their room	
		William Sydenham, Esqr., Jun., of Wynford Eagle.	John Bond, LL.D.

1. Afterwards second Earl of Salisbury. "No man so great a tyrant in his country, or was less swayed by any motives of justice or honour. He was a man of no words, except in hunting and hawking, in which he only knew how to behave himself. In matters of state and counsel he always concurred in what was proposed for the King, and cancelled and repaired all those transgressions by concurring in all that was proposed against him as soon as any such propositions were made." Clarendon VI, 403.

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(1654-5 and
1656-7). Dennis Bond, Esqr., by prescript of Oliver Cromwell for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis.
(1659-60). Colonel John Clark. Peter Middleton, merchant.
CHARLES II.
12. (1660-1). Henry Waltham, merchant Ditto.
Samuel Bond, Recorder.[1]

Of the local M.P's 1603-40, Sir Thomas Trenchard of Wolveton was inclined to the popular party; and his brother, John Trenchard of Warmwell, was a thorough-going partizan of Parliament—as befitted the father-in-law of Colonels Bingham and Sydenham, and of John Sadler. Sir Walter Erle of Charborough had early shown his opposition to the Court; and John Pyne, like his friend, Sir Edmund Prideaux, also espoused the popular cause. John Poulett of Hinton St. George, Somerset—who was raised to the peerage in 1627—being of Puritan ancestry, was regarded as a 'popular' man; but on the outbreak of the war he took the King's side and soon became more cavalier than the Cavaliers. John Browne of Frampton was always very active and zealous for Parliament: his first cousin, Robert Browne of Godmanston, was of the same party; although not so prominent a member of it. But the most important of the local M.P.'s of this period was undoubtedly Denzil Holles. He represented Dorchester in the Parliament of 1628—having married two years earlier Dorothy, only daughter and heiress of Sir Francis Ashley, Shaftesbury's rapacious great-uncle. Brother-in-law of Wentworth and friend of Eliot, Holles was a determined opponent of Buckingham. On 2 March, 1629, when, contrary to the will of the House, the Speaker pleaded the royal order to adjourn the Commons and sought to leave the chair, Holles and another member kept him in it by force. "God's wounds!" swore Holles, "you shall sit until we please to rise." At the end of the sitting it was Holles who recited and put to the House Eliot's three resolutions against innovation in religion and arbitrary taxation. Two days later he was arrested and committed to the Tower. He, with five other prisoners, applied to the Court of King's Bench for a writ of Habeas Corpus; but the Judges refused to allow bail except on condition of giving a bond for good behaviour. An information had been exhibited against them in Star-Chamber; but this was dropped, and they were finally proceeded against in the King's Bench. Refusing to acknowledge

1. On 16 December, 1653, the "Instrument of Government" fixed the representation of Dorset in Parliament as follows:—
For County 10 members in all, viz., Dorchester, 1; Weymouth and Melcombe, 1; Lyme, 1; Poole, 1; and Dorset, 6.

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the jurisdiction of that Court with respect to matters transacted in Parliament, Holles was treated as acknowledging his fault, and sentenced on 2 February, 1630, to be fined 1000 marks. He was in addition to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure, and not to be released except upon giving security for good behaviour and confessing his offence. To avoid this, he writes: "I made an escape, and lived a banished man for the space of 7 or 8 years, and then at last was glad to pay my fine. I can with confidence say that my imprisonment and my suits cost me £3,000; and that I am £10,000 the worse in my estate upon that occasion." The Long Parliament treated the prosecution as a breach of privilege; and Holles was voted £5,000 in compensation for his losses and sufferings—the 1000 marks he had paid into the Exchequer for his fine being repaid to him.

On 5 March, 1642, during the contest concerning the Militia which preluded the war, the Houses ordered that "all the Lords Lieutenants of any counties in England who had been formerly so constituted by the King by his commissions under the Great Seal of England should immediately bring in those commissions, to be cancelled as illegal: albeit," adds Clarendon, "some such commissions had been granted upon their own desire since the beginning of the Parliament, as particularly to the Earl of Essex to be Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire, and to the Earl of Salisbury for Dorsetshire." Salisbury had been voted by the Commons Lord Lieutenant on Friday, 11 February, 1642. He was superseded by Sir John Bankes for the King, and eventually by Denzil Holles for Parliament.[1]

In 1642 the local members were divided between the two contending parties as follows. In the Short Parliament the the Knights of the Shire were Richard Rogers of Bryanston; and George, Lord Digby. The latter on 9 November, moved for a select Committee to draw up a remonstrance to Charles on "the deplorable state of this, his Kingdom;" and on the 11th was appointed a member of the Committee entrusted to undertake the impeachment of Strafford. But by 21 April, 1641, Digby, who had changed his tactics, vigorously opposed the third reading of the Attainder Bill. His speech on this occasion having been printed, was ordered to be publicly burned by the common hangman; but Digby subsequently

1. Clarendon's "Rebellion," IV, § 329. "True Diurnall," no. 5, pp. 39, 47. The Royal Proclamation to the Inhabitants of Dorset, given at Oatlands, 16 Nov., 1642, pardons those who had previously contributed to the army in rebellion with the exception of Denzil Holles and Sir Walter Erle.

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affirmed that his half-brother, Sir Lewis Dyve, had given directions for printing the peccant speech without asking his consent. On 9 June, 1641, he was called up to the House of Lords as Baron Digby; and John Browne of Frampton, the Puritan, sat for Dorset in his stead. Rogers, being disabled from sitting for his loyalty, gave place to Sir Thomas Trenchard, who was more acceptable to the popular party. Dorchester, the county town, was represented in both Parliaments by two Puritans—Denzil Holles and Dennis Bond. The fact that his sister had been Strafford's second wife led Holles to speak on behalf of the Earl's children, and to endeavour to negotiate an arrangement by which the royal consent to the abolition of episcopacy should be accepted as the ransom of Strafford's life. Holles was one of the tellers for the second reading of the Root-and-Branch Bill; spoke often against the Bishops; and was chosen to carry up to the Lords both the impeachment of Land and the Protestation. On 6 July, 1641, he made a great speech on the conduct of the Judges, urging the restoration of Sir Randulph Crew to the Chief Justiceship. He was the mouthpiece of the Commons when they announced their resolution to support the cause of the Elector Palatine, and represented them also in the disputes with the Lords about the Protestation and the King's journey to Scotland. He spoke on behalf of the Grand Remonstrance; uncompromisingly supported the proposed declaration against the toleration of the Catholics, when the Irish Rebellion broke out; and, on the Lords opposing the Impressment Bill, was charged to represent to them their responsibility for the blood and misery which might ensue. On 27 December, 1641, he pressed for the impeachment of Lords Digby and Bristol. Impeached himself by the King on Digby's advice on 3 January, 1642, he took refuge in the City with the rest of the accused Members—Pym, Hampden, Hesilrige and Strode—and returned like them in triumph to Westminster on the 11th. To overcome the reluctance of the Lords to join the Commons in the control of the Militia, Holles, in an impassioned speech, presented to them a petition purporting to come from many thousands of unemployed artizans in and near London. He was eager for the punishment of the Duke of Richmond; demanded the impeachment of the nine Royalist peers who had refused to obey the summons of Parliament; and himself conducted the charge against them. When actual war began he was appointed Lieutenant of Bristol; was nominated a member of the Committee of Safety (4 July); and undertook to raise a regiment of Foot for Parliament. Under Bedford, Holles took part in

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the operations against Hertford at Sherborne, and defended Bedford against the attacks made on his generalship. At Edgehill he and his regiment distinguished themselves, and at Brentford they bore the brunt of the fighting. But during the winter of 1642-3 it was as an advocate of peace that Holles was most prominent. He had from the beginning of the quarrel protested that he desired "more than his own life" a good understanding between King and Parliament. Holles was a parliamentary representative at the negotiations of 1644, 1645 (Uxbridge) and 1648 (Newport); headed the Presbyterians against the Independents and projected in 1644 the impeachment of Cromwell; was charged with intrigues with Charles in 1645 and 1647; was impeached by the army among the eleven Members in 1647; was disabled from sitting but restored in 1648; escaped to France under threat of impeachment; but was re-admitted by Monck and appointed to the Council of State in 1660. His colleague at Dorchester, Dennis Bond, carried on the business of a woollen draper there, and was Mayor of the town in 1635. When Falkland and Hyde declined serving on a Committee "to draw up reasons" in support of the petition, deprecating the King's new appointments to the episcopal bench, Clarendon observes, "there was a gentleman who sat by, Mr. Bond of Dorchester, very severe and resolved against the Church and the Court, who with much passion and trouble of mind said to them, 'For God's sake be of the Committee; you know none of our side can give reasons!'" Bond was one of the Commissioners to try Charles I, Member of the Council of State 1649-53; President of the Council 1652-3; Member of the Council's Committee for Trade 1655; and M.P. for Weymouth and Melcombe in 1654 and 1656. He died on 30 August, 1658, "the windiest day for twenty years;" and a humorous opponent suggested that the Devil had taken Bond for Oliver's appearance—Cromwell dying four days later. Bond was buried in Westminster Abbey, but his body was exhumed in September, 1661.[1]

For Bridport, Thomas Trenchard the younger and the Royalist Sir John Meller sat in the Short Parliament. In the Long, Giles Strangways represented the Borough; but, on 25 August, 1645, having served the King as a Colonel of Horse, he was fined £10,000 for the service of the Navy; disabled as Member for Bridport; and imprisoned for two-

1. Nathaniel Bond, his son by his second marriage, M.P. Corfe Castle, 1680, and Dorchester, 1681 and 1695; bought the Lutton estate from his two elder brothers in 1660, and in 1686 from John Lawrence the reversion of the adjoining estate of Creech Grange—which fell into possession in 1691.

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and-a-half years in the White Tower. He was succeeded as Member by Roger Hill, who was named in the Commission of Judges to try Charles I but did not act; was appointed a Judge; resumed his seat on the restoration of the Long Parliament; and died in 1667. The other Member was Thomas Cleye, a recruiter. In April, 1640, Henry Jermyn, the Royalist, afterwards Earl of St. Albans, and Giles Green sat for Corfe Castle. The latter was returned again on 17 December, on the flight of Sir Francis Windebanke to France. The senior Member for Corfe was Sir John Borlace, son-in-law of Sir John Bankes and Master of the Ordnance and Lord Justice in Ireland. For attending the Oxford Parliament of 1644, he was declared to have forfeited his seat at Westminster, and was succeeded by Francis Chettle of Blandford St. Mary, Committee Man. For Lyme Regis Sir Walter Erle and Edmond Prideaux sat in April, 1640. Richard Rose seems to have been a double return, but it was not decided. Rose, however, was returned as Junior Member for the Borough with Prideaux to the Long Parliament. He was closely related to the Lyme families of Henley and Ellesdon; and appears to have been a useful representative for his puritanical constituency. Edmond Prideaux, who was made a Baronet in 1658 for "his voluntary offer for the maintaining of thirty foot-soldiers in His Highness's army in Ireland," held his seat until his death in 1659. He subscribed, in 1642, £100 for the defence of Parliament. For three years, from 10 November, 1643, he was one of the Commissioners in charge of the Great Seal of Parliament—an office worth £1500 a year. He was one of the Commissioners appointed to negotiate at Uxbridge in January, 1645. On 12 October, 1648, he was appointed Solicitor General. This office he resigned when the King's trial became imminent; John Cook succeeding him as Solicitor. On 9 April, 1649, Prideaux was appointed Attorney-General, and remained in that office for the rest of his life. He made important reforms in the postal service, with which he was connected for many years. Prideaux's friend, John Pyne, and William Constantine of Merly, the Recorder, were returned for Poole to both the Short and Long Parliament. But in 1643 Constantine was disabled from sitting, and sequestered for designing to betray Poole to the King. He was succeeded at Poole by George Skutt, Committee Man, whose politics were above suspicion. In the Long Parliament Shaftesbury was represented by the Royalist, Samuel Turner, M.D., and the Puritan, William Whitaker or Whitacre, Recorder, who had represented the Borough in the previous Parliament. On the outbreak of war Turner

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took up arms for the King, and obtained a Captain's commission. About the end of 1643 he defeated the Parliamentarians in a skirmish at Henley. On 24 January, 1644, he was disabled from sitting for "being in the King's quarters and adhering to that party;" and was succeeded by John Bingham of Bingham's Melcombe. Of him Lord Shaftesbury says: "Colonel Bingham was of a very noble and ancient family, that had been possessed and left their names to many towns in this county and Somerset; he had now a good estate, and was a very honest good man and a Puritan." He was Colonel of a regiment, and governor of Poole. Castle Cornet, the fort of St. Pierre-le-Port in Guernsey, capitulated to him on 19 December, 1651; and he remained Governor of Guernsey until 1660. He much impaired the family estate by mortgages, etc., to the great detriment of his successors. In October, 1640, John Fry, the theological writer and so-called Regicide, was elected for Shaftesbury, but his election was declared void. William Whitaker, the Junior Member, dying in 1646, was succeeded by Colonel George Starre. Wareham was represented by John Trenchard of Warmwell in both Parliaments; but the Junior Member in the Short, Gilbert Jones, LL.D., was replaced in the Long by Thomas Erle, Sir Walter's son. Sir John Strangways and Thomas Geare, or Giar, sat for Weymouth in the Short Parliament. Sir John was again returned for the Borough to the Long Parliament in company with Sir Walter Erle. Before the war Strangways had been opposed to the Court; in 1626-7, he was confined to the county of Bedford, for not complying with a loan; was discharged in 1627; and in 1628 was zealous for the remonstrance of grievances. But, disliking the violent prosecution of Lord Strafford, he was one of those gentlemen who were posted up as "Straffordians," or enemies to their country. He was a Member of the Oxford Parliament in 1644; and was inserted in the black list of those who were not to be pardoned. In 1645 he was taken prisoner in Sherborne Castle; and on 29 November committed to the Tower. On 9 and 17 March, 1645, Sir John and his son Giles Strangways were admitted to compound, and the fine accepted; one moiety to be paid in hand, and the other in two months; Sir John to be released on the first payment, and Giles on the second. Sir John alleged he was unable to pay the whole sum but offered £7000, which was refused, and was remanded to the Tower. On 19 April, 1648, he was disabled as Member for Weymouth—Matthew Allet, a recruiter, succeeding him—and, on submitting to the fine, was to be discharged; but Giles was to continue a hostage within twenty

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miles of London until the second payment was made. On 22 June their sequestration was taken off. In 1649, the second payment of the fine was extended to 14 October. In 1660, he, with his son and grandson, were Members of the Convention Parliament.[1] Giles Strangways and Richard King sat for Melcombe Regis in the Short Parliament. King was returned again to the Long Parliament; but with Gerard Napier as Senior Member. In April, 1640, Napier, as deputy-lieutenant of Dorset, was employed with his colleague, Sir George Hastings, in pressing men for the King's service, but was not considered energetic enough by the Lord-lieutenant, Theophilus Howard, second Earl of Suffolk, who reported his remissness to Charles. He was accordingly ordered to be examined by the Attorney-General and afterwards to be brought up before the Lords. In June, 1641, having made his peace at Court, he was created a Knight and Baronet. The House of Commons, having ineffectually summoned him to attend in July and again in October, 1642, ordered that he be sent for as a delinquent on 12 November. On 5 January, 1643, Napier was required to lend £500 "for the service of Parliament;" but, as he did not comply, directions were given to apprehend him on 10 April. At length he sent a letter expressing his readiness to make a contribution; whereupon the Commons, on 26 May, voted that his attendance in the House be dispensed with, to the end that he might further their interests in the country. On 3 August, as a Commissioner from Charles, he urged the Mayor and Corporation of Dorchester to surrender the town. The House retaliated on 22 January, 1644, by voting him incapable of sitting 'during this Parliament.' Napier and King were succeeded as Members for Melcombe by William Sydenham, afterwards Governor of Weymouth and Melcombe, and John Bond. The last was Recorder of Weymouth and Melcombe in 1645, and subsequently a recruiter in that district for the Long Parliament. He is probably identical with John Bond, LL.D., son of Dennis Bond, who was Master of the Savoy; Master of Trinity Hall in 1646; Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge in 1658; and Professor of Law at Gresham College, London, in 1649.

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Bt.; the future Earl of Shaftesbury, after his marriage in 1639 with Margaret, daughter of the Lord Keeper Thomas Coventry, lived—before the outbreak of the war—partly with his father-in-law in London,

1. There is a portrait of Sir John Strangways at Wadham College, dated 1663, aet., 76. He was co-heir of the Founder and donor of the glass in the east window of the Chapel.

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and partly at Wimborne St. Giles, his own home in Dorset. Conscious of great intellectual gifts and endowed with ample material possessions, Cooper viewed the pretensions of others with impatience. Subtile, caustic, and epigrammatical, without either diffidence or reverence, a born intriguer, though one of consummate ability, he has bequeathed us portraits in little of his country neighbours in his fragment of autobiography. Once a week there generally met together at Handley bowling-green divers country gentlemen of eastern Dorset. Thither resorted the Honble. Henry Hastings of Woodlands, Sir Gerard Napier, Richard Rogers of Bryanston, Sir Walter Uvedale of Horton, Mr. Maurice (?) Carent of Woodgates, William Okeden of More Crichel, Henry Butler of Handley, father and son, Edward Hooper of Boveridge, George Ryves of Ranston, Mr. Holles, Thomas Chafin of Chettle, Edmond Hussey of Edmondsham, Mr. Ernley of Chalbury, Alexander Arney of Uddens, Sir George Morton, Bt., of Milborne St. Andrew, Cooper himself, and several others. "Here," says Cooper, "I omitted no opportunity, and it was often given, to show Mr. Rogers where his coach and six horses did not a little contribute to their envy. His garb, his discourse, all spoke him one that thought himself above them, which when observed to them they easily agreed to. My family, alliance, fortune being not prejudiced either by nature or education, gave me the juster grounds to take exceptions; besides my affable, easy temper, now with care improved, rendered the stiffness of his demeanour more visible." Among the marriages originally proposed for Cooper had been one with Dorothy Bannister, half-sister to Rogers whom he there describes as "a proper handsome man, and indeed a very worthy noble gentleman, and one that thought so well of himself as gave him a value with others. The Earls of Hertford had married into his family, which filled his sails with no small vanity." The lady eventually married Lord Maynard, and inherited a large fortune. Cooper declares elsewhere that Rogers's ambition and ill-will to him personally gave him "the alarm to provide against him and to prosecute my design to make him to be understood by his greatest and most potent neighbours, Sir John Strangways, Sir Gerard Napier, and Sir John Hele, that all justly thought themselves at least his equals, and were easily brought to apprehend him as one who expected to command us all, and valued himself to the Court as already doing so."

Cooper's incomparable "study" of Henry Hastings, although well-known, must be given in full. "Mr. Hastings, being the son, brother, and uncle to the Earls of Huntingdon, and

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his way of living, had the first place amongst us. He was peradventure an original in our age, or rather the copy of our nobility in ancient days in hunting and not warlike times; he was low, very strong and very active, of a reddish flaxen hair, his clothes always green cloth, and never all worth when new five pounds. His house was perfectly of the old fashion, in the midst of a large park well stocked with deer, and near the house rabbits to serve his kitchen, many fish-ponds, and great store of wood and timber; a bowling-green in it, long but narrow, full of high ridges, it being never levelled since it was ploughed; they used round sand bowls; and it had a banqueting-house like a stand, a large one built in a tree. He kept all manner of sport-hounds that ran buck, fox, hare, otter, and badger, and hawks long and short winged;[1] he had all sorts of nets for fishing; he had a walk in the New Forest and the Manor of Christchurch. This last supplied him with red deer, sea and river fish; and indeed all his neighbours' grounds and royalties were free to him, who bestowed all his time in such sports, but what he borrowed to caress his neighbours' wives and daughters, there being not a woman in all his walks of the degree of a yeoman's wife or under, and under the age of forty, but it was extremely her fault if he were not intimately acquainted with her. This made him very popular, always speaking kindly to the husband, brother or father, who was to boot very welcome to his house whenever he came. There he found beef pudding and small beer in great plenty, a house not so neatly kept as to shame him, or his dirty shoes, the great hall strewed with marrow bones, full of hawks' perches, hounds, spaniels, and terriers, the upper sides of the hall hung with the foxskins of this and the last year's skinning, here and there a polecat intermixed, guns and keepers' and huntsmen's poles in abundance. The parlour was a large long room as properly furnished; on a great hearth paved with brick lay some terriers and the choicest hounds and spaniels; seldom but two of the great chairs and litters of young cats in them, which were not to be disturbed, he having always three or four attending him at dinner, and a little white round stick of fourteen inches long lying by his trencher, that he might defend such meat as he had no mind to part with to them. The windows, which were very large, served for places to lay his arrows, cross bows, stone-bows, and other such like accoutrements; the corners of the room full of the best chose hunting and hawking poles; an oyster-table at the lower end, which was of constant use all the year round, for he never

1. *Viz.*, falcons, and goshawks or estridges.

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failed to eat oysters before dinner and supper, through all seasons: the neighbouring town of Poole supplied him with them. The upper part of this room had two small tables and a desk, on the one side of which was a Church Bible, on the other the Book of Martyrs; on the tables were hawks' hoods, bells, and such like, two or three old green hats with their crowns thrust in so as to hold ten or a dozen eggs, which were of a pheasant kind of poultry he took much care of and fed himself; tables, dice, cards, and boxes were not wanting. In the hole of the desk were stores of tobacco-pipes that had been used. On one side of this end of the room was the door of a closet, wherein stood the strong beer and the wine, which never came thence but in single glasses, that being the rule of the house exactly observed, for he never exceeded in drink or permitted it. On the other side was a door into an old chapel not used for devotion; the pulpit, as the safest place, was never wanting of a cold chine of beef, pasty of venison, gammon of bacon, or great apple-pie, with thick crust extremely baked. His table cost him not much, though it was very good to eat at, his sports supplying all but beef and mutton, except Friday, when he had the best sea-fish as well as other fish he could get, and was the day that his neighbours of best quality most visited him. He never wanted a London pudding, and always sung it in with "my part lies therein-a."[1] He drank a glass of wine or two at meals, very often syrup of gilliflower in his sack, and had always a tun glass without feet stood by him holding a pint of small beer, which he often stirred with a great sprig of rosemary. He was well natured, but soon angry, called his servants bastard and cuckoldy knaves, in one of which he often spoke truth to his own knowledge, and sometimes in both, though of the same man. He lived to a hundred, never lost his eyesight, but always writ and read without spectacles, and got to horse without help. Until past fourscore he rode to the death of a stag as well as any."

Sir George Morton, of whose family came Cardinal John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, had much impoverished his fine estate; "he was of the shape and temper of his family, large, strong, stout, generous and plain-hearted."

1. This is part of an old catch:—

"There lies a pudding in the fire,
And my part lies therein-a.
When shall I call in, O!
Thy good fellows and mine-a!"

"Notes and Queries," 2. S. VII, 323.

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Morton's unfortunate engagements for Sir George Horsey, and loyalty to the King, subsequently drove him to great distresses. In 1645 part of his estate that was not in the hands of his creditors was sequestered; viz., his old rents in Milborne Churcheston, value £5 10s. 0d., and the farm, demesne, and impropriation of Milborne St. Andrew, and demesnes of Clenston, value of £560. At length he was admitted to compound, paid £600 for delinquency, and in 1653 was discharged from sequestration. Sir William Uvedale was of good family and fortune, and would have had considerable influence in his country, "had not those things which were good in him been drowned in his excessive covetousness. He had got together and hid in his house many thousand pounds, which were afterwards stolen from him by some that got intelligence of it." He is perhaps the Sir William Udall or Uvedale who was sent by the King with the Earls of Southampton and Dorset, and Sir John Culpeper, from Nottingham to Parliament with a message proposing a treaty on 25 August, 1642.

Mr. Carent was "of a very ancient family, a lean, tall old man, very worthy and honest." Mr. Hooper was "a judicious, discreet country gentleman, of a good estate."

Thomas Chafin was "a personable, well-carriaged man of a good estate, wanted neither understanding nor value for himself, was an enemy to the Puritan party." He ultimately compounded, and paid in 1646 for levying money for the King's forces, £900. At the end of 1645 he was "a prisoner of the Governor of Poole and very sick."

Among men of power and position, living in the eastern part of the county, who came not to the Handley meeting, were Sir Walter Erle and Thomas Hanman of Wimborne, "both worthy and honest gentlemen, lovers of their country, and no admirers of Mr. Rogers his way." Thomas Erle, Sir Walter's son, was, says Cooper, "of the same age with me, and there being the nearest friendship betwixt us as was imaginable in our years, which increased as we grew older and never to expire but in both our deaths." Other eastern men were the Puritan Colonel Bingham, John Tregonwell of Milton, Thomas Tregonwell of Anderson, and Sir Francis Fulford of Toller Fratrum, who "was of a very ancient and noble family in Devonshire, but had an estate and lived most in our country." Fulford afterwards fought for the King, was sequestered, and compounded. At the beginning of 1651 he was assessed at £400.

The western side, according to Cooper, afforded several men of quality, including the Earl of Bristol at Sherborne

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and his son, the Lord Digby, Sir John Strangways of Abbotsbury, Sir John Hele of Clifton, Sir Thomas Trenchard of Wolveton, William Coker of Mapowder, and Angel or Anchitell Grey of Kingston Maurward. Lord Bristol was "retired from all business, and lived privately to himself;" but his son, George, Lord Digby, "a very handsome young man, of great courage and learning, and of a quick wit, began to show himself to the world and gave great expectations of himself, he being justly admired of all and only gave himself disadvantage with a pedantic stiffness and affectation he had contracted." Sir John Strangways and Sir Thomas Trenchard are described as of noble family and good estate: the former, "a wise, crafty, experienced man, but extremely narrow in expenses, a great enemy of the Puritans;" the latter, "a very honest, well-natured, worthy man, a favourer of the Puritans." Sir John Hele was a convinced Royalist. William Coker is described as "a most worthy discreet gentleman, very knowing in the Justice, government, and affairs of the country." Coker had a commission, 20 Car. I, from Lord Hopton to be Colonel of a regiment of Foot, to be raised by him. He compounded for £280 for being a commissioner to levy contributions for the King's forces. His eldest son, Robert, was Sheriff of Dorset in 1647, a Colonel in the Parliamentary army and Governor of Weymouth. Angel Grey "wanted neither discretion nor cunning, no friend to the Puritan, and by consequence not in love with his neighbours of Dorchester who were totally devoted that way, being managed by their parson, Mr. White—one of the wisest and subtlest of that sort of men." Clarendon mentions Angel Grey as a Commissioner for Dorset with Sir John Strangways and George Ryves when attending on the Prince of Wales at Bridgwater on 23 April, 1645. Grey's first wife was Katherine, daughter of Sir John Stawel; and in 1645 his farm of Kingston, valued in 1641 at £350, was sequestered. He compounded for his whole estate for £918.[1]

Bingham's Melcombe—the seat of Colonel John Bingham lying eleven miles from the nearest market-town, Dorchester, Blandford, or Sturminster Newton—was the headquarters of the Parliamentary forces in Dorset as Corfe Castle, the property of Sir John Bankes, was of the Royalists. Closely associated with Bingham was William Sydenham—eventually Colonel, Governor of Weymouth and Melcombe, Councillor and Commissioner of the Treasury under Cromwell. On

1. Christie I, Appendix I. C.C.C.

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5 July, 1643, his father, William Sydenham, the elder, of Wynford Eagle, and he made a covenant to the effect that William the younger being bound to his father for the payment of £559; William the elder acknowledges having received from his son in part payment £50 heretofore and £40. The son also supplies 130 sheep, 116 lambs, 5 rothers, 8 steers and heifers in lieu of £100; oats growing on 60 acres of ground belonging to him at Wynford Eagle, which he has sold and pays £100 more. He will contribute another £100, and pay one year's rent for the land. On 10 August, 1644, in the presence of William Derby, John Hardy, and Joseph Derby, the debt is finally settled. On Wednesday, 3 December, 1651, it was ordered by Parliament that: "Colonel Sydenham's accompt amounting to £2578 6s. 0d. as certified by Parliament and the Committee of Dorset, the Commissioners of the Army shall issue Debentures to Colonel Sydenham for the same according to the Ordinance of Parliament of 24 December, 1647, and the Trustees for the sale of royal property (estates belonging to the late King, the Queen, or Prince) shall allow for the said Debentures to be made out." Sydenham sat for Dorset in the Parliaments of 1654 and 1656; and in December, 1657, was summoned to Cromwell's House of Lords. He died in July, 1661. His son William, Esquire of the Body to William III, ended his days in Dorchester Gaol; for having put up his estate of Wynford Eagle at a private lottery, and then refusing to make a formal surrender of the same to the vendee.[1]

The following petition relating to the Parnham estate near Beaminster throws some light upon the confusions and local politics of the period. "Sir Robert Strode, Kt. of Parnham, upon the payment of £2000, had settled his lands in Dorset, Devon, and Somerset, in the event of his own death without male heirs, and that of his wife, Mary (daughter of Thomas Luttrell of Dunster Castle) upon their daughter Katherine[2] and her husband, Sir Richard Strode, Kt. of Newnham, Devon. But Sir Richard, finding that Sir Robert had an intent to deceive his own children of their said estates, passed his remainder to the Crown to help prevent fraud; yet, nevertheless, shortly afterwards (1609-10) Sir Robert passed his pretended remainder to his younger brother, Sir John Strode, Kt., a lawyer, by a fraudulent deed contrary to his first deeds and his bond of £2000. Wherefore the said bond was put in suit, but stayed, and made to be delivered up in Chancery

1. Add. MS. 29319 ff., 2, 97. Hutchins, II, 706.
2. She died 1608-9.

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without Sir Richard's consent; and thereupon it was decreed, by consent of Sir Robert, that the said lands should be reassured to Sir Richard as they were at first leaving Parnham only for jointure to Sir Robert's second wife, Margaret, daughter of Edmund Wyndham, who died during the late wars. Sir John Strode also died in 1642, but before his death refused to reassure the said lands accordingly; although there was a decree under seal, made 1617-8, for confirmation of the former decree of 1612-3, to the latter of which he was a party though not to the first. Yet, notwithstanding, Lord Coventry delayed and denied to Sir Richard his benefit of ordinary proceedings in Chancery for due execution of the said decrees, and countenanced Sir John's fraudulent decree in Court. Thereupon Sir Richard, by his bill in Star-Chamber, complained against the fraudulent deed and others of Sir John's foul misdemeanours and perjury concerning the same, to which Sir John pleaded a Pope's pardon—*viz.*, for his perjury committed ten years after the pardon; but Lord Coventry, in the court also by his unjust proceedings, protected Sir John from punishment and delayed Sir Richard from a due hearing for his relief. For all which Sir Richard complained four times in person to the late King, the last time in the Isle of Wight; but the malice of the Duke of Buckingham, with the corruption of Lords Finch and Coventry combining, kept the King from doing justice and Sir Richard Strode out of his possession in the said lands at Parnham by a Chancery injunction contrary to two decrees and several judgments in the same court—where this cause hath depended since 1598. Sir Richard complained by his bill at the beginning of this happy Parliament (the Long, 3 Nov., 1640, to 20 April, 1653), which after having been twice read and committed to all the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall, the said Committee sent a warrant for Sir John to bring before them the fraudulent deed and counterfeit decree complained of, but he chose rather to die than to give obedience thereunto. Moreover, his wife being a Wyndham[1] had the power of that side in time of war unjustly to keep possession of the lands at Parnham until the end of the first war, when this Lord General, then Lieutenant General, had totally routed the enemy in the West; and near that day one of his soldiers with his sword casually killed Lady Strode in that same place, Parnham, which she so unlawfully kept against Sir Richard by colour of the said fraudulent deed for her son, who about the same time also fled into another place

1. Anne, eldest daughter of Sir John Wyndham of Orchard, Kt.

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and was taken prisoner by Parliament for his malignancy.[1] All which, notwithstanding the said Sir John's son, still keeps possession contrary to the rules of law and equity. And although of late Sir Richard got an order from three or four Commissioners of the broad Seal for an injunction to have possession of the lands at Parnham which Mr. Prideaux opposed, yet Sir John's son still keeps possession thereof contrary to the laws and judgments of God and Man. . . ." "And because the late King went from his Parliament and took up arms against them before Richard Strode could get his cause and bill to be returned from the Committee and passed, and the said Sir J—— S—— died also in the interim, therefore the said Richard Strode hath preferred his petition humbly desiring the Parliament that the possession of the said Manor and lands of Parnham so taken in and by the wars from the right heir and true purchasers (who are also both active in the wars and very advantageous for the State therein) may be restored to the said R—— S—— until by legal proceedings he may or can be thence evicted by the common laws of England."

Sir Richard Strode of Newnham was unsuccessful in his prolonged endeavour to add Parnham to his other possessions; but the Strodes of Parnham were supposed to pay him and his three daughters £3,333 by way of compensation. His younger brother[2] the celebrated politician, William Strode, was one of the five Members whom Charles sought to arrest.

The Petition of the Knights, Gentlemen, Ministers, Freeholders, etc., of Dorset to the House of Commons of 21 February, 1642, "observes with grief by the late Remonstrance that by reason of the obstructions of your proceedings in the House of Peers by Popish Lords and Prelates your godly endeavours want their desired effect." The Petitioners further state that—

(1) Distractions and fears increase among us more and more;

(2) The Kingdom is not yet put into such a posture of defence as these dangerous times require;

1. Sir John Strode the younger, styled of Chantmarle, 1624-79, compounded and paid £1470 for assisting the King's forces, 10 February, 1644, being then a prisoner at Taunton. He was ordered up in safe custody; but, 3 March, was left to be disposed of by the County Committee, and his farm at Parnham, valued £200 per annum in 1641, sequestered in 1645. He married Anne, second daughter of Sir Thomas Brown, Bt., of Walcote, Northampton, and widow of John, second Lord Poulett. Their grandson, Sir John Oglander, Bt., of Nunwell, Isle of Wight. succeeded to the Parnham estate in 1764.

2. Strode. Som. and Dor. N. & Q. viii, pp. 244-248. In 1652 Sir Richard, then an inmate of Fleet Prison, petitions Cromwell for release.

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(3) The Rebels in Ireland prevail to the extreme hazard of the Kingdom for want of speedy supplies;

(4) The very priveleges of Parliament—our dear and undoubted right—have been very much impeached; and besides your Petitioners conceive themselves above others in other Counties especially endangered:

(*a*) By fear of foreign invasion which we ground upon continued rumours and upon the situation of this County in a sort inviting—it being Champion, and bordering on the sea;

(*b*) By the now more than usual flocking together and posting up and down of Papists, especially by night, together with their contemptuous and insolent carriage;

(*c*) By the dangerous consequences that may result from the present decay of the trade of clothing—the main support of the poor of these parts;

(*d*) By being left wholly destitute of means of preventing these evils—for since the late removal of the last lieutenant we have no Captains appointed over our Trained Bands.

We beg that these evils may be redressed and that more Arms, in supply of those many that were taken away and lost in the Northern Expedition, may be sent.[1]

1. Broadside in Mr. A. M. Broadley's Dorset Collection.

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CHAPTER II.

From the taking up of arms to Edgehill, 23 October, 1642.

ON 23 April, St. George's Day, Sir John Hotham shut the gates of Kingston-upon-Hull in the King's face, and civil war became inevitable. On Thursday, 21 July, 1642, an ordinance was made for Poole, Bury, Boston, and for all other towns corporate that desired it, to train and exercise in a peaceable manner and to preserve their magazines for King and Parliament. The next day came information of great stirring in Somerset to raise horses with all speed under the command of Lord Poulett, to the great terror of the inhabitants; and that Sir Ralph Hopton was expected within two days. It was further stated that the Horse raised in Dorset by Captain John Digby, Lord Digby's brother, were intended to be employed in the surprising of Poole. Thereupon both Houses ordered that officers, and certain quantities of arms, should be presently sent into those counties to train and exercise the soldiers and keep the peace. They also ordered that Sir John Strangways, Sir Edward Rodney, Sir John Paulet, Mr. Giles Strangways and other Members should be forthwith summoned to attend Parliament.[1]

Having been appointed by the King Lieutenant-General of the six western counties (viz: Southampton, Wilts, Dorset, Cornwall, Devon and Somerset) and Commissioner of Array, William Seymour, First Marquess of Hertford—attended by his younger brother Francis, lord Seymour of Trowbridge, John Lord Paulet (afterwards fifth Marquess of Winchester), Sir John Stawel, and Sir Ralph Hopton—made an attempt to put the commission into execution at Wells. On Monday, 1 August, the war began in Somerset with the affair at Shepton Mallet. The Somerset Committee, which consisted of Sir John Horner, Alexander Popham, William Strode,

1. S.P.

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John Pym, John Ashe and others, had given directions for a meeting at Shepton to issue warrants to several hundreds for the preservation of the peace, requiring them not to obey the Commission of Array; and, according to Hopton, had agreed to send several fat bucks thither wherewith to entertain the said meeting. On the previous day a petition from the Royalists in Shepton (John Coothe the parson and others) was delivered to Hertford praying for protection; and Hopton, accompanied by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the latter's son-in-law Thomas Smith of Ashton with his troop, and as many volunteers as would go, were desired to proceed to that town. They did not however arrive until ten or eleven o'clock[1] on the appointed morning owing to "the slack appearance of many of the Volunteers;" and were compelled to please their own party in Shepton by leaving their troop outside the town. Hopton and his retinue then proceeded to the high cross in the Market-place where, having alighted from their horses, "sate calling the towne to them, to examine the business of the Peticion." Presently Mr. William Strode of Barrington, one of the Parliamentary Deputy-Lieutenants, rode up and demanded the reason of the tumult. Hopton declares that Strode had with him a party of some eight or ten Horse, very well mounted and armed; but the Commissioners say he was attended only by his son and his servants, in all but four armed Horse and two unarmed. Be this as it may, Hopton and his company required Strode to alight and hear a Petition read. He replied that he came not to hear Petitions, but to suppress insurrections; and, as one of the Committee of both Houses, required the said three gentlemen and the rest to depart the town—as they would answer it at their perils. Hopton thereupon laid hold upon Strode and endeavoured to pull him from his horse; Gorges struck at him with a halbert; and other Cavaliers, drawing their swords, held the points towards his body and forced him to alight. Strode was then handed over to the Constable but, in the subsequent confusion, escaped. For word being brought to Hopton that the country was coming upon him he deemed it advisable to withdraw to his troop outside the town; where, having faced the opposing party—which he puts at about twelve hundred—for some hours, he was at four o'clock in the afternoon summoned back to Wells by Hertford.[2] The Committee declare that the people came in without any request, both Horse and Foot; "that before noon were above 2000 Horse though most un-

1. Somerset Committee's letter to Parliament says Hopton came into the Market-place "this morning about eight of the clock."
2. Vicars puts the Parliamentary forces as high as 4000.

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armed and about 100 Foot." Their forces eventually included one hundred and fifty to two hundred volunteers furnished with arms by Hungerford; perhaps as many as three hundred Horse from Wiltshire, some of them well-armed; three hundred men from Bristol all well-horsed, with swords, pistols and carbines; nearly three hundred well-armed Foot from Gloucestershire; and two wains laden with four small field-pieces, their carriages and gunners. The Committee add that, on the other hand, Hopton and the local Incendiaries had endeavoured to raise all the country about them "to surprise us;" and did raise many men and divided themselves into troops or companies having sent, both overnight and that morning post to Sherborne, to Captain John Digby to bring his troop of Horse to assist them—which he did accordingly. But "meeting about three miles from this Town some of their own Troops, he was advised to leave Shepton and go to Wells which he did with his Troops." They further report that the Mayor of Wells had delivered the keys of the magazine there to Sir Francis Doddington, a delinquent; that they themselves had ordered the mustering of two regiments on the following Friday at Chewton upon Mendip within three miles of Wells; and had sent to Bristol for two field-pieces of about six pound bullet "which wee conceive very necessary for the present occasion." The Parliament's reply on 5 August was to resolve that Sir Ralph Hopton, Mr. Thomas Smith and Captain John Digby "be disabled to sit as Members of the House of Commons;" and that they with Sir F. Gorges, Sir F. Doddington, the Rev. John Coothe and five other prominent Royalists of Shepton "be arrested as delinquents." On Friday, 5 August, while Hertford was reviewing Sir Edward Rodney's trained-band regiment, in a field outside Wells, great bodies of Horse and Foot were discerned on the top of Mendip hill above the city. These were the troops of the other party led by Sir John Horner and Mr. Alexander Popham "Who lay all that night in their Armes upon furze-bushes in the open fields." Mr. John Ashe, one of the Committee, puts the entire Parliamentary forces in these parts at this time as high as 40,000; but adds that "many of these had no more weapons but their swords." He significantly notes that "there came to us every one of Master Smith's tenants 40 yeoman well armed and all the inhabitants in that quarter where Sir Ralph Hopton liveth unto his very gates." A soldier in the Parliamentary service puts Horner's troops between Wells and Glastonbury at about 8000; those on the hill to the east, in the Shepton direction, under John Pyne and William Strode at 3000 with two pieces of ordnance; and

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those on the north under Sir Francis Popham and Sir Edward Hungerford at 6000 with two pieces of ordnance which were mounted against the Bishop's Palace—the head-quarters of the Cavaliers. Sir Francis fired some shots at the Palace; and Hertford, recognizing that with scarcely 500 Horse he could not hope to hold Wells, retreated that same night by way of Somerton to Sherborne Castle.[1]

The old Castle of Sherborne, which lies on the east of the town upon high ground between two streams, had been built by Roger of Caen, the Statesman-Bishop of old Sarum, and had belonged to the Bishops of Salisbury until the middle of the sixteenth century. It passed eventually into the possession of Sir John Digby, Earl of Bristol, whose seat was the new Castle or Lodge near at hand—originally built by Sir Walter Raleigh a former owner. In Camden's day the town of Sherborne was "the most populous and best hanted towne of all this countrey, and gaineth exceeding much by clothing." Hertford immediately held a Council of War; and among other officers there came to him Sir Thomas Lunsford, Sir John Berkeley, Colonel William Ashburnham, Colonel Richard Lawdy, Mr. Henry Killigrew and Mr. Sydney Godolphin. In a short time he had increased his Foot to 400; and Hopton tells us that he himself levied a troop of forty dragoons, armed with good fowling-pieces, and that Captain Upton took commission under him for another troop of twenty dragoons. Lord Poulett brought in two little brass drakes from his house at Hinton. These light field-pieces were probably three-pounders, but possibly smaller, and could be discharged about fifteen times an hour. Certain of the County Members for Dorset and some of the gentlemen of Somerset sent venison and ammunition to the old Castle which was put into the best posture of defence possible under the circumstances. Meanwhile John Ashe kept the Parliament informed of these movements. He was apprehensive that the Royal forces intended to march into Wiltshire from Sherborne; and that they would very speedily put their commission into execution about Salisbury and Warminster. He urged that the Earls of Pembroke and Bedford "be hastened away into the country with such commanders and other strength as you shall think fit to supply us withall. Sir, we are lost and spoyled if we have not commanders."[2]

Meanwhile the towns of Dorchester and Poole had set to

1. "Bellum Civile," Somerset Record Society, vol. XVIII, pp. 3-6 and 9-11. Vicars's "Jehovah Jireh," pp. 130-4. Clarendon VI, § 7, puts Horner and Popham's forces at about 12,000.

2. Firth's 'Cromwell's Army' p. 150. Special Passages (16-23 Aug:) says Sir John Strangways sent the pieces of ordnance.

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work to fortify themselves; mounted their ordnance; and dug strong trenches to prevent Hertford from seizing upon them, their magazines, and arms. On 30 July, Sir Edward Lawrence of Grange, High Sheriff of Dorset, writes to the Mayor of Dorchester requiring him in the King's name to forbear from either mustering or training the town Militia; to cease fortifying the town; to demolish the fortifications already erected; and to publish the Proclamations enclosed in the letter. On 2 August, it was resolved by the Commons that William Constantine of Merly, M.P. and Recorder for Poole, should bring in an order for the indemnity of the Mayor of Dorchester and the townsmen there, concerning their mustering and training people for the defence of that place, and to encourage them for the future; and that the Sheriff of Dorset should be forthwith sent for as a delinquent. On the following day Constantine presented the order indemnifying such as had endeavoured to defend the magazine at Dorchester which was duly carried up to the Lords by Sir Walter Erle, M.P. for Weymouth. Very shortly after his arrival at Sherborne Hertford despatched the expected summons to Poole. A drummer arrived in the town requiring it to yield obedience to the Marquess's commands on behalf of the King; and promising that when Hertford had taken up his quarters in Poole, he would both spend £200 a week there; and fortify the town most strongly for its greater security and safeguard. But "it seemed that those Birds were too old, than so easily to be caught with such chaffe:" for the Mayor, Henry Harbin, and townsmen answered that their town was already very well fortified and provided with ordnance, Horse and Foot, to oppose any malignant whomsoever; that they therefore would not trouble him to send any forces to assist them; but that if he should send any, without their consent, they would deny them entrance. Hertford's reply to this was that he had power by his commission to make and ordain laws, and to issue Proclamations to enforce their obedience. Thereupon the Mayor returned that the said commission was illegal: for a commission "under the broad Seal could no more make a law in a Parliament time, than it could make a project a law before a Parliament." He therefore sent his lordship word that, since he pretended to assume that power, the inhabitants of Poole hoped ere long to have him by force brought to the Parliament to be made an example to posterity, to fear to execute or attempt such illegal commissions. Dorchester proved equally impervious to Hertford's blandishments. Hertford also sent Mr. Lawrence, son of the High Sheriff, to Wareham with a commission to press 100 men and billet them

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therein, the messenger himself to be their Captain. But the townsmen forthwith put Lawrence into custody, who succeeded in making his escape. Money was immediately despatched to Poole and Wareham and these towns fortified against the Royalists. Captain Gould of Dorchester is stated to have collected twenty men, each with £100 to spend in the cause. "All our best J. Ps. are put out of their places—Holles, Sir Thomas Trenchard, Erle and his son, Savage, John Browne etc."

On 27 August, George Leddoze, merchant of Dorchester was examined by two local Justices of the Peace, one of whom was the Mayor, Henry Maber. Leddoze declared that he had been taken for a spy and examined at Sherborne Lodge by Lord Poulett, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John Stawel, and Sir Henry Berkeley; and that when asked whether he were for King or Parliament, he replied "for both." Poulett said that all Parliamentarians who were for the Militia were proclaimed traitors and crop-eared rogues; and that Erle was the wickedest rogue of them all and one of the Devil's limbs. The other gentlemen, including Hopton, said the same; that they were come to keep a Parliament themselves; that the King would assist them with a great army; and that had it not been for Erle and such rogues these tumults would not have arisen. Hopton further declared that God was plainly with them (the Cavaliers) in protecting so small a number; that their company shot but once, killed two and maimed fifteen more; and that those who took up arms for Parliament were blood-sucking robes. Moreover, these words were confirmed with many oaths. Further, Hopton demanding what strength there was in Dorchester and Leddoze answering there were six great guns, Sir Ralph exclaimed that those guns did belong to them; that they would have them; and would cut off all the Roundheads in the Land.[1]

George, Lord Digby—"a singular person," in Horace Walpole's words, "whose life was one contradiction"—had at the end of February been impeached of high treason in the House of Commons, having already fled to Holland. But, unable to remain quietly abroad, he came over to York; where he stayed some days in disguise and had an interview with the King. Upon his return voyage he was captured on 2 July by a Parliamentary cruiser and taken to Hull. There he made himself known to the Governor, Sir John Hotham;

1. Hist. MS.: Comm: MSS. of Duke of Portland I, p. 47. Commons' Journals II, p. 701. Vicars' "Jehovah Jireh," p. 136. Special Passages, etc. of 20 Aug. Tract, Sherborne 2, 3. Hertford's Letters to Poole were carried to Erle at Dorchester who sent £50 to Poole and orders to apprehend the bearer, Mr. Antill, sometime a Minister in the town.

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whom he attempted to gain over to the royal cause. Though Hotham refused to desert his party, he connived at Digby's escape. Apparently during the next month he writes from Nottingham to Prince Rupert, his life-long enemy, that Daniel O'Neill, "tells me that your Highness hath not so right an understanding of me as my affection to your person and service made me hope—this is untrue—les petits gens should be kept at a greater distance." On 22 August, the King set up his standard at Nottingham and, thus having virtually drawn his sword already, flung away the scabbard.[1]

But in Digby's own country, at Sherborne and the neighbourhood, the war as we have seen had already begun; and there was a rumour among the opposite party that the Royalists in the Castle, fearing the advent of Bedford and Pembroke would not stay to meet them. This however was soon proved false; for on Bedford's arrival he found the enemy still in possession of the Castle. William Russell, fifth Earl and afterwards first Duke of Bedford, General of the Horse in the Parliamentary army, was accompanied by Denzil Holles, M.P. for Dorchester, Sir Walter Erle, M.P. for Weymouth; and "other ephori" including Sir George Chudleigh Bt., Sir John Northcote Bt., M.P. for Ashburton, and other gentlemen from Devon. Colonel John Were of Court Place, Halberton (now called Halberton Court), about three miles on the Bristol road from Tiverton, writes in his "Apologie" of 1644 that upon the first surprising of Sherborne Castle by Hertford and Hopton "a party of the County of Devon were summoned at Collumpton, whither I brought a considerable number and was desired to march thither and to persuade that Regiment, which I did; and by reason of my respects and vicinity with them, I got readily their consent, though they had stood mute to others before, and marched with three companies of them; this was my first imployment."

A letter of 26 August from Coker near Sherborne runs as follows: "Hertford and his two sons, his brother Lord Seymour, Lord Poulett and his two elder sons, and of Somerset Knights—Hopton, Stawel, and Rodney; and of the gentry, John Coventry and the rest who accompanied him at Wells, yet keep with him (Hertford), also the two Lunsfords; and are fortifying the Castle—their strength not exceeding 600 Horse and Foot. Against them are marching Bedford with his 600 Horse, and about eighteen great pieces of ordnance from Bristol; besides 20,000 Horse and Foot at least out of Somerset and great companies out of Dorset, who promise to

1. Clarendon V, 432 to 438 and 'Life' pp. 173-8. Add. MS. 18980, f. 3.

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be at Sherborne at a day's warning. Yesterday the Marquess sent a letter to my neighbour Mr. Harbyn, one of the Deputy Lieutenants for Militia, desiring his assistance and advice; he desired to be conducted to Poole and from thence by sea to his own house, as is conceived. Our countrymen are angry they took him not at Wells, who then visited the Bishop's Palace, where they did no hurt—but to his wine, pictures, organs etc." Letters from Dorchester of 3 September look for 1000 men that night from Devon to join Bedford. Dorchester has 2000 ready for him with four good pieces of ordnance. Hertford, on the other hand, is credited with only 500 horses "most of them base ones as base as their masters," and between three and four hundred foot "many of them lowsie fellows that instead of fighting will find enough to scratch." The Cavaliers under Hertford are said to commit many outrages. Last Thursday, for instance, "a Cavalier killed a poor harmless man in the Market at Sherborne with his own sword." On 2 September, about eleven o'clock Bedford marched from Yeovil to Sherborne with 28 ensigns, most companies having above 200 men in them. About two o'clock the Dorchester men with those of Devon, being 19 companies, marched towards Sherborne with two troops of Horse and four great pieces of ordnance. "Bedford hath 700 good Horse there already, so I hope these Achans will not escape him." On 3 September, Hertford is said to have summoned all Blackmore to appear before him, but only 10 came. The new Sheriff of Somerset could not get above 12 to assist the Marquess. Dorchester is stated to be firm for Parliament; all contributing "save Mr. I. G. whom you know well." But Weymouth is very malignant and possesses 20 demi-culverins and above 40 sakers and minion; "we offered them 150 men of a trained-band with seven shillings a week a man, but the offer was refused."

Bedford's forces consisted of some 7000 Foot under Colonel Charles Essex, a soldier of repute in the Low Countries, as Sergeant-Major-General; and eight troops of newly levied Horse under Colonel William Pretty, with four pieces of cannon. Pembroke who had on 8 August been appointed by Parliament Governor of the Isle of Wight, did not accompany Bedford to Sherborne as had been prophesied. Sir Walter Erle and Sir Thomas Trenchard had already possessed themselves of the coast-towns of Weymouth, Portland, Lyme, Wareham, the port of Poole, and of Dorchester. The tract entitled "Exceeding Joyfull News from the Earl of Bedford's Army brought to London by Captain Johnson" has the following: "Lunsford said he would keep the Castle against

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40,000 roundheaded soldiers: he and divers of the cavalry having taken an oath of association to be true to one another and strive to the utmost of their power to resist all who shall oppose them: he is very resolute. Much pains used by Sir W. Erle, with rest of deputy-lieutenants, in raising forces to go to Sherborne; but such the baseness of the gentry and scandalous ministers, who will do nothing therein, but have discharged all soldiers of the trained-bands, that very few will go.[1] Captains Gould and Sydenham make great show of forwardness at first; but it proved nothing but dissembling with the lieutenants at last: for they disheartened the soldiers themselves, and then gave out the soldiers would not go. These lieutenants and under-officers are gone from their service, and have listed themselves under other captains; and so have many of Captain Sydenham's soldiers, daring him to his face to go with them. Upon 2 September, about 500 Horse and Foot marched out of Dorchester, accompanied by 900 of trained-bands and volunteers of Devon towards Sherborne—all very courageous and stout-hearted soldiers. They were also accompanied by one deputy-lieutenant and two Baronets of Devon (Chudleigh and Northcote) with many more of the chief gentry of the same. There were about 250 from Dorchester: most of the young men being also gone. Mr. Hewit, Mr. Edward Dashwood, Mr. William White, merchant, are likewise gone in this service. Had it not been for Dorchester, few of the counties would have gone. Yesterday about two o'clock in the afternoon Bedford sate down with his Forces before Sherborne being a mile distant from the town, having with him 28 ensigns, 5000 Foot and 700 Horse. Our company, having notice that the Earl was set down, marched yesternight to be there this morning. He has promised to send them 300 Horse, when they are within three miles of Sherborne, to conduct them safe from the Cavaliers. Those that come out of Devon are very religious people, very resolute, and stand fast for Parliament."

Hertford's "great spirited little army" of five hundred or thereabouts, who since their arrival at Sherborne about a month before had been constantly threatened by the troops which had forced them to evacuate Wells, now found themselves besieged in earnest. On Friday, 2 September,[2] Hertford

1. The trained bands were deliberately disbanded by the Sheriff, Sir A. A. Cooper, a man, according to Hertford, "so loyal and affectionate for H.M's. service."

2. Hopton says 'Fryday' merely; but his editor says 6 September, "Bellum Civile," 12. n; Bedford, however, in his letter of 6 September (begun the previous night) mentions his having been three days and nights in arms before Sherborne and his intended departure forthwith. It would seem therefore that Bedford arrived on Friday 2 September and struck his tents on Tuesday 6th.

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discovering that Bedford's troops were marching on the town from the hills to the westward—having come by way of Wells, Glastonbury, Ilchester and Yeovil—withdrew himself into the Castle with all his Foot and Volunteers. Hopton, Lieutenant-General and Berkeley, Major-General of the Royalist Horse, immediately drew out the Horse and dragoons, who, together with a troop of volunteers under Edward Stawel, advanced through the town towards the enemy. A skirmish took place which lasted until the evening, the Royalists not only taking divers prisoners in the very face of Bedford's army; but "which was yett more strange" preventing "the whole army from lodging in any part of that great open Towne, so as in the evening they drew towards the north and encamped themselves in the field about three quarters of a mile north from the Castle." Thus encouraged Hopton drew out of the Castle 300 Foot with which he possessed the town; and, together with Berkeley, Colonel Ashburnham, Major-General of the Foot, and Colonel Lawdy, remained constantly with the guards in the town, two of them always resting while the other two went the rounds: and so passed the first night. Next morning, about eight o'clock, the enemy, having made their battery during the night, played with as much fury as they could with their cannon upon the town from the west; and at the same time endeavoured with their Horse "lyned with musketiers" to force a passage into the town from the north. But Hopton, having placed many little guards of musketeers in the little gardens that flanked their road and being always ready with the Horse to repulse them, always beat them off with loss; although they continued their attempts until four o'clock in the afternoon—their cannon continually playing. They fired also many shots at the Castle, of which Sir Thomas Lunsford had the command, but with no effect, as their battery was too far off: so in the evening they retired to their camp—the Royalists placing their guards; the Foot within, and the Horse without the town towards the enemy. About midnight Hopton and Berkeley, with a small party of Horse and Dragoons, beat in the Parliament's Horseguards and caused their dragoons to fire upon the camp-guard, which threw them into such confusion that the Royalists repeated the experiment each night so long as Bedford lay before Sherborne. On Sunday, Bedford having fired some houses, those within the Castle perceived that the enemy had begun some work in the field over against the Castle about a musket-shot nearer than the former battery. It was evident that they intended the next night to finish a battery in that place; so Luns-

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ford, giving Hertford and the rest notice of his purpose, in the evening before it was night planted his small guns—the two drakes, and one great fowling-piece of Sir John Stawel's upon carriages—on the new broken ground. These he fired simultaneously in the dead of the night, doing some small execution upon a few; but throwing the rest of Bedford's camp into such a panic that it was reported 800 of his Foot ran away that night, and the whole camp was much discouraged and dismayed. So much was this the case that the next day, after the Parliamentarians had fired from their battery on the north side of the Castle, Sir John Northcote came from Bedford to Hertford with the strange proposal that the Marquess should permit his enemy to march off quietly from Sherborne. This Hertford refused; and returned answer in writing that, as they came thither upon their own counsel so they might get off as they could. On Tuesday morning, 6 September, therefore the besiegers struck their camp and took their way towards Yeovil; avoiding the ordinary road by the town and marching a mile about over the fields. And Hertford, perceiving their intention, drew off all his Horse and Foot and "attended their reare with a warm skirmishe." This same day the Sheriff of Dorset summoned the County to the assistance of the Marquess.[1]

That Hopton's account is not exaggerated may be seen both from the admission of John Vicars, a thorough-going Presbyterian and partizan of the Parliament, and from Bedford's own letter to Lord Essex. In fact the events of three days and the hostile demeanour of the townsmen, most of whom were Digby's tenants, had convinced the Parliamentary officers that they indeed were rather the besieged than the besiegers. Vicars declared they had found by experience that the siege of the Castle was a piece of greater consequence than was at first conjectured; especially as many of the trained-bands and county volunteers forsook Bedford, who, at the end of three days, found his 7000 Foot diminished to about 1500. Not, he hastens to explain, that they had deserted the Cause, but by reason that "many of them having wives and estates, were loath to loose or hazard them in such an apparently difficult and obscure way as this seemed to them." On the morning of 6 September, Lord Bedford, Colonel Denzil Holles, and Colonel Essex, sent a letter, in justification of their action in raising the siege of Sherborne

1. S.P.D.: "By 23rd of this month the Earls of Bedford and Pembroke will be 800 Horse and 4000 Foot." Devon N. and Q. IV, pt. V. pp. 153-174. Clarendon VI. 7. "Bellum Civile," pp. 12-14. Hutchins IV, pp. 269-270. Perfect Diurnall. Dorchester Corp. MSS. B., p. 286.

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Castle, to the Earl of Essex, Lord General of the Parliamentary forces throughout England. In it they declare they have lain for three days and three nights before Sherborne with as much damage to themselves and as little hurt to the enemy "as ever anything that had name of an army was, our number of men being rather the show of an army to muster than an army to fight." While, they continue, only two or three captains and as many lieutenants and sergeants will do any duty themselves; the private soldiers make no such pretence; and on the occasion of any alarm "we cannot for our lives draw the companies into battalia." Very few officers will obey commands. If bullets fly over their heads, the men fall flat upon their bellies; and, five or six having been slain, about half the troops have absconded; and there is no doubt half the remainder will follow. Thus out of 2400 from Somerset, and 900 from Dorset and Devon, not 1200 remain "and God knows how many will slip away this night." The Deputy Lieutenants and prime gentlemen of the county with the army are willingly to do anything they can, but they are inexperienced in war, and "have presumed upon the country people who have deceived them." In short this is no army worthy of the name and it will be as much as they can do if they make good their quarters; for the cannon out of the Castle continually harasses the besiegers. Only this afternoon one has had his leg broken by it; another his arm. And the men continue to desert; so that some regiments are not so strong as a company. They cannot, therefore, be made to perfect their entrenchment, which they have been a whole day and a half about: whereas, it should have been done in four or five hours "upon the first sitting down." The entire work falls upon two or three who must do the duty of all the particular officers of any regiment down to that of a sergeant. The Castle, however, is so strong that the Parliament's cannon, which is but demiculverin,[1] has no effect upon it. What number of men they have in the Castle is unknown, but the enemy is at liberty to take in what supplies he will. Three regiments of Foot and three troops of Horse must be despatched from headquarters to the leaguer at once: for these Horse which are the besiegers' only safety are clean worn out with being continually in arms; and should they

1. The demiculverin fired a ball of from nine to twelve pounds in weight and had a range of from 320 to 380 paces point blank and from 1800 to 2000 paces "at utmost random." Firth's 'Cromwell's Army' p. 150. The whole cannon weighs seven thousand pound of metal and shoots a bullet of 38, 39 or 40 pound. ibid. p. 402 quoting Sir Jas. Turner's 'Pallas Armata.'

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fail all is lost. The besiegers are without engineer, quartermaster, or workbase; although they have several times written for some. Certainly their letters have been intercepted; else his Excellency would not think they have neglected writing. As the messenger last sent, Mr. Popham's servant, was on his return taken and is yet a prisoner in Sherborne, the writers do not know what answer was sent them. They only know they have done their duty; but that this has been of no avail through their army deserting them. Thus far they had written yesternight; but this morning they find so many more are gone that, upon mature deliberation with all the colonels and the prime gentlemen, they have resolved to raise the siege; march presently away with the whole body to Dorchester; and there stay, three or four days, to refresh men and horses. From thence the Somerset troops are to return into Somerset, with two troops of Horse to convoy them, and to secure Bridgewater and Taunton. The main body, with the Horse, and what force the country will afford, are, making their head-quarters at Dorchester, to secure all those parts and all along the seacoast especially Weymouth "a considerable place and a little doubtful" and to be in readiness, when supplies shall come from his Excellency, to fall upon Sherborne. But, they remind Essex, they must have some whole cannon, two at least, before they can think of reducing this Castle; and will gladly lay down their lives for the well-effecting of it; but truly would rather "die like men and with men and not like fools in company of heartless beasts, with whom we had no more wit than to engage our honours and lives." They finally beg Essex to pardon their long and unpleasing relation: "for this is the fourth extreme cold night we have been without any sleep—that never were men more dazed" than they. A postscript recommends the bearer, one Lieutenant Smyth, newly come out of Ireland. Sir Walter Erle, Sir Thomas Trenchard and John Browne (the two members for Dorset County who had replaced Richard Rogers and Lord Digby, Royalists), John Hill, Richard Bury the County Treasurer, and others had lent £2600 to Bedford without which he could not have kept his forces together before Sherborne even so long as he did. In consequence of his retreat from Sherborne, Bedford was attacked, in the Commons, by Marten for incapacity; but defended by Holles who declared the earl "had done as much as it was possible for a man to do having neither money nor other necessaries sent him for the siege," and added "that he was always ready and forward to hazard his own person, or to hearken or follow any advice that was given him."

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The House of Lords also expressed satisfaction with his conduct.[1]

A tract relates how a collection of arms was accidentally found by the Parliamentary authorities, which had been concealed by Lord Digby's orders, in an old cellar and adjoining store-house. This consisted of 300 muskets ready fixed; 1500 other arms, such as pistols, carbines and harquebusses; pikes, also, and lances together with 200 barrels of gunpowder. These had been carefully hidden under old casks, faggots and other lumber; and the discovery was made in a curious manner. Certain little boys of the town, diverting themselves with squibs and other fireworks, when questioned by their parents as to where they obtained their powder replied that John Pelham, a boy who lived in Lord Digby's house, had supplied them with the same. Whereupon "a great many wise and sage Protestants" of Sherborne caused the boy by flattery to show them the barrel from which he extracted the powder; when, upon further search "authorized by divers justices," the plot was discovered. Digby's steward, returning evasive answers to the inquiries of various Justices of the Peace, was forthwith committed to prison. Clarendon states that Bedford refused to fight a duel with Hertford to which the latter had provoked him by a challenge carried by Harry Seymour, page of honour to the King. And, according to tradition, Bedford on his arrival at Sherborne sent a message to his sister Ann, Lord Digby's wife, who was then at the Lodge or new Castle, to quit her house as he had orders from Parliament to demolish it. She immediately rode on horseback to his tent, at the camp now called Bedford's Castle; told him "if he persisted in his intention, he should find his sister's bones buried in the ruins;" and instantly left him; which spirited behaviour in all probability preserved the house to this day. There is a noble portrait by Van Dyck of the two brothers-in-law, George Digby second Earl of Bristol and William Russell first Duke of Bedford, in the possession of Earl Spencer. The war divided many families: for instance, Lord Essex's elder sister Frances was the wife of William Seymour, first Marquess of Hertford and second Duke of Somerset, who had married in early life the Lady Arabella Stuart; and the second wife of John Paulet, fifth Marquess

1. Vicars' "Jehovah Jireh," 146. Hist. MS., 10th. P.C.A.M., 1321; in 1645 the debt ordered to be repaid with 8% interest. Browne, who had lent £500 of the borrowed money and was chief mover in the matter, is—10 June, 1651—ordered to be repaid £839 14 6. D.N.B., xlix, 486 (C.H.F.)

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of Winchester, the heroic defender of Basing House, was Lady Honora de Burgh, Essex's half-sister.[1]

Bedford, then, having raised the siege and marched to Yeovil, within four miles of Sherborne, quartered there that night and intended to lie quiet the next day. But, meanwhile, the cavaliers in the Castle had received a reinforcement of 100 Horse and 200 Foot from Mr. Richard Rogers of Bryanston, one of the Knights of the Shire at the beginning of hostilities. Accordingly on Wednesday, 7 September, Hopton with 400 horse and 200 musketeers or in his own words, with "all the horse and dragoons and sevenscore muskettiers" and accompanied by Captain Digby and Sir Francis Holles, with their troops, and by Lord Poulett, Sir John Stawel and Sir John Paulet, issued from Sherborne about two o'clock in the afternoon and marched to Babylon or Babe-Hill, a mile from Yeovil. John, fifth Baron Paulet or Poulett of Hinton St. George, near Crewkerne, was lord of the paramount manor of Marshwood and exercised manorial rights in the parish of Lyme Regis. Shaftesbury calls him "a cunning, crafty old fox" and, according to a Puritan tract, before leaving Sherborne he had make a speech to his fellow soldiers wherein he gave "them order to kill men, women, and children, without mercie; but to reserve such ministers as they could take that were well-wishers to Parliament, for to be flead alive, and such like exquisite torments." And, this same month at Wells, he is reported to have said "with many imprecations, oaths and execrations, cavalier-like (in the height of fury)—it was not fit for any yeoman to have allowed him from his labours any more than the poor moitie of £10 a year; and when the power should be totally on their side, they shall be compelled to live at that low allowance, notwithstanding their estates are gotten with a great deal of labour and industry." Upon this the people attempted to lynch Poulett, but a regiment passing at the time most opportunely saved him. The hill occupied by Hopton, on 7 September, looked down over Yeovil Bridge which the Parliamentarians held with a guard of Foot and cannon. "So taking advantage of the grounde, there being noe coming up to him from the Enemy's part but by two hollow-wayes on each hand of him, Hopton placed a guard of 20 Musketeers on his right; lined with all his

1. Clarendon VI, 33, VII, 185. P.C.A.M., 986. Six years later John Turberville of Beere Regis is accused of having been in arms at Sherborne when Bedford lay before it; of having occasioned some to take the king's part; and of having set forth four men and horses under Hopton. Tract, Sherborne 1.

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dragoons the hedges which flanked his left; and, drawing up his Horse in battle-array upon the summit of the hill, with the rest of the Musketeers played from the side of the hill on the guard upon the bridge." Having spent an hour or more in this position without much damage done to the adverse party, he, acting upon the advice of his officers, resolved to retreat; and accordingly gave orders for the Foot to march away, and the dragoons to march up to the Horse to make good the rear —it being by then within half-an-hour of sunset. But the Foot were not clear drawn off the hill when Colonel Lawdy espied the "enemy marching out of Yeovil, by a secret way he had made over the fields, and that some of his Horse had nearly ridden up to the top of the hill upon the left. Hopton, being advertized of this manœuvre, resolved it was too late to retreat; ordered Lunsford to draw back the Foot; and himself drew up the Horse and the dragoons towards the part where the enemy was advancing. He also commanded Edward Stawel with the troop of volunteers to march in the same direction, seconded by his own troop commanded by Captain Henry Moreton; and, because they were then both young soldiers, Colonel Lawdy to advance with them. Next to them he placed Sir Francis Hawley with his troop and kept Colonel Digby's troop in reserve." Meanwhile the Parliament troops had their own difficulties to contend with. It was as much as they could do to put themselves into a posture of defence; to make good their approaches; and guard their magazine. For the last but few men were available, and of those more pike-men than musketeers: for the latter, finding themselves the most employed on all occasions, for the most part "shifted themselves away." However, they sent out three troops of horse and some musketeers, the cavaliers "braving us, and calling us Rogues and Roundheads." The hill was difficult to ascend: Captain Ayscough took one way; Captain Tompson another, a little after him; and Captain Balfour (Sir William Balfour's son) a third—with "our musqueteers after them as fast as they could." The way taken up the hill by Ayscough was so narrow that only two could march abreast; and when they were almost at the top they encountered Hopton's ambuscade of six musketeers on either side; but, having won through these successfully, they arrived at the summit. Captain Ayscough and his troop, being the first up, charged Captain Stawel's troop through and through; and then engaged Captain Moreton's. But, after the exchange of two or three brace of bullets and some sword-play, Ayscough was forced to wheel about by the over-

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pressure of numbers and retreat into the lane with the loss of four or five men. But almost immediately Captain Tompson with his troop joined him and, charging together, they threw the two Royalist troops of Stawel and Moreton into hopeless confusion. But Captain Balfour's troop, meanwhile, had not fared so well: for charging up the lane on the right—Lunsford having forgotten to station a party of musketeers there—they found no opposition until they came among the volunteers upon the top of the hill. Here Balfour rode out from among his men brandishing his sword; whereof Lunsford giving notice to young Stawel, the latter rode forward to meet him. Balfour discharged his pistols at some distance, but Stawel reserved his until he might be surer of his mark; which he did so well that he fired the other's buff at his breast, and with a quick blow of his sword made an end both of the duel and his adversary.[1] At the same instant a bullet from Sir James Colborne's fowling-gun also pierced Captain Balfour; whose troop, being raw fellows, was immediately routed. But Hopton's forces being now thrown into confusion, by the prowess of Captains Ayscough and Tompson with the assistance of 2000 of Bedford's Foot, beat a retreat. The Royalist lost 15 or 20 Horse; and of their Foot between 30 and 40 killed; but Major Bampfield who commanded them with about 20 of his soldiers were taken prisoners. Captain Joseph Hussey of Stour Payne was killed, his commission being found in his pocket 'himselfe being clad in Plush;' and young Lunsford escaped on horseback. Of the other commanders of Hopton's Foot, Lieutenant Hall and an ensign were also killed. On the other side some 15 or 16 of Bedford's troop fell into the hands of the Royalists; whereof some were killed but the more part spared, and taken prisoners to Sherborne. Had not night shortly fallen the Parliament forces expected to have cut off most of the Royalist Foot. They heard that "one of the Bartletts was killed" and Hopton hurt, and a Dorchester letter-writer says untruthfully "Colonel Lunsford and Lord Poulett are certainly slain." The Royalists declared that the enemy "lost 140 of their men dead on the ground, buryed 9 of their commanders next day in the Church." Before Hopton's return to the Castle, Hertford had been reinforced by Richard Rogers of Bryanston with 1000 Foot of the trained-bands of Dorset. 'Thus' says Vicars, summing up the affair at Yeovil in characteristic fashion,

1. One Parliamentary account makes young Stawel run away and Capt. Balfour return "after he had chased him victoriously."

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'Babell-Hill proved a Babell, a hill of confusion' to the Royalists.[1]

During the next few days Hertford was joined by Sir Richard Cave, Sir Hugh Pollard, M.P. for Beeralston, Major Walter Slingsby, Major Brockett and other officers; and Bedford billeted several troops of his cavalry at several towns round Yeovil, such as Ilchester, Somerton and other places. An alarm being given from Ilchester that some armed men had been discovered by the sentries upon the march near that town making for Sherborne; Bedford sent out six troops to reconnoitre, and to intercept them until he could march up with his artillery. This was resolutely attempted by the aforesaid troops; but Mr. Richard Rogers, who was in command of but 300 Horse, resisted his assailants so desperately that he managed to hold on his way to Sherborne and forced them to a retreat. Nevertheless Bedford, having flung himself meanwhile between the Royalists and Sherborne, fell upon them within a mile of the Castle; put some to the sword; and took others prisoners. Among those taken were Rogers himself, and a servant of his carrying £800. Bedford was apparently assisted by Sir John Meyrick with his regiment from Portsmouth and four great brass pieces of ordnance. Before the end of the skirmish however, Hertford sallied out of the Castle and endeavoured to rescue his friends; but, being repulsed by Bedford, was pursued up to the Castle walls—when the siege began afresh. Thus on 19 September Bedford mounted three pieces of ordnance, which he had received from the inhabitants of Weymouth; and many shots were exchanged on both sides. So fierce indeed was the fire from the Castle that one of the besieger's cannon was twice dismounted, and one of his gunners killed. But, after Bedford had sent some forty shots against the Castle, a fortunate shot was made which took away the main battlements of the stronghold whereon one of their pieces was planted; so that the cannon fell to the ground together with a great part of the wall, already much weakened by the constant battering of the besieger's ordnance. This disaster caused such consternation among the besieged that suddenly a cavalier appeared upon

1. King's Pamphlets vol. lxxv. no. 5.
Geo. Roberts' 'Social History of Southern Counties' 207.
Bellum Civile 14, Hopton calls Babe-hill 'Raborn Hill.'
ibid Sir Edward Nicholas to Sir William Boswell, 15 Sept.
ibid 16, Mr. Sampson, cousin of Mr. Ashe, from Freshford 10 Sept.
ibid Letter written by Governour of Sherborne Castle to 'a worthy friend' signed T.L. (Thos. Lunsford) dated 'Wednesday.'
Vicars' "Jehovah Jireh," 146-7. Vicars calls Yeovil 'Evell, alias Yerrell.'
Ayscough letter of 9 Sept, from Dorchester. King's Pamphlets Vol. lxxii. Tract, Sherborne 6.

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the wall, sounding a parley. The attacking party answered him by sending a trumpet to demand the reason of this sudden parley; and he, on coming up to the moat, received a paper directed to Lord Bedford which was shot over the wall attached to an arrow. Upon opening the note the Parliamentary general discovered the following proposals:—

(1) That the Marquess was content to deliver up the Castle:

(2) Provided that Lord Bedford would grant him a peaceable retreat to his own manor, with all those who were his retainers or who had run an equal hazard with him;

(3) And lastly that Lord Hertford's present actions should not be used against him; provided "his future actions were correspondent and conduceable to the furtherance of a reformation, which upon his honour he promised should be, and that all his power should be employed for the King and Parliament in the right sense. Upon these conditions he would lay down his arms, and save the Castle from utter destruction; but if they were denied, he vowed to make his grave between those walls, and to place Lord Bedford's sister upon the battlements, to serve as a flag of defiance to him and all his followers."

These terms being accepted Hertford made his way to Minehead in Somerset, from whence he crossed the Bristol Channel and endeavoured to organize resistance to Parliament in South Wales; Hopton, from the same place, making for Cornwall with 160 Horse, fifty dragoons and a few friends. The capitulation of Portsmouth on 7 September to Sir William Waller, the relief of which had been his original business; the impossibility of Sir John Byron's regiment of Horse marching to his aid; the ever-growing power of Parliament in Somerset; and the fear of Lord Brook's joining with Bedford—had already convinced Hertford of the hopelessness of remaining shut up in Sherborne. Bedford, on his side, contenting himself with having driven the Marquess away and so frustrating all hope of raising an army for the King in the west, retired with his forces to Lord Essex as Waller had already done from Portsmouth. The Earl of Bath, Sir Henry Berkeley, Sir Ralph Sydenham, Sir Francis Doddington, Sir Hugh Pollard and others left behind at Sherborne were brought up to London by Lord Pembroke, on his return from settling the Militia in Wiltshire, about the middle of October; and were committed to several prisons. Berkeley and Doddington had already been impeached of high treason in

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Parliament, in company with Lords Hertford, Seymour and Poulett, Sir John Stawel, Sir John Paulet, Captain Digby, Sir Ralph Hopton, two other Berkeleys, Sir Edward Rodney, Messrs. Smith, Kirton and Wyndham; and the said impeachment ordered to be sent into Dorset and Somerset, and a Publication thereof made in all markets and churches in those counties. Bury, the Parliament's treasurer for Dorset, says that £18 13s. 7d. was paid to the Purbeck quarriers hired to "slight the Castle;" from which it appears that an attempt was, at this time, made to demolish it.[1]

On 5 October, William Constantine of Merly, Recorder and one of the Members for Poole, writes from Wimborne to Speaker Lenthall giving an account of the state of Dorset at that time. He says the county was in itself divided: for a main party of the chief gentry had endeavoured to bring the war into their own houses and to supply Hertford with many victuals and ammunition. But this party had vanished. The Parliament forces in Dorset had no sooner left pursuing Hertford that they were, with great prudence, lodged in such towns as had shown themselves ill-affected where at leisure "they gleaned up such of the great Malignants as were left behind." Some of these were seized by force; others voluntarily yielded; and "now there is here a unanimous consent and joy to be pliable to Parliament. The Horse behave themselves with great moderation but the Foot are somewhat violent towards the Papists, several of whose houses they have endeavoured to plunder; but their commanders use all diligence to prevent such irregularities. This day they all march towards London." On the night of Thursday 13 October, the Houses were informed from Dorset that seven troops of Horse and 1000 Foot of Bedford's forces had gone into Cornwall against Hopton; and intended "very suddenly to join themselves to the Lord General's forces." A party possessed themselves of Tavistock under Colonel Robert Savery in an endeavour to prevent Hopton's joining with the Devon Cavaliers, who had promised to follow Cornwall's example and levy the *posse comitatus*; but, upon the advance of the Cornish army, they evacuated Tavistock. On 15 October, Edward Lawrence, High Sheriff, Mr. Ryves, Richard Rogers, John Turberville, Arthur Radford, Esquires, and Thomas Phelips, John Russell, Robert Kelway, gentlemen, were ordered to be apprehended, and sent up to Parlia-

1. Hutchins IV. pp. 269, 271, quoting "Exceeding joyfull news from Sherborne-Castle." Clarendon VI, 33, 34. Vicars' "Jehovah Jireh," 182. S.R.P., Friday, 16 September, 1642. Tract, Sherborne 8: Meyrick's assistance is there dated 22 Sept. but this appears too late a date.

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ment, for assisting Hertford. On Wednesday, 19 October, the two Houses, alarmed at Hopton's successes in Cornwall, appointed Philip Herbert, fourth Earl of Pembroke and first of Montgomery, Lord General for the Western Counties of Wilts, Somerset, Hants, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall and the Isle of Wight; giving him a commission with similar power to that enjoyed by Lord Essex, "to raise Forces and march with them against Hopton and all others in this Rebellion, and to fight with, kill, and slay all that oppose him." He was ordered to pay his soldiers by seizing "the rents and revenues of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and other notorious delinquents." In August 1643, Pembroke succeeded Jerome Weston, second Earl of Portland, who afterwards took part in the siege of Weymouth, as Captain of the Isle of Wight. On 21 October they heard that the counties of Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, Wilts and Dorset, were entered into an Association to defend themselves, for King and Parliament, against any force that might come against them.[1]

On 23 October, was fought the indecisive engagement at Edgehill, between the royal troops and those of the Parliament under Essex—the first great battle of the Civil War.

1. Portland MSS. I, p. 64. Bellum Civile, p. 24. Clarendon, VI, 246. Hutchins I, xvii. M.M.A.

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CHAPTER III.

Parliamentary Supremacy in Dorset.—First siege of Corfe Castle.—January to August, 1643.

PARLIAMENT, meanwhile, had not neglected the fortifications of Weymouth; for their Treasurer, Bury, mentions that soldiers and ammunition had been sent thither in September. On 24 November, £50 was paid towards the fortification and, three days later, a like sum to the Mayor, by order of the Lieutenant, for the repair of the same. But on 18 January 1643, Hopton was to have one hundred Muskets with bandoliers from Weymouth or Dartmouth: "for his recruits are altogether destitute of armes." These arms were on 21 January, directed to be furnished by Weymouth. Hopton had been far from idle in Cornwall: indeed his successes there had alarmed the Parliament party at headquarters. He had succeeded in inducing the grand jury to indict Sir Alexander Carew and Sir Richard Buller, the Parliamentary Commissioners; and with the aid of the *posse comitatus* expelled them from the county. Charles sent a commission to Hopton and three others to command jointly in Hertford's absence. They organized a small body of excellent Cornish infantry, and proceeded to carry the war into Devon. In January the Parliamentary General, Ruthven, a Scottish officer who commanded the garrison at Plymouth, invaded Cornwall with greatly superior forces. Hopton, whom the other commissioners entrusted with the command, defeated the invaders at Bradock Down, near Liskeard, on 19 January 1643, taking 1250 prisoners and five guns.[1]

On 22 February, the Queen landed at Bridlington Quay; and about this time there appears to have been some talk of a cessation of hostilities—at least in Dorset. However, news came on Thursday, 23 February, that William Strode, who

1. Hutchins II, 423. Godwin citing Rawlinson MSS. 395, ff. 9, 13.

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had been reported slain near Bodmin, and other Parliamentary Commissioners for Somerset—being at Sherborne upon some service of the two Houses—had been driven thence by Sir John Hele.[1] He, whom Shaftesbury describes as "of very great estate, a personable and gracious gentleman whose only fault was he loved the cup," having raised 100 Horse and 400 Foot, fell suddenly upon them and put them to flight; which disaster made Parliament as fearful of losing Dorset, as before of Devon. At the same time their dismay was not alleviated by news of the evacuation of Devizes by Sir Edward Hungerford, and its immediate occupation for the King by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Herbert Lunsford, who, with 400 Foot and a troop of Horse, had acted as Governor of Malmesbury. About the beginning of March, Sir Thomas Trenchard and Mr. John Browne, on behalf of Parliament but without its authority, and Sir John Strangways, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Phillips and others, on behalf of the Commissioners of Array, agreed upon an accommodation to assist one another and to oppose any force whatsoever that should attempt to enter the county of Dorset. But, even if faith had been kept between both parties to the agreement, the forces of Dorset were palpably incapable of resisting Rupert were he to come with 7000 men and quarter at Sherborne or Weymouth. It was considered in London a trick of the Commissioners of Array who, upon a timely notice that Parliament disliked such an agreement, would disarm in one night "all the well-affected in that county, as the Commissioners of Array and Cavaliers did in Yorkshire to the trained-bands in West Riding, which left them naked afterwards of any defence but Clubs, etc." They were further accused of wishing to gain time until Hertford should come into Somerset and make up his forces, then at Ilchester, to the number he considered necessary to keep Dorset and Somerset in subjection. Sir John Horner, foreseeing this in Somerset, intended to draw into a body what forces he could in order to suppress Hertford's troops. On 8 March 1643, Gr. Park, Mayor of Exeter, writes to the Committee for the Safety of the Kingdom that "On Monday last the first cessation for seven days expired, and then another for twenty days concluded on. Unexpectedly this instant came to my hands a letter from Plymouth dated there this morning, by which I am certainly

1. P.C.A.M. 603. Minute Books, 453, 482, 485. Sir John Hele was fined £6000 for delinquency. He died in July 1647, when Henry Rogers became trustee for his infant daughters and co-heirs Jane and Dorothy. His estates in Dorset were to be sold. One Randall Cooper, pewterer of Sherborne, was sequestered for having, amongst other misdemeanours, set forth a horse under Hele, and for assisting in the removal of the County powder from Parke's powder-mill to the Royalists at Sherborne.

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informed that, yesterday on the meeting of the treaters, the Cornish made new propositions on their part, which hinders the proceedings of the treaty. In brief it is this; that the cessation shall be a stand-still, but no removal out of either county, so that Somerset and Dorset in case of danger cannot be assisted. The consideration of the disbanding of the most part of our forces the day before caused the treaters of our side to harken unto them, and yield further to the Cornish; that a pacification for the four counties of Somerset, Dorset, Devon and Cornwall be endeavoured, and an association made not to invade each other but mutually to defend each other against all forces whatsoever. To this end letters are sent both by the Cornish and our treaters into Somerset and Dorset, and the meeting concerning this business appointed to be here in Exeter Tuesday next" 14 March. On 9 March, Richard Saunders and others write from Exeter to John Pym desiring him to commend the safety of that city to the care of Parliament "the Commissioners with Sir Ralph Hopton and divers other gentlemen of Somerset and Dorsetshire are appointed to meet on Tuesday next about an Association as we are informed, but of what nature we know not." On 15 March Edmond Prideaux and Anthony Nicoll (Pym's nephew) write as follows to William Lenthall from Exeter:—"We arrived on Monday night, and gave your commands to the Mayor not to admit any of the Cornish that were to treat, or any others that had borne arms against the Parliament, into the city. He willingly obeyed and the next morning some of them, who came to the gates, were denied admittance and sent away under a convoy to an inn in a neighbouring village. The letter from the Earl of Stamford with the enclosed papers will give you a clear account of their full proceedings, of the Articles whereon they treated and of their reasons for undertaking it, and will show the advantage they hope to gain by it. Of those expected from Somerset and Dorset only Sir Thomas Trenchard, Mr. Browne and Mr. FitzJames came, the rest were dispersed by Sir William Waller's forces. From Somerset there was none appearance of any. We find some difficulties punctually at present to observe your instructions, and presume we may claim a little liberty for the time and manner of putting them in execution."[1]

About the tenth of March news came to Town that Waller was at Salisbury. His recent successes against the Royalists had won for Sir William Waller the popular sobriquet of

1. Kingdome's Weekly, No. 9 and 10. Mercurius Aulicus. Hist. MS. 13th, I, 101, 102, 103.

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'William the Conqueror;' and Parliament had made him Sergeant-Major-General of the counties of Gloucester, Wiltshire, Somerset, Salop, and the city of Bristol, with a commission from Lord Essex. Leaving his head-quarters at Bristol, Waller advanced to Salisbury with Fiennes' Regiment of Horse, or about 2000 in all. Thither many in Wiltshire came voluntarily to his assistance; so that, on leaving Salisbury, he had about 3000 Horse under him. Many of the horses were, according to Vicars, secured by a stratagem; for sending to the Royalists all over the County a feigned summons, to come speedily with all their horses to serve Prince Rupert upon a sudden design, he presently unhorsed and disarmed them. Their requests for the restitution of their horses were met by Waller's declaring that, as they had hitherto done nothing for Parliament, they might very well afford them the use of their horses; which should be restored to them again, or they should be paid for them, when the war was happily concluded. From Wiltshire he advanced into Dorset to disarm all the Royalists in that county—"to plunder," says Mercurius Aulicus, "whereof he got £30,000 for his own share." At Waller's approach Sir John Strangways "and all his malignant crew" fled to the royal head-quarters at Oxford; while "the county came in so fast to Sir John Horner, who stands for the Parliament," that "had they had not been nimble in their flight, Sir William Waller had shortened their journey to Oxford."[1]

On 28 March, the King, writing from Oxford, commanded the Mayor and Corporation of Weymouth to send supplies to his forces and subjects in the Isle of Portland. Thirteen days later the Commons replied by ordering that the Mayor of Weymouth (Matthew Allen) and all others were to be "indemnified and saved harmless by this House for not giving assistance to those forces assembled in Portland Castle, or Island there, with Victuals, etc.; notwithstanding the said letter." On 19 April, it being known that Lords Hertford and Digby were marching from Oxford to Sherborne in order to raise forces in Dorset, a counter move was determined upon by their opponents. The following day, then, some of the Parliament troops, among whom were Colonel Alexander Popham and his brother, marched out of Bristol and at first seized upon the rents of Lords Capel, Poulett, and Hertford in the lower parts of Somerset. But at Wells they received an order from Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, Governor of Bristol,

1. Hutchins I, xvii. S.R.P. Thursday, 9 to 16 March. Vicars' Jehovah Jireh, 276.

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to make all the haste they could to Sherborne in order to forestall Hertford. Thereupon they hastened towards Dorset, sending before them to Sherborne a party, of about 120 Horse and dragoons, with orders to await their coming at the town's end and not to enter until the rest were come up with them; because "they knew it to be a very malignant town." But this advanced guard, disregarding their orders, not only entered the town on their arrival but sent for the Constable to provide them quarters. He spake them fair; but raised the town against them before their main body came up. When these arrived they heard a bell ring and, being somewhat suspicious of the cause of it, were told it was the nine o'clock bell. They then marched towards their quarters; but on coming to the Butchers' Shambles in the middle of the town, it being very dark, Hugh Popham and Captain Smith—who were riding a little ahead of their men—were bidden stand by about 300 of the townsmen, and asked for whom they were. They answered for King and Parliament; called to their men to come up speedily to them; and, on their arrival, fired upon the inhabitants. These replied in the same manner; and then the rest in the town instantly gave fire also out of their windows; and, running out of every doorway with muskets and bills, said one to another; "Kill the Parliament Dogs." A furious fight thereupon ensued upon both sides, in which Hugh Popham was so sorely wounded that he rode less than one hundred yards from the place before he fell down dead; and Captain Smith was also dangerously wounded. Then the Parliament forces drew themselves up into a body again; their trumpets sounded a charge; and, having dismounted 40 of their dragoons, they fell upon the townsmen; beat them out of that part of the town; and, within an hour, drove them furiously out of the town altogether. During this skirmish a Parliament soldier, having been shot at from the windows of a house, fired his pistol—unknown to any officer there—into the thatch of the house in question; which immediately broke out into flames. This being in the middle of the town might have caused a serious conflagration had not the Parliament forces ridden up and down, doing their best to quench the fire—none of the inhabitants daring to assist them. They then, with the loss of Hugh Popham and with six or seven wounded, retreated from Sherborne for that night and lay at Yeovil. The town had lost about ten slain in the fight. The next morning the townsmen beat their drums for the country to come to their assistance, but with little effect; for Colonel Popham employing the like tactics collected, within three days, 3000 Foot, 500 Horse and two or three pieces of

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ordnance; and, again entering Sherborne, gained both town and Castle—the townsmen flying before him. These forces—under the command of Colonel Alexander Popham, his brother Edward Popham, Colonel Strode, Colonel Harbin, and John Browne—then proceeded to spoil the town; although the inhabitants had laid down their arms. They discovered Lord Bristol's plate, of the value of £5000 and more, which had been hidden under ground; and carried away prisoner at the same time a servant, whom the Earl had sent to the Countess, not suffering him to speak with her. When Sir John Walcott of Castleton, who enjoyed the bailiwick of the liberty of Sherborne by grant from Lord Bristol, desired to know their demands, he was disregarded; most of them burning and pillaging the houses, especially Walcott's own house, which they threatened to pull down unless he paid an assessment of £300. They pulled down three dwelling-houses of Hugh Hodges, an attorney, tenant in 1647 on Sir John Hele's sequestered estate, and disposed of the timber to rebuild some of those burned on the previous Saturday night. They pillaged Mr. Josias Cooth, a mercer, to the value of £2000, killed all the fat sheep and calves; and took away almost all the barley and malt in the town. They plundered also one Martin, an innkeeper, with two or three others who "had sent a lewd fellow to Yeovil to stab Colonel Harbin and the rest of the Commanders" but, being apprehended, confessed their plot. The Royalist account further accuses the victorious party of having agreed with certain owners of houses for a certain sum to spare them, and, after taking the money, of having then perfidiously plundered them; carried the owners away prisoners; pulled down the fire-bell; and, at their departure, carried their pillage along with them. Bury's account, of 26 April, mentions that the Dorchester gunners had been ten days with Colonel Popham, who seems at this time to have reduced the Castle; for Bury adds that the garrison was paid on 2 May.

The following notices in the accounts of the Abbey Church refer to the occurrences of this year:—

Paid for mending the rails in the chancel that were broken down by the soldiers—10s.

Paid for powder and workmen about the works and watchmen extraordinary—£17 13s. 11d.

For ringing the bells at the late news of the good speeding of the high court of Parliament—2s.

For drying a parcel of gunpowder in the vestry, and setting four hoops on the barrel—3s.

A Royalist tract refers in like manner to the destruction of the

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stained-glass windows in Wells Cathedral after the evacuation of that city by Hertford and Hopton in 1642.[1]

By the beginning of May 1643, with the exception of Cornwall, the whole of the South and West of England was in Parliament's hands. Just beyond the Northern bound of Dorset, indeed, Wardour Castle in Wiltshire still held out. Wales, with the exception of Pembrokeshire, most of the March and the North were the King's: East Anglia, London and the Home Counties were, of course, Puritan. Parliament also possessed a wedge of country running north-east from Leicestershire to Clitheroe and Leeds; and were in command of the eastern coastline as high up as Flamborough Head. Charles, on the other hand, reached southwards as far as Stamford and the Welland; and eastwards as far as Wallingford—by means of two narrow Royalist peninsulas, which pierced the ocean of Parliamentary revolt.

At this period the great value and importance of holding the island of Portland, "the Gibraltar of Wessex," was not sufficiently understood, as Clarendon remarks, by either party. The second engagement between the English Fleet and the Invincible Armada of Philip II in 1588, and the first action between Blake and the Dutch fleet on 18 February 1653, were both fought off Portland Bill. An old pentagonal keep, vulgarly known as Rufus's or Bow and Arrow Castle from the number of loop-holes in its walls, still exists on the eastern coast of the island. But the new Castle stands at the entrance of the island, at the foot of the highest part of it and opposite to Sandsfoot or Weymouth Castle—both of which strongholds entirely command the road. This new Castle had been begun by Henry VIII, on his return from the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and was completed in 1530. In 1628 Edward Sydenham of Giddy Hall, Essex, was made Lieutenant of the island and Captain of the Castle for life.

Clarendon MS. 22, No. 1678.

(fol. 35.) . . . . . Reeding[2] is ours and the enemyes gone out of it, with their swordes onely by theire sides, and two piece of ordnance, and are to be convoyed by our forces 3 milles towards Oxford, and then they ar to looke to them

1. Hist. MS. 13th, I, 108. Jl. H.C. III, 37. Bellum Civile. 9n. Minute Books, 51, 203, 242, 485. C.C.C. 119, 1200, 1480, 3013. P.C.A.M. 810. Hutchins IV, 262, 271, citing 'Mercurius Aulicus' and 'A true relation of taking of Sherborne Castle' etc. Vicars' Jehovah Jireh, 302-4. S.R.P., Thursday 27 April to 4 May 1643. The last notice of the county fortifications before the Civil War is of about 1636, when the annual cost of Portland Castle was £1481 14s. 2d.

2. Capitulated 26 April 1643.

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selves, so that wee thinke it not absolutely necessarie now to march towards Oxford, but rather to stay there, that forces may be raysed in these parts to regaine Portland as allso to settle the militia here, since it is a County that so aboundes with malignants, that were they not kept under, they might assemble and doe much mischeef here and to the Countyes adjacent, but by our stay here wee hoope to reduce them so to reason, that they shall not be able to prejudice the Parliament hereafter, and to rayse such forces too in the country as shale not be onely able to secure this county, but be able to assist us in Somerset-sheire hereafter if wee should have occasion for theire help, either against Sir Raph Hopton, or the King's armey that are to joyne, if Sir Raph could make way with his thorowe Devonshire as appeareth by letters that were taken up after the fight[1] that was of late in Cornweel betweene our forces and Sir Raph Hoptons in which wee have had the better, but more by God's mercy and Major Chidley's policy, then the valour of our common souldiers, who runne away for (the) most part as well as Sir Raph and his bu[ ]suner you shal have a fuller relation of those passages from the actors, and theerefore I referr you to them for a more perfect narration thereof, that I may give specifie unto you what wee have done here since Munday last, be pleased therefore to knowe that we marched herehence the said day to Waymouth, and caused three pieces of ordnance to be planted that night, two on the beach that leades to Portland, and one other against the warreyn as you may see and knowe by the mape and table that I here withall send unto you, and the next morninge wee went to the beach and within canon shot of the Enemyes gunnes, yet did they not dare to shoote at us, allthough wee tooke two that issued out of theire Iland in their sight, who did acknowledge that there is noe beere in the Iland nor malt to make any, that there are noe candelis nor salt, but that there is sufficient of other thinges, with abundance of sheepe, 22 pieces of ordnance mounted and much ammunitions, but it appeared by one of them beinge a maide that shee had fasted, for shee is leane and pale, but the other beinge a man, havinge bin but a short time there is fatt and lusty, but can not, or will not tell us anythinge of concernment pretendinge that the Ilanders beinge jellous of him would not suffer him to goe abroade whilst he was there, but

I have sent you a copy of the letter.

hole in MS.

(f. 35b).

1. Hopton defeated 25 April at Sourton Down by James Chudleigh, Majcr General of Parliamentary forces in Devon. Bellum Civile 38-40.

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saithe that his goinge thither was to search out the saied maide to make her his wife. But when we had viwed the Iland and the workes of the town, wee went aboard the good ship called the Charles to conferre with Captain Swanly[1] that commands her about an expedient either to surprise, or force the Iland, and so to reduce the Ilanders (f. 36) and those malignants now with them to their obedience to the Parliament, but as wee were with him he receaved order to goe for Portsmouth, that therehence he might goe with a fleete for Ireland of 13 ships whereof he is to goe Admirall so that he goeinge for Portsmouth wee could attempt nothinge against it for want of boates and a good ship but a marchant man cominge into the harbor, wee enjoyned him to stay out in the roade till two of our ships that are comminge shall be in the roade, that till their arrivall noethinge may be sent into the Iland, wee gave order likewise for the rigginge up of a pennace with foure gunnes to goe fourth to lie uppon the south side thereof that noethinge may goe in or out therehence on that side, for in fowle weather a great ship can not lie there, now thinges beinge thus ordered wee left of our musketiers 80 in the towne that the beach and towne may be the better kept, and on Wensday marched away with the rest of our foote beinge 200 and all our horse being 240 to Abbotsbury a house of Sir John Stranguydges that is very stronge, yet did wee there find noe resistance, for all the neighbours and men servants were fled, and the Lady[3] and women servants saied that there were noe armes, yet after much seekinge wee there found a piece of ordnance, many muskets, coates of maile, brown bills, with many bullets and much powder, but noe plate nor mony, neither would shee promise to provide any to ransome her stocke and household stuffe, so that wee quartered there, and sent for the Lieutenants who had (f. 36b). appointed us to take all away from the house and land unless she would pay 500 li, the which shee must doe within these tene dayes, or els it is ordered by them that wee shall take all away, but her hidinge of theire ordnance and armes so inraged the souldiers that doe what I could they did 200 li worth of hurt, but her Ladyship deserved noe better usage for shee is of a most malignant spirit;

There is in the towne besides our 80 musketiers at least 100 souldiers more under the commaund of Sergent Major Gory and Cap. Poignes[2] besides two companies of townesmen.

1. Captain Richard Swanley had coöperated with Waller against Portsmouth which capitulated 7 September 1642. In the fleet of 1643 he commanded the Bonaventure of 34 guns as Admiral of the Irish Seas—D.N.B. lv, 196.

2. Sergeant-Major Humphrey Corey and Captain John Poynes.

3. Grace, dau. of Sir George Trenchard, first wife of Sir John Strangways.

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from thence wee marched yesterday either where wee are now advisinge with the gentlemen of the country for the raysing both of men and mony, and that speedyly that wee may be able not onely to defend this country from Malignants, but to assist the adjacent provinces, but as yet wee have noe mony, and what to doe I knowe not. . .

Your most affectionate servant,

HERCULES LANGRISHE.[1]

From Dorchester.
29 Aprill 1643.

(Major Langrishe to Governor Nat. Fiennes of whose regiment LANGRISHE was Major.)

Clarendon MS. 22, No. 1679, f. 37.

Sir,

I have now an earnest desire to look homewards, but we must viset the Iland first. We have this day sent a summons to them, and if we have not a faier answer we intende to fale on them, the gentlemen of this country hath raysed much mony and are now raysinge ther forces, I am sure I have lost much mony in my oen country by attendinge on them but if we shoulde yet leave them theay woolde be in a farr worse condicion then we founde them beinge farther ingaged and the Malignants three for one. . . . . .

ALEXANDER POPHAM.

Dorchester the
1 May 1643.

Pray present my servais to Levitenant Collonell Whiet.

(To Collonell Fynes Governor of Bristoll.)

Clarendon MS. 22, No. 1680, f. 39.

Your answer to our summons att Dorchester beinge noe way satisfactory hath made us draw partte of our forces hither. Resolving to loose noe time for the reducing of the Castelle and Iland of Porteland to thir obedience to the King and Parllament wee have therefore once more addressed this unto you (nor must you ever hereafter expect another sommons) that you presently upon sight hereof, all excuses sett apart, deliver up to us for the service of the King and Parllament the said Castle and Iland upon the conditions mentioned in our former summons and noe other which if you reffuse att

1. Hercules Langrishe of Langrishe, near Petersfield.

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this time wee resolve shall never bee offered you more by us.

Dated at Waymouth this 4th of May 1643.

Henry Vaugham	Alex. Popham
Henry Oland	Edw. Popham
Arthur Savill	Hercules Langrishe
Evan Jones	Mathue Allen, Major
Will. Briton	Henry Michell
Will. Long	Tho. Hodges
John Arthur	Humfry Cory
	Francis Champneye
	Jon. Poynes
	Tho. Morgan
	John Erless. Major

(Summons from the Parliament Officers for the Castle and Island of Portland to surrender.)

Clarendon MS. 22 No. 1681, f. 40.

Noble Colonele

. . . wee will forth with march towardes you both togeather, but it will be either Wensday night or Thursday morninge before wee can be in Bristole, because wee have some prisoners to convoy thither of imaginary quality vid. King Gardiner as he termed him selfe of Portland, whereof wee tooke possession the last night, but to doe it Colonel Alexander Popham, I, and many others marched there over the sea, so that he hath done more then the Colonel Edward Popham who tooke but a ship, but yet Colonel Edward was with us, and now to be serious he is a gallant man, and steres as right at sea, and marches as faire at land, as any man I knowe, but hereof more hereafter, at present I must tell you that wee hoope to quarter to morrowe at Eyurl, Thursday at Axebridge, and the next day with you, but before our departure herehence wee will give the best directions wee may to the Deputy Lieutenants of this sheire for the securinge of it, and thus much wee have all ready done that they are allready maister of the townes, fortes and armes, and have and are assured to receave great summes of mony, and above all wee have cowed theire greatest Malignants. . . .

(Yeovil?)

Your most humble and affectionate Major,

HERCULES LANGRISHE.

From Waymouth,
the 7 May 1643.

(To Col. Nath. Fiennes.)

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Tanner MS. 62, fol. 100.

Sir,

Wee hold it our duty to acquaint the House, that (thankes bee to God) the business of settling the affayres of this County goes cheerfully on, the contributions according to the propositions being likely to amount to a considerable summe, and men's affections to the King and Parliament more discovering themselves then was conceived; and some of them professe that if the question had been sooner putt unto them, they would have then given the same answer that they now do. Amongst others Sir Gerrard Napper (one of our members)[1] who hath not only freely and liberally contributed in money to a great summe, but furnished us with many serviceable horses and armes. Hee acknowledgeth that hee hath been long absent from the House, but it was partly by reason of the danger which was in the passage towards London, and partly by reason of his wive's being great with child (now neere her tyme) that he hath in that particular presumed more then otherwise he would have done, and his humble request unto the House is that in that respect hee may for a fewe weeks bee dispensed withall, and his promise is that when that occasion shall bee over hee will not fayle to attend the service of the House, and we make it our humble suite on his behalfe that hee haveing so freely declared himselfe as he hath done and the publique affaires in these partes haveing gayned very much advantage thereby, the House would be pleased to yeald unto his desire therein.

Your humble and affectionate servants,

WA: ERLE.

JOHN BROWNE.

Blandford
17 May 1643.

. . . . . .

(Committee at Blandford to Lenthall.)

The papers taken from Hopton's baggage, when he was repulsed at Sourton Down on 25 April, had revealed to Parliament the King's desire that Hopton should get into touch with Lord Hertford and Prince Maurice. The Parliamentary party in Somerset with the view to prevent the junction

1. Lady Napier was Margaret, dau. and co-heiress of John Colles of Barton, Somerset. Shaftesbury says that Napier "had one of the best estates in the county, was a D.L., Colonel of the Western Regiment, a good housekeeper, well versed in all his country business and employments; but had not a genius above that, and of a temper inclined to envy, not obliging, and to speak as ill as he could of the absent." Fragment of Autobiography. D.N.B. xl, 58.

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of Hopton with Hertford "summoned the whole County to rise and keepe their rendezvous at Taunton Deane." Colonels Popham and Strode lay at Shepton with 4000 men with the same object. On 16 May, Hopton, Sir Bevil Grenvile, and their little army of Cornish Royalists, defeated the Parliamentary forces under Lord Stamford at Stratton, taking 1700 prisoners, besides James Chudleigh and thirty of his officers, all the artillery and baggage. Chudleigh immediately joined the victorious party. Hopton being reinforced by many Devonshire volunteers and many deserters from Stamford's disorganised army, advanced into Devon; and, before many days were over, the whole county, with the exceptions of Bideford and Barnstaple in the north, and of Plymouth, Dartmouth and Exeter—whither Stamford had retreated—in the south, fell easily into his hands. Henry Grey, first Earl of Stamford, had marched into Cornwall with 1400 Horse and 5400 Foot. In his 'Apologie' Colonel John Were relates that he was ordered to bring his Regiment from Crediton to Stratton "where I continued all the fight and came off with my generall who continued to the last, having I suppose not twenty men left with him, when he fired with our assistance divers pieces of Ordnance upon the Enemy." From Stratton, Were went to his own house near Tiverton; from whence he was summoned to bring in as many of his regiment as he could muster to Exeter. From Exeter he was sent to Tiverton, "and was forced wanting Arms, Ammunition and men, to goe for Taunton; having got up what force I could, I marcht through the enemies quarters with much hazard, and came again to Exon, where I continued all the siege. After the surrender of that City upon composition (to Prince Maurice 4 September 1643) I went to my own house, where I could not stay without I would take up Armes for the King, which rather than I would doe, I chose to leave my wife, children and estate to the mercy of the Enemy, though the Parliament was then in its lowest ebbe."[1]

After the disaster at Stratton all eyes were turned on Waller who, by Essex's orders, prepared to march towards Devon; but he did not repeat his earlier triumphs. Many of the chief gentlemen of Wiltshire, Dorset and Somerset had confidently undertaken, if Hertford were to go through those counties with such a strength as they supposed the King could spare him, to raise in a very short time so considerable a power as to oppose any force the Parliament should send. Moved by this and other considerations, such as the brighter

1. Bellum Civile, 46 n. citing 'A Perfect Diurnal.' Gardiner's Civil War, I, 138-9.

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aspect of affairs in the west owing to Hopton's victories and the great influence of Hertford's name among the western gentry, Charles ordered Lord Hertford, with Prince Maurice as his Lieutenant-General, Robert Dormer, first Earl of Carnarvon as General of the Cavalry, and Colonel Thomas Howard, with their respective regiments of Horse to advance into the west. They stayed some few days at Salisbury; and afterwards in Dorset, whilst some new regiments of Horse and Foot—then being levied by the local gentry—came up to them; and then made all convenient haste into Somerset, in order to join with the Cornish as soon as might be. To Hertford at Salisbury came the Lady Blanche, wife of the second Lord Arundell of Wardour and sixth daughter of Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester. She had, although sixty years of age, heroically defended Wardour Castle, Wilts, in her husband's absence at Oxford, with a garrison of twenty-five men against the thirteen hundred of Sir Edward Hungerford and Colonel Strode, from Tuesday 2 May until Wednesday 10 May, 1643. All had been admitted to quarter; but the stipulation against plundering was shamefully broken. Out-buildings were burned; deer killed; ponds cut; fish sold; valuable timber disposed of for next to nothing; pictures and books irrevocably damaged; and a splendid carved chimney-piece, valued at £2000, hacked to fragments with pole-axes. The total loss to Lord Arundell was estimated at £100,000. Hungerford and Strode had brought five cart-loads of the richest hangings and other furniture through Shaftesbury towards Dorchester; and having carried Lady Arundell and her daughter-in-law—Cecily, daughter of Sir Henry Compton and wife of Henry afterwards third Lord Arundell—with her three children, prisoners through Shaftesbury; thinking them not safe enough, had intended to remove them to Bath—a place then much infected with both plague and smallpox. The ladies resolved not to yield themselves prisoners, unless they would take the elder lady out of her bed, and the rest by violence, and so carry her away; but the Parliamentarians, fearing that so great inhumanity might incense the people against them and render them odious to the country, declined this; and since they dared not carry all to Bath they resolved to carry some to Dorchester, "a place no less dangerous for the infection of schism and rebellion than Bath for the plague and small-pox." They took the younger lady's two sons—Thomas, aged nine, afterwards fourth Lord Arundell, and his brother, aged seven—and carried them captives to Dorchester. The plundering and wilful damage of valuable and often irreplaceable property

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was not, of course, confined to the soldiers of one side only. Whitelocke gives a pathetic account of the sack of his house, Fawley Court at Henley-on-Thames, by the Royalist troops in November 1642. Sir John Byron, who commanded them, had indeed forbidden any such outrage; but his orders were disregarded. The soldiers wasted the consumable stores; lit their pipes with the leaves of rare books; destroyed choice manuscripts; tore the feathers out of the beds; carried away Whitelocke's coach, horses and hounds 'which were extraordinary good;' and killed or let escape all his deer save 'only a tame young stag, which they carried away,' and, unkindest cut of all, 'presented to Prince Rupert.'[1]

Upon Hertford's first entrance into the west the royal service sustained an unspeakable loss in the death of Richard Rogers of Bryanston, near Blandford. Rogers, through his first wife, Elizabeth Lewin, was connected with the Hoptons; Sir Ralph himself having married Sir Justinian Lewin's widow: their daughter, Elizabeth Rogers, married (1) Charles Cavendish, Viscount Mansfield, eldest son of William Duke of Newcastle, and (2) Charles Stewart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox. Richard Rogers was also first cousin to Lord Hertford—his aunt Honora Rogers having espoused Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp; while his half-brother Edward Rogers had married Howarda, daughter of Sir John Strangways, who, after his death, had become the wife of Sir Lewis Dyve, half-brother of Lord Digby. Rogers was a Knight of the Shire, but the dominant party at Westminster had excluded him and chosen Sir Thomas Trenchard in his room —a fact that would certainly not decrease his influence among the Royalists. Clarendon, indeed, considers that Poole and Lyme, which afterwards gave Charles so much trouble, would, had he lived, have been undoubtedly reduced; but that, by his death, all such hopes were cancelled—the surviving gentry of the shire being, though well-affected for the most part, yet so inactive that the progress made there that year to the King's advantage owed little to their assistance.[2]

On 20 May, according to Treasurer Bury's accounts, Parliament sent a piece of ordnance and some men to Blandford. When Waller lay there he levied a fine of £500 on the town; and the Corporation paid £35 and £70 more in this same year. The Royalists seem to have been more merciful to the place; but we find in the accounts:

1. Gardiner's Civil War, I, 166. Clarendon's 'Rebellion,' VII, 94. Mercurius Rusticus. Hutchins, III, 10. D.N.B. II, 143. Whitelocke, 65. Dorset N.H.A.F.C., XV, 31, &c.

2. Christie, I, 20, 25. Clarendon, VII, 95. Hutchins, I, 250, 221.

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Paid Mr. Pook towards the Prince's quarters—£3.
Compelled to pay the quarters of several gentlemen—£1 17s. od.
Lord Carnarvon's trumpeter's fee—15s. od.
Paid for gunpowder and match—5s. od.
Imposed on the County in one fortnight—£1500.

For 22 and 26 May we have the following letters:

Clarendon MS. 22, No. 1683, f. 43.

Sir,

Wee have receyved intelligence that a considerable party of the Enemy's horse advanced last night to Shaftesbury, and that Sir Edward Hungerforde retreated about midnight towards Dorchester. And it is thought fit that Sir William Waller (who is gon to Gloucester for that purpose) drawe his forces towardes Bathe: and it is desired that you woulde speedily send the whole remaynder of Col. Popham's regiment, and that you would to morrow send Capt. Fiennes, Major Langrige, C. Vaughan's and C. Rawlin's troops to joyne with them, that they may be heare alltogeather to morrowe: wee desyre lykewyse to send competent powder, matche and bullets to serve them in theyre marche.

Sir, not farther to trouble you wee are
Your fryndes to serve you
Alexander Popham.
Anth. Nicoll.
Bathe, 22 May, 1643. Chr. Walker.
William Hide.
Rich. Cole.
Will. Strode.
John Ashe.

Capt. Cole's troupe of horse, and Capt. Oaland's company of dragons are desired to come with the rest of the forces. It is desyred you would send mony to pay your owne horse.

(To Col. N. Fiennes, Gov. of Bristol).

Clarendon MS. 22. No. 1684, f. 45.

Deare brother!

Collonel Poppam has sent all his foot allready towards Froom, and by this time is gone after them himselfe, his dessigne is to surprize the three troopes of the enemye which are to be there this night, and soe to morrow he intends to be heere againe; he could not get the troopes that lay in towne to march with him, all- **Alex. Popham.**

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though he promised them very largely, *viz.*, to give 20s. a man to them before they stirred. I should have been heartily glad that some of our troopes had been ready to have marched with him, but we had not notice soon enough. But I thinke it very needfull that you give orders to all your foure troopes to meet in some convenient feild on this side Keinsom to morrow as early as may and there to stay togeather till they receive further orders, soe they may be ready, if there should be occasion to help to make good Collonell Poppam's retreat, and besides I conceive their quarter att Keinsom and Whitchurch, soe scattered as they are, will not be safe, the enemye being advanced soe neare as Warmister and Froom, which is not above 12 myles from this place; soe that though there should be noe occasion for them to help Collonell Poppam in his retreat, yet they being drawn togeather would be the readyer to march to other quarters where they should be ordered. Collonell Poppam hath given neer £150 for your troopes, which heere I have sent you by these bearers; it was all he could spare att this present. He promiseth the rest soe soone as he can get it up. Sir Edward Hungerford is this afternoon come hether with his horse and dragoons. I perceive Sir William Waller's dessigne is somethinge altered; he would have Collonell Poppam with your horse and Sir Edward Hungerford's and the rest of the horse in Somersetshire to march strayt towards Bridgewater togeather with Collonell Poppam's foot; and himselfe will eyther come after or march an other way; but it will be some time ere he will be ready to march. I could wish you would be heere early to morrow; I shall wayt your comminge. They have sent a post to Sir William Wallers and the answere will be heere to morrow morninge. It would not be amisse if you sent Captain Olands companye with your horse att least for the present, but I leave all to your better consideration, and rest,

Keynsham and Whitchurch, Somerset. Warminster, Wilts. Frome, Somerset.

Your most lovinge brother,

JOHN FIENNES.[1]

Bath, May 26, 1643.

(Address) For the Honourable Collonell Nathaniel Fiennes, Governor of Bristol, these

(Endorsement) May 26, 1643. Concerning the Motion of Colonel Popham, Sir William Waller and Sir Edward Hungerford.

1. Third son of William, first Viscount Saye and Sele, and younger brother of Nathaniel. His son Lawrence became eventually fifth Lord Saye and Sele.

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On 3 June, Sir Walter Erle writes from Dorchester to Speaker Lenthall concerning the state of the county. Although the enemy is now not far off: yet, his having removed from Blandford to Sherborne, intercourse between Dorset and Westminster is not entirely cut off as it was a few days before. On the enemy's approach to Salisbury, Erle—seeing that the only force with which to oppose him in this county consisted of a troop of Horse, a company of dragoons and a Foot company or two—had resorted to Waller, then but a day's journey away. Him he plainly convinced that, unless he speedily came with reinforcements, not only Dorchester but the whole County would in all likelihood be lost—a matter of great consequence to Parliament owing to the port-towns and magazines in Dorset. Waller seemed about to advance on Salisbury and Erle returned hopefully to Dorchester. But other counsels prevailed, and Waller sat down before Worcester; the enemy, meanwhile, increasing his strength, advanced to Blandford, twelve miles distant only from Dorchester, there to take up his quarter. This startled those in Dorchester; the rather that this town being the chief quarter of Parliament in the county could not, by men of judgement, be thought tenable; besides that the slender works there wanted men wherewith to man them. Yet they resolved to defend themselves the best they could; and thereupon, getting in some more men and spare arms from the country round, put themselves into a reasonable good posture. Their soldiers manifested much courage and resolution. All the magistrates, commanders, and officers obliged themselves by solemn protestation to live and die together in defence of the place which, as is supposed, coming to the enemy's knowledge caused him to march away to Sherborne. Whilst the eyes of those in Dorchester were thus fixed upon Maurice and Hertford; sadder tidings came that the Cornish were advancing on the other side, and were come within little more than a day's march of the town. This was extremely unwelcome and disheartening news; but, in the midst of their deliberations concerning what had better be done, to meet the new aspect of affairs, intelligence was brought of the approach of Colonel Popham to the rescue with a good strength both of Horse and Foot; and immediately after of Sir William Waller's abandoning his siege of Worcester and marching in the same direction. Yet the enemy's forces on both sides increase so fast, by the help of the *posse comitatus*, that—unless some other force comes in the rear—it will be a hard pull to clear these parts as is intended and desired. The Royalists are getting in all the arms, horses, etc; they make men compound

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for their arms taken for the use of Parliament; they plunder the best-affected; and commit all manner of outrages. "God of His Mercy deliver this poor country from such guests as these." Erle conjures the Speaker to acquaint the House with the miserable condition of those in Dorset which is likely to be much worse and more miserable, if some speedy course is not taken. They were in a good way of raising the money and settling the peace of the county, but Lenthall can see how they are interrupted. Erle humbly desires he may not be cast upon impossibilities, as he will be if help is not afforded. He has a great burthen lying upon him personally; as his fellow Deputy Lieutenants are, for their better safety, retired into Poole, leaving him alone to manage the whole business. Since he sealed his letter, he adds in a postscript, he has received certain intelligence that the Cornish, with all or most part of their army, are advanced as far as Axminster within 22 miles of Dorchester; and, as some of them give out and by the providing of carriages yesterday at Sherborne appears probable, that both armies are to meet this day about Crewkerne. This being so the Speaker may judge in what condition Erle and his friends are.[1]

The very next day, 4 June, Hopton effected a junction at Chard with Hertford and Prince Maurice. At the approach of their combined forces, numbering about 6300 men with some sixteen field-pieces, Taunton surrendered; and the garrison of Bridgewater fled without striking a blow. The garrison of Dunster Castle sent in its submission about the same time—Mr. Luttrell, the owner of the place, being cleverly wrought upon by Francis Wyndham. Hertford stayed in Taunton about seven or eight days and appointed Sir John Stawel, whom Shaftesbury styles "haughty and obstinate," Governor of Taunton, Colonel Edmond Wyndham (then High Sheriff of Somerset) Governor of Bridgewater, and Mr. Francis Wyndham Governor of Dunster Castle. At Glastonbury there was a skirmish with a small body of Horse—relics of Stamford's cavalry at Stratton, These men were easily defeated by the Royalists; driven through Wells; and over the Mendips. The horsemen who followed Hertford and Maurice were desperate plunderers; and as a commander of the Cornish soldiers, as guiltless in this matter as Cromwell's troopers, Hopton was gravely dissatisfied with the evil which he was powerless to stay. He was, too, the more vexed being himself a native of Somerset; and they were his own friends and neighbours who complained in vain of the ravages to

1. Hist. MS. 13th, I, 710.

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which they were subjected. At Chewton, to the north of the Mendips, the Royalists found themselves in the presence of Waller's army, which had for some little time been established at Bath; whither had come to his assistance Sir Arthur Hesilrige with six troops of Horse "by the Royalists surnamed the Lobsters because of the bright iron-shell with which they were all couvered." But Waller, nevertheless, was unwilling to abandon the defensive: with an army, weak and ill-provided, he feared to leave Bristol unprotected. West Somerset was, for the most part, hostile to him; East Somerset, a land of small freeholders and thriving industries, favourable to the Parliamentary cause. The Royalist commanders, then, were the first to move. Sweeping round, by way of Frome, to Bradford-on-Avon they threw themselves between Waller and London; and, at the same time, threatened Bath by way of the Avon valley—the easiest means of approach. Waller, however, was an able tactician; and although, on 3 July, they succeeded in drawing a small body of the enemy out of Monkton Farleigh on the high ground to the north of the river; yet, with Waller's main army on the other side of the valley under Claverton Down, they neither dared to cross the river in face of the enemy; nor pursue their way to Bath—leaving him in their rear. The fourth of July was spent in manœuvring; and at last the Royalists abandoned the line of the river and betook themselves to Marshfield; apparently hoping to reach Bath more easily from its northern side along the ridge of Lansdown. But Waller still blocked the way; and on the fifth of July was fought the battle of Lansdown in which the Royalists, with great loss to themselves, defeated Waller who retired to Bath. The following day Hopton was severely wounded by the explosion of an ammunition-waggon; so they spent that night at Marshfield and the two following at Chippenham. Then, on an alarm that the enemy was approaching, they hurried on to Devizes; suffering heavily from Waller's attacks upon their rear. On 10 July, Waller took up a position on Roundway Down—a chalk hill about a mile to the north of Devizes commanding the road to Oxford. A convoy of ammunition, coming from Oxford under the charge of the Earl of Crawford, fell easily into his hands; but he was unable to hinder the escape of the Royalist cavalry, who rode off with Hertford and Maurice in the direction of Salisbury. Hopton's Cornishmen might well appear to be in a desperate plight when, on the morning of the 11th, Waller laid siege to Devizes. Hopton gave his orders from his sick-bed; and, his Foot being still more numerous than those of the enemy, he threw up barricades at

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the entrances of the streets. But the town was unfortified; scarcely any powder remained; and the stock of match was entirely exhausted. Hopton, however, ordered the ropes which supported the sacking of the townsmen's beds to be collected and boiled in resin. But although he could provide match, he could not provide powder; and the evening of 13 July had been fixed upon by Waller for the general assault. But in the afternoon, Maurice re-appeared, having returned from Oxford with a considerable reinforcement under Wilmot. Waller at once drew off his men from before Devizes to meet the new enemy; and sustained a severe defeat—his army for all practical purposes being annihilated.[1]

The immediate results of this disaster were that Waller abandoned Bath; and that Rupert, at the head of a strong force, marched out of Oxford on 18 July, and, joining the victors, sat down before Bristol on the 23rd. Three days later, to the surprise of the Royalists, Nathaniel Fiennes offered to surrender the city; and Rupert thus found himself in possession of the prize he had coveted so long. The ultimate results of the Royalist victories at Roundway and Adwalton Moor were that the scheme for calling in the Scots which the Parliamentary leaders had long entertained became a question of practical politics; and that the thinly-veiled antagonism of their generals, Essex and Waller, grew to a head.

Corfe Castle, in the Isle of Purbeck, stands on a natural hill which has been so scarped artificially that the highest part now forms a large Motte. Three wards can now be distinguished; the eastern or motte ward, the western, and southern—in all somewhat under five acres.[2] Camden says "This Purbeck is called an Isle, although it be only a Demy Iland, compassed round about with the sea, save only on the west side. For, on the East, the sea bendeth the banks inward and breaking in at a very narrow streight between the two shores (against which a small Isle with a block-house called Brensey—Brownsea—standeth) maketh a broad and wide bay. It is wholly environed with waters except it be on the North side, where it closeth with the continent and hath one gate and no more leading into it." In 1635 Sir John Bankes, who, six years later, was made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, purchased the Manor of Corfe Castle from

1. Gardiner's Civil War, I, 167. Clarendon VII, 98, 86-121. Bellum Civile, pp. 47-58; 84-99.

2. The principal ward is situate on the highest part of the hill; and on the west side, on the very top of the hill, stood the great or King's Tower, 72ft. by 60ft., and about 80ft. high, with a wall 12ft. thick.

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Lady Hatton, widow of Sir Edward Coke. He accompanied Charles to Oxford in the winter of 1642; and remained there until his death, 28 December, 1644, when he was buried in Christ Church Cathedral. His wife, Lady Bankes, was the only daughter of Ralph Hawtrey of Ruislip, Middlesex. By May, 1643, the Parliamentarians under Sir Walter Erle, Sir Thomas Trenchard, and others, having possessed themselves of Dorchester, Lyme, Melcombe, Weymouth, Wareham and Poole, and Portland being captured during the first week of the month, Corfe Castle alone remained in obedience to the King. But the rival party, knowing how much it concerned them to add this other Castle to their other garrisons in order to make the sea-coast wholly theirs, resolved, if possible, to seize the place by stratagem. On May-day, it was usual for the Mayor and Barons of Corfe Castle, accompanied by the gentry of the island, to course a stag; permission having been first obtained from the lord of the Castle. On this day some troops of Horse from Dorchester and other places came into the island with the intent to surprise the huntsmen suddenly and take the Castle; but the news of their advent spoiled the day's sport, and made Lady Bankes give orders that the gates were to be shut against all comers. Some of the troopers came to the Castle under a pretence to see it, and, entrance being denied them, the common soldiers used threatening language, letting fall words which implied some intention of taking the Castle; but their commanders astutely disavowed any such thought, denying that they had any such commission. Nevertheless, Lady Bankes took occasion to call in a guard to protect her; and soon after letters arrived from the Committee at Poole demanding the four small pieces of cannon in the Castle; because the islanders had been alarmed at seeing the same mounted and put on their carriages. Thereupon she despatched messengers to Dorchester and Poole to entreat the Commissioners that these small pieces might remain there for her defence; and, to remove all ground of suspicion, she caused the cannon to be taken off their carriages again. A promise was then given that they should be left in her possession. However, before long a force of forty seamen suddenly appeared, very early in the morning, to demand the cannon; and Lady Bankes herself went to the gates and desired to see their warrant. This signed by some of the Commissioners was produced; but, instead of delivering the pieces, she immediately ordered the five men then in the Castle, assisted by the women servants, to mount the cannon upon their carriages again. One of these was then loaded and fired, which so affrighted the sailors that they all quitted

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the Castle and ran away. They being gone, she summoned help by beat of drum and a very considerable guard of tenants and friends came in to her assistance. About fifty arms were brought in from several parts of the island, and this guard kept for about a week. But the rival party threatened to burn the houses of those who assisted her; intercepted two hundredweight of powder; caused proclamation to be made at Wareham that no beef, beer or other provisions should be sold to Lady Bankes or for her use; and kept strict watch that no messenger should pass in or out of the Castle. Being thus distressed, a composition was at last arrived at by which she was to deliver up the four small pieces, the biggest of which carried not above a three-pound bullet; and in return was to enjoy the Castle and arms in it in peace and quietness. A lax watch being now kept she, as far as possible, furnished the Castle with provisions of all kinds, besides a hundredweight and a half of powder and a quantity of match proportionable. Hearing, eventually, that the royal forces under Prince Maurice and Lord Hertford were advancing towards Blandford, she by messenger asked for a commander to take charge of the Castle. They sent a garrison of about eighty men under the command of Captain Robert Lawrence, son of Sir Edward Lawrence, a gentleman of the island; but he, coming without a commission, could not command money or provisions to be brought in until it was too late. There was likewise in the Castle an old soldier, one Captain Bond, who contributed his share to the defence. The first time the Parliamentarians faced the Castle they brought a body of between two and three hundred Horse and Foot with two pieces of ordnance, and from the hills played upon the Castle; fired four houses in the town; and then summoned the place. However, receiving a denial they left it. But on 23 June, Sir Walter Erle, accompanied by Captain William Sydenham, Captain Henry Jervis, Captain George Skutt "son of the arch-traitor Skuts of Poole" (M.P. in place of William Constantine, and Mayor), with a body of between five and six hundred, came and possessed themselves of the town. They had taken the opportunity of a misty morning so that they might find no resistance from the Castle. The garrison appears to have had no ordnance; but the besiegers brought with them a demi-cannon, a culverin, and two sakers or six-pounders. With these and their small shot they played upon all quarters of the Castle with good observation of advantages; making their battery strongest where they thought it weakest. They, moreover, bound themselves by an oath that, if they found the defenders obstinate not to yield, they would main-

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tain the siege to victory and then deny quarter to all—killing without mercy men, women and children. All the assaults of the besiegers were, however, successfully repelled by the little garrison. One of the engines used by the besiegers was called the Sow; and another the Boar; being made with boards lined with wool to deaden the shot. The first that moved forward was the Sow, but, not being musket-proof, 'she cast nine of eleven of her farrow:'[1] for the musketeers of the garrison were such good marksmen at their legs—the only part of all their bodies left without defence—that nine ran away as well as their broken and battered legs would give them leave; and of the two who knew neither how to run away nor well how to stay for fear, one was slain. The Boar, seeing the ill-success of the Sow, durst not advance. The Sow, a sort of covered shed on wheels, is said to have been invented by one Felton, brother of the Duke of Buckingham's assassin, and was frequently employed by the Irish rebels; but in no case does it appear to have proved effective. Dr. William Chillingworth at the Siege of Gloucester constructed "a great store of engines after the manner of the Roman Testudines;" and it was probably one of these, provided with a moveable bridge intended for the passage of the ditch, which the Royalists used at the siege of Canon Frome in 1645, bringing it from Hereford. A Sow of the smaller species, such as was used at Corfe, is mentioned as employed by the Parliament troops while besieging Basing House on 25 August, 1644. The most advantageous part of the besiegers' batteries at Corfe was the Church, which they used not only as their rampart but as their rendezvous. Of the surplice they made two soldiers' shirts; of the organ pipes cases to hold powder and shot; and of the lead, which covered the roof, bullets. The Royalist account declares that Sir Walter never willingly exposed himself to any hazard: for, being by chance endangered by a musket-shot through his coat, he put on a bear's skin; and for fear of the bullets he was seen to creep on all fours along the sides of the hill to keep himself from danger. The garrison sallied out, on one occasion, and brought in eight cows and a bull into the Castle without the loss of a man or one wounded. At another time five boys fetched in four cows. They that stood on the hills called to one in a house in the valley, crying, 'Shoot, Anthony;' but Anthony thought discretion the better part of valour; so that afterwards there grew up a proverbial

1. This jest is adapted from that of Agnes, Countess of Moray and Dunbar, (Black Agnes of Dunbar), at the ineffectual siege of Dunbar Castle by the English in January, 1338, concerning Lord Salisbury's battering-ram.

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jeer from the defenders to the assailants of 'Shoot, Anthony.' The besiegers, having spent much time and ammunition and some men and yet being as far from hopes of taking the Castle as the first day they came thither, at last received from Lord Warwick a supply of 150 Mariners with several cart-loads of petards,[1] granadoes or shells, and other warlike provisions, with scaling-ladders to assault the Castle by scalado.

Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick, son of Sidney's 'Stella' and first cousin to Lord-General Essex, had practically superseded Northumberland as Lord High Admiral, although he was not actually appointed to that office until 7 December 1643. The Commons had insisted upon Northumberland's appointing Warwick, as admiral of the fleet which was getting ready to put to sea in March 1642, instead of Sir John Pennington, the King's nominee. Three months later Charles dismissed Lord Northumberland; on which Parliament passed an ordinance, 1 July, directing Warwick to continue in command. The next day he had gone on board the fleet; overcome the resistance of the Royalist officers; and given the command of the sea to the Parliament.

The besiegers at Corfe made large offers to him who should first scale the wall: twenty pounds to the first; and so by descending sums to the twentieth. But rewards could not avail with men who had been brought thither, as some confessed, like sheep to the slaughter; some of them having exchanged the manner of their death, the halter for the bullet, being taken out of gaols. On one, who was taken prisoner, were found burned the letters denoting him a felon. As a last resort, according to the Royalist account, Sir Walter made them drunk; being himself almost the only man that came sober to the assault. Being now pot-valiant and armed with drink they resolved to storm the Castle on all sides and apply their scaling ladders; their leaders having ordered that when twenty were entered they should give a watchword to the rest. This was Old Wat—'a word ill chosen by Sir Watt Erle . . . for if I be not deceived the hunters that beat bushes for the fearful timorous hare call him Old Watt.' They divided their forces into two parties; whereof one assaulted the middle ward, defended by Captain Lawrence and the greater part of his soldiers; the other the upper ward which Lady Bankes with her daughters, women and five soldiers, undertook to make good against their assailants.

1. A petard was a kind of iron mortar of the form of a truncated cone. Firth's 'Cromwell's Army,' 166, citing Grose.

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This she performed: for they were repelled and prevented from climbing their ladders by the heaving over of stones and hot embers. Having lost in this assault one hundred killed and wounded, Erle, hearing that the King's forces were at hand, drew off his men on 4 August 1643 so precipitately that they left their artillery, ammunition and about a hundred horses behind them. He had already plundered and burnt Sir Edward Lawrence's house, Creech Grange, as some revenge upon the son (afterwards Sir Robert Lawrence of Tyneham, Knight) who had defended the Castle so effectually; obliging Lady Lawrence (Grace Brune before marriage) to save her life by flying into the woods. The garrison apparently only lost two men.

Treasurer Bury's accounts at this time contain the following items:—

14 June, 1643 Paid for loading and unloading great guns brought from Portsmouth to Corfe Castle.
18 June Paid ten soldiers for making works against the Castle.
26 June Guns brought against the Castle.
7 July For boards, hair and wool for making a Sow against the Castle. £2 3s. 4d.
12 July For three truckle-wheels for the Sow £0 6s. 0d.
10 July For 74 boards and 120 feet of oaken plank employed in the siege £7 4s. 4d.
24 July To 20 soldiers for planting the ordnance. £1 0s. 0d.
28 July For powder, match, and bullets, for the gunners £268 12s. 3d.
2 August For a firkin of hot waters for the soldiers when they scaled the Castle £1 12s. 0d.

Captain William Sydenham had, apparently, been left in command by Erle to bring off the ordnance, ammunition, and remainder of the men; but, an alarm being given that the royal forces were coming, he left his supper in the Church untasted and hurriedly took boat for Poole. For the next two years Lady Bankes seems to have lived unmolested, partly at Corfe Castle and partly near London.[1]

1. Firth's 'Cromwell's Army,' 148, 165, 167. Hutchins, I, 506n., 507 citing Mercurius Aulicus. Godwin, 241. Clarendon, VII, 191. Ross, 26, 28, 59, 60, 100. Bankes, 181-191 citing Mercurius Rusticus. Where the church tower commanded the house attacked, the church was sometimes destroyed or the church tower pulled down to secure the garrison of the house. At Borstall, Bucks, for example, this was done by the King's orders.

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CHAPTER IV.

Royalist Conquests in Dorset, 30 June to 9 August, 1643.

ON 30 June 1643 Sir Walter Erle writes from Wareham to Speaker Lenthall that, since the departure of Prince Maurice and Lord Hertford from Dorset and their overrunning of Devon and Somerset, men's hearts have so failed them that they are not nearly so forward to engage their persons and estate as formerly they were. The levying of money, moreover, whereupon depends the maintenance of the local forces, is at a standstill; every man being afraid lest the bringing in of his money may expose him and his estate to plunder and rapine, should any strong party of the enemy break in upon the county—as is likely enough. So the local troops have fallen much in arrear —now when they have escaped the danger of being swallowed up by that army which passed through this country, staying by the way well-nigh a fortnight; and are come to be in a worse condition than ever. Erle considers he and his fellows are likely to be utterly ruined if they obey all the commands which are laid upon them. For instance, he is at present ordered by Waller to march towards him with as many men as possible; and, at the same time bidden by Warwick to provide 300 musketeers for the fleet bound for the west. Neither of these demands, in any way, consist with the safety of Dorset and those places of importance in it which hitherto have been kept for Parliament. These demands are such, that, if either of them be yielded to, he will be brought into a far worse condition than ever he was in before; for, whereas, in the lowest state he ever was in during the last twelvemonth, he was able to draw out two or three Foot-companies, if necessary, besides his troop of Horse, now, when within thirty or forty miles of him there are three several bodies of the enemy who may send out parties to molest him, he will be unable to look abroad with so small a number; and that one

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troop of his will be the only troop in Parliament service within forty miles compass. This, moreover, at a time when he is upon the point of besieging, or at least blocking up, Corfe Castle, which begins exceedingly to annoy him and his friends; and when Portland, lately reduced, begins to incline to a second revolt, which will with much more ease take effect since Weymouth will be left without a garrison; as it will be, if both these commands are obeyed. He rather was in hopes that he would have been reinforced by two or three troops of Horse with which he hoped not only to have cleared the western parts of Dorset, where a party or two newly raised begins to spoil and plunder; but all that part of Devon which is between the western bound of this county and Exeter. Sir Walter's humble request is that the House may be made acquainted with the straits into which he is brought, so that there may be some better course taken for the safety of Dorset; or at least he may not be blamed. In the meantime, in obedience to those commands, he has in the first place given order for two troops of Horse, such as they are, to join those of Hampshire and march towards Waller, though with no small hazard; and he is now giving order for two hundred musketeers to be put aboard the fleet, which he supposes will this day come into Portland Road. He desires the presence of Mr. Browne who will be very useful in raising money and other business. On 7 July, Waller sent a letter to Dorchester asking that two troops of Horse and one hundred dragoons might be sent to Colonel Norton of Southwick Park (Erle's son-in-law), already in command of an equal number of men; who was speedily joined by this reinforcement.[1]

Erle's statements were criticised adversely by certain persons and, on 11 July, he writes from Wareham to Lenthall, vindicating himself as follows:—

Tanner MS. 62, f. 160.

Honored Sir,

By my former letters I acquainted you with the estate and condicion wherein the affaires of this county then stoode, informeing you therewithall of somme difficulties (more than ordinary) wherein I then found my selfe to bee involved especially that of satisfyeing the demands of Sir William Waller and the Earle of Warwick both in the poynt of parting with all or the greatest part of the forces under my command for their assistance, severall armies beinge then and yet on foote in the

1. Portland MSS. I, 716. Godwin, 78.

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neighbour counties, and new stirres beginning in the Iles of Purbeck and Portland. Which representation of myne I well hoped would have been a sufficient apologie for mee and have given the House full satisfaction concerning my proceedings what ever ill consequence might follow upon my yealding obedience to their and the Comittee of the Safeties comands in that particular, unto which as much in mee lay I resolved to be conformable. Butt (as I have since understoode) such a dampe was imediately cast upon it by another letter which was upon the readeing of myne produced; as that I now finde my selfe necessitated by a cleare demonstration of particulars to vindicate both my selfe and my actions from those aspersions, which (if not by that letter) yet sure I am by the producer and the manner of producing of it were cast upon them; for which I hope that in due tyme I shall have reparation.

The partie that wrote the letter may be excused, in respect that it is most evident that what he wrote was upon misinformation: but what should move any other, (that gentleman especially so abruptly and besides the matter to obtrude the letter to my disgrace), I cannot easily imagine. The particulars therein mentioned (as I heare) were two, viz. 1, that if I had the Earl of Essex his armie I would not thinke it enough to defend Dorchester, and 2 that I was besiedgeing Corfe Castle three
(f. 160b). miles off. As for the first; the partie that wrote the letter by this tyme knoweth that with lesse then 400 foot and little more then 100 horse over and above the inhabitants most (of one) of them being thought to bee Malignants, I defended not only that towne butt the towne of Weymouth, (both which by none of judgement can be thought tenable by twice that number), against an armie that for 10 or 12 days lay quartered within two miles of mee, (and no armie of ours any thing neere them) so as that the Enemie durst not give an onsett. And what hazzards I have runne and what dangers I have been exposed unto with a handfull of men (fewer by one halfe then those which I now have under my comand for this twelve moneths space), I appeale to the whole country that knowes it; and now if both the commands of Sir William Waller and the Earle of Warwick had obeyed, which I for my part refused not to doe, I (had) been left but with 50 or 60 musketiers and no horse att all to defend those two townes and the whole country. Touching that other particular of Corfe Castle I have

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the Earle of Warwick's letters to shew; which I have sent up herewith to one of your members that stands in no relation unto mee, whereby it doth appeare that my undertakeing of that businesse was upon assurance that I had from him that hee would with that assistance that I could affoord him undertake the worke, he giveing mee direction to hasten thitherward as soone as I should heare of his putting forth from the Ile of Wight towards Studland Baye; which I accordingly did upon the arrivall of two of his shipps there: but afterwards understanding from his Lordshipp that haveing been kept back by contrary windes for the space of ten dayes, he had receaved order from the Comittee of the Safety to hasten westward toward the relief of Exeter I was in doubt whether I should retreat from this place (where I had taken up my quarter with my troope of horse and a foote company or two) or not; untill that his Lordshipp sent mee word that I should by all meanes keepe my men together untill his returne, and then also he sent mee word he had procured 2 great gunnes from Portsmouth for mee, willing men with them to beginn the worke which I did (f. 161). as soone as the gunnes came (and partly before) by quartering somme of my men in Corfe towne, the rest as they came in unto mee I placed on the other side of the castle where the batteries were made. My horse quarter I kept still in this place and that for these reasons. First for that Purbeck is a peninsula lyeing upon the sea and devided from the body of the County by an arme of the sea and a navigable river on which this towne is situate comanding the passage, naturally strong by reason of the confluence of two rivers and haveing also a strong rampart round about it; the inhabitants so malignant as that the better affected durst not stay there but had before this removed thence to Poole. In which respects and considering that if the Enemie should have sent but one troope of horse and possest the towne, our whole business would have been destroyed and wee perhaps might have been so shutt in as to have been subject to a greater mischief, besides the want of accomodation and supply of things necessarie for such a business in any other place neere the Iland. I resolved rather to make it my quarter and to goe off and on from hence every day then to quitt the place and runne such an hazzard as before I have mentioned, and whereas I am blasted here with, in respect that this towne (as it is suggested) is three miles distant from the place of action. It is true

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that it is two miles from the battery, where the mayne of our business lyes; but had I quartered in Corfe towne I should have been within a quarter of a mile as farre remote therefrom, considering that the castle so keepes the passage betwixt the towne and it, as that there is no coming from the one to the other but by fetching a compasse of a mile and halfe on the one side and two miles on the other: besides that the one halfe of my men lye on this side the castle neere the batteries and as neere unto mee as if I were quartered in Corfe itselfe. So as you may see in what an unhappy condicion I am to be censured for my actions, before they are thoroughly understood, and by some perhaps whose understandings
(f. 161b). reach not to such things at all. But with this I will not trouble you any farther; only I desire and make it my humble request that the House would bee pleased (at least as part of a recompense for the faithfull service that I have done them), to give mee the hearing in the makeing of this my apologie and vindicating myselfe from those aspersions which have been unjustly cast upon mee. As for other businesses, first concerning Sir John Penruddock[1] lately taken in this county by a partie of our horse and now sent on shipboard, I suppose you have already heard thereof and of the great treasure that he carried about with him of popish reliques and superstitious curiosities a list whereof I shall shortly present you withall. I thinke it not fitt to say more of it now then that he is the same man for whome upon my information you granted your warrant a yeare and halfe since for speaking of strange things the King would doe when hee came out of Scotland, and what change there should bee in matter of religion. In the next place I have sent herewith some intercepted letters that were to bee carried to the Lord Paulet and others of his familie, whereby the Enemie's intentions concerning Excester are somewhat discovered with other particulars some of which reflect upon this countie. The Earle of Warwick did sett sayle out of Portland roade this morning, I pray God send him good speed. I for my part have reason to wish him a short returne, for all the good I can doe till then is but to keep off victuall and ammunition from the

1. Sir J. Penruddock was High Sheriff of Wilts by royal appointment in 1643-4. He was fined £890 (afterwards reduced to £490). His eldest son John, in the abortive insurrection of March, 1655, occupied Salisbury; marched into Dorset, and proclaimed Charles II at Blandford; but was, finally, beheaded at Exeter on 16 May.

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Castle I am before; the walls being strong and the iron gunnes sent hither from Portsmouth being such as will stand in no great steed for such a worke. And now seeing I am fallen upon this subject againe I thinke fitt to acquaint you that a younger sonn of a gentleman my very good friend and a member of this House, Mr. Browne by name, haveing a good while since made provision of two barrells of powder to putt into Corfe Castle, (and now of late being an attendant of the Lady Bankes) haveing borne armes there, and coming to the towne of Dorchester and openly shewing himself there, at which offence was taken, he was sent for by the Councell of Warre and examined and refuseing to give answer to some particulars had a guard sett upon him for two or three dayes. If therein I have done amiss as some doe suppose I have, I submitt to your censure. Thus craveing to be excused for being so troublesome, I remayne,

Your humble and faithfull servant,
WA. ERLE.

Warham,
11 July, 1643.
(To Lenthall).

Bristol surrendered, as we have seen, on 26 July. The late governor, Nathaniel Fiennes, upon his arrival in London was court-martialled and sentenced to death; but the penalty was remitted by Essex and Fiennes was merely excluded from military service, for which he was obviously unfitted. Scarcely had Bristol fallen, when a force under Prince Maurice was despatched by the conquerors to push on that advance along the line of the southern counties which had always formed part of the King's strategy. Charles had given orders to Lord Carnarvon to advance towards Dorchester, "the chief town in that county, and the most malignant in England, where the rebels had a garrison," with the Horse and dragoons; and the next day to Maurice to march after him with the Foot and cannon. Hertford was to remain in attendance upon the King's person; and Clarendon criticises adversely the royal decision in this as in some other matters. He considers that, although inclined to be inactive, Hertford's influence and experience joined with that of Lord Hopton, left behind in Bristol, would have led to far better results for the royal cause in the west than could any expedition hope to do under the command of Maurice. That prince was ignorant of English manners and customs; averse from considering

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them; headstrong and inexperienced. He should never have held any command not purely martial. On 2 August Lord Carnarvon, riding in advance of the main body, summoned Dorchester to surrender.[1]

The county town had long been, as Clarendon complains, devoted to the puritanical and Parliamentary interest. Though neither strong by nature, nor capable of being made so by art, that defect was supplied by the spirit and obstinacy of the inhabitants. It had been anciently encompassed by a high and thick wall of stone beyond which again were two ramparts of earth, 1700 paces in length. Some remains of both the Roman wall and rampart may be seen on the western, southern and eastern sides of the town in the plan attached to Speed's "Map of the County" (1610). By Charles I's Charter of 1629 the inhabitants of Dorchester were made a body corporate by the name of the Governor, Assistants and Freemen of the Borough. This provision by strengthening the restrictive action of the town as a close and exclusive trading community, must have had considerable effect in arresting its growth and development. The office and title of Mayor dates from this Charter. It was early fortified against the King by some leaders of the faction. On 24 September 1630 the merchants and tradesmen of the Borough were enrolled into a company entitled the Governor (John Longe), Assistants and Freeman of Dorchester; and the tradesmen and handicraftsmen were divided into five companies of (i) Merchants, (ii) Clothiers, (iii) Ironmongers, (iv) Fishmongers, and (v) Shoemakers and Skinners. Certain entries, taken from several old minute-books of the Corporation, serve to illustrate both the progress of affairs in the town and neighbourhood and the temper of the people. As early as 27 September 1639 a note occurs of the store of powder in the Magazine in the Shirehall taken by William Joliff, woollen draper (Bailiff 1629, 1643-4) and Joseph Paty (Warden of the Clothiers 1630). The county powder consisted of thirty-seven casks; the town store of three barrells. At the angle where the south and east streets join, two houses formerly stood near together; and a few rooms belonging to them were built over the street, making a narrow and inconvenient passage. This place was called the Bow and was demolished in 1748. The old Town-hall stood over the Shambles near the Bow; the town prison for debtors, and the blind-house for confining disorderly people for the night, were adjoining on the north side, and were taken down in 1792.

1. Clarendon VII, 155-6.

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On 8 November 1641 it was agreed that window leaves were to be made by the Steward of the Borough for the windows at the back of the Shirehall and gaol therein; that a constant watch should be kept every night until further notice within the town by twelve men, whereof three shall watch about the Shirehall and between the Shirehall and Mr. Churchill's house; that one discreet person should every Lord's day during service and sermon watch on the tower of St. Peter's church and view the country round about; and that the townsmen should be moved to provide all their arms in readiness for the defence of the town. On 11 January 1642 it was ordered that the keyer of all the gates should wait at the three several main-guards from the time of the discharging of the ward until the watch arrive, and so likewise in the morning to stand at the gates between the watch and the ward, and not to deliver the keys to any unless to the Captain of the watch or to the rounders or by their appointment.[1] On 16 January it was agreed that the townsmen were to raise and continue a convenient number of soldiers armed for the defence of Dorchester to be paid weekly; and that the number be 160 at least, besides officers. These soldiers were to consist of two companies of 80 men each, whereof as many were to be musketeers as possible; and one of Captain Churchill's company to be under the command of Captain Joseph Paty, the other under Captain John Seward, and every man to be paid 2s. a week. They were to watch every third night; to appear at their colours to be drilled one afternoon a week, to be paid 12d. a day, and after that proportion during such time as such shall do constant service, and so for every half-day. Paty's lieutenant was Josiah Terry; his ensign John White; his sergeants Walter Huett and Nicholas Stone; his drummer Perryn: Seward's lieutenant was Edward Bragge; his ensign Edward Dashwood; his sergeants William Butler, William Loder and Thomas Phillips; his drummer Hillard. On 24 January it was found that there were already enlisted for the town force, at 2s. apiece weekly, 140 who were to watch in their turn every third night; and that, besides these that were in that pay and those that contributed to their payment, there were in several houses fit to watch by seven at night at the bowguard (Cornhill Corner) and nine in the day to ward 230. This bowguard watch and town ward were appointed to be warned by the constables, of whom two were to ward at every town-gate; one at Glippath

1. Watch = nightguard; ward = dayguard. Rounders = probably a party told off to patrol the 'chemin de ronde'—the circuit of the walls.

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or Glydipath Hill on the way northward out of the town; one at the Gallows to the south-east; and one upon the tower (St. Peter's); and upon every Sabbath and fast day two on the tower, and on those days the ward to consist of ten. On 3 February it is recorded that the rate for the payment of 160 soldiers at 2s. each having been continued for two weeks, many of the townsmen rated have refused—some of them to pay anything at all, others to pay for more than one week—whereupon it is agreed that that payment shall cease; and that now the constables shall again warn both watch and ward; and that from henceforth those soldiers who before enlisted be not disbanded but mustered once a week, Thursday or Friday; and be paid 8d. apiece weekly for mustering. On 8 February it is agreed that, whereas there were £10 and upwards laid out by Thomas Clench—scoutmaster—for a month past for messengers and scouts, and there being no money to be had of the Commissary for the present; Mr. John Hill, merchant and late M.P. for Dorchester, having money in his hands promised to be lent to Parliament, is content to pay £10 out of it to Clench to be repaid him by the town unless the sum be allowed out of the money lent to Parliament. On 10 February whereas £3 was paid out last week to Matthew Morton for three weeks past out of money given by the townsmen towards the fortifications; and now there is £4 18s. 8d. left of that money given; and yet more money is to be advanced to pay workmen about the fortifications this week: it is agreed that the money now to be advanced shall be paid out of £14 to be paid in to-morrow towards £24 for Peter Standish's standing; and all to be paid out of the town money to be demanded out of the several contribution money in the Commissary's hands. And inasmuch as William Hillett and John Vincent of Chardstock, having come to the town to serve under Sir Walter Erle, now desire to be billetted until Sir Walter comes, it is agreed each of them shall have 6s. a week for their billet; and because they are to do duty and work at the fortifications, which it is agreed the brewhouse shall pay, they are to bring their muskets into the town. On 17 February it is agreed that Philip Cornew, coming from Taunton hither upon the consideration of Mr. Newton, shall be entertained as a soldier being furnished with a musket and sword and have 6s. a week paid by the brewhouse. On 24 February £6 were given to the three Captains of the town to pay their soldiers that served the two days this week in the common arms. On 17 March William Collins writes to Mr. John Seaward to know if the town will entertain him for a gunner. Seaward is de-

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sired to write that he shall have an answer next week, when the Deputy-Lieutenant can be spoken with. Robert Burt, carpenter, brings in his note for chests, made and unmade on his hands: he desires to have 10s. allowed him for his loss. It is agreed the town shall take the chest that is made, and the Steward shall pay Robert Burt for it 9s.[1]

On 24 May, 1642, Speaker Lenthall, in a letter to Henry Maber, Mayor of Dorchester, after instancing the vast charge the House had already incurred in order to maintain the army in Ireland and for the provision of £110,000 "shortly to be paid to our Brethren in Scotland;" asks for as considerable a sum of money as can be obtained from the Borough of Dorchester to be sent to London by 20 June—which shall be truly repaid at 8% within a year. On 1 July it is agreed that the town powder in three barrells, the lead and loose match belonging to the town, shall be removed to the counting-house in the town brew-house. The County powder consisted of 37 barrells containing 4,364lbs. On Tuesday, 19 July, the Mayor received an ordinance of Parliament by virtue of which the Mayor, Aldermen, and capital burgesses of Dorchester were given power to assemble all the inhabitants of the town and liberties of the same, or any others that shall offer themselves as volunteers, that are meet and fit for the wars; and them array, weapon, train, exercise, and put in readiness, and them lead, conduct, and employ, so arrayed and weaponed, for the suppression of all forcible attempts that shall be made against the said town, and to hinder the surprisal of the ordnance and magazine there. Sir A. A. Cooper, High Sheriff of Dorset. seems to have been opposed to these directions: for on 3 August, John Browne, on behalf of Parliament, writes promising from both Houses protection and indemnification for the Mayor and Aldermen of Dorchester in carrying out the former ordinance in spite of the High Sheriff who had, presumptuously and illegally, required them

1. For John and Richard Churchill of Dorchester v. Minute Books, 299, 303, 391, 400. John Seaward died at Weymouth before 22 Dec. 1647; ibid., 306, 559. Nicholas Stone testifies to statement of Elizabeth Perry, ibid., 171. 1647. Capt. Edw. Bragge next in command to Lt.-Col. Rob. Coker as Gov. of Weymouth &c.; and next year was of Portland garrison. ibid., xxx, 486. Wm. Loder, tailor, ibid. 334. Nov. 1646, Thos. Phillips to be paid £10 6s. 0d. Hen. Hillard, carpenter, ibid. 87. Nich. Hillard, ibid. 358, Undermarshall of Weymouth garrison—both of Dorchester. Thos. Clench, 16 Nov. 1647, to be paid £15 14s. 6d. at 8% for services while scoutmaster, 288. In list of soldiers this day listed for 27 Feb. 1642, Hutchins II, 342. John Hallett of Chardstock.—Mr. Seaward's armes. John Vincent—Sick at Mr. Laurence's. Philip Cornew of Taunton—His own armes. John Vincent one of four ordered on 25 March, 1647 to keep constant watch within Isle of Purbeck against rogues and pirates, Minute Books, 210. Rob. Burt in Nov. 1646 is owed £30, ibid. 31, 87.

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to forbear the training and mustering of persons well-affected to Parliament for the defence of the town; and "to demolish all such works, by him supposed to be fortifications" erected for the better preservation thereof. On 7 October, Henry Bushrode is appointed to keep the keys, and to see the two east-gates and that on Gallows Hill shut at night and opened in the morning; and to have for his pains 6/8 a quarter.[1] All the gates are to open at day-break: all the back gates are to shut at candle-lighting; and the east, west, and south main-gates between eight and nine o'clock at night. In Treasurer Bury's accounts we have the following particulars of the expenses of carrying on the work during the time this town was fortified and made a garrison. On the 10 August, 1642, there were borrowed of John FitzJames £1300 at 8%, for which Sir T. Trenchard, Sir W. Erle, John Browne, M.P., Dorset, and Dennis Bond, M.P., Dorchester, were bound. They then received from the Guildhall, London, £800 more; and contributions from several persons to the amount of £70 5s. od. The Treasurer's receipts from 13 November, 1642, to 20 July, 1643, amounted to £14,689 11s. 10d.: whereof was borrowed of William White, merchant, £1100 at 8%; of John Browne, Esq., £420; of John Michel, Esq., £500; and of several others £1147—generally at the same interest. The other moneys were received of their Collectors. The disbursements came to £19,067 18s. 5d. from 20 July, 1642, to 4 August, 1643. The Minute Books of the Dorset Standing Committee supplement and expand this statement to some extent. Mr. John Hill lent £150 to the Treasurer and was owed £119 10s. od. for money and horses advanced by him. Captain James Gould, merchant of Dorchester, on 29 April, 1643, lent £300 in horses, money and plate; and on 6 May, the Rev. Edward Pele of Compton Valence, lent £50.[2]

The fortifications were begun on 20 July, 1642, and carried briskly forward throughout the month of August; and continued at various times until May, 1643—in which year, from 29 May to 3 June, they worked day and night on them in more than ordinary haste. Several bulwarks and forts are mentioned: a fort and platform at the south-gate; a platform for ordnance at the west-gate; works, and a court of guard, at the east-gate; and works at the north-gate,[3] at the Priory

1. Henry Mory appointed for the two west-gates and at Glippath for a like reward. Roger Turner for the three south-gates at 5/- a quarter.

2. Hutchins II, 341-343. Moule's 'Old Dorset' passim. Minute Books, 12, 245, 485. Dorset N.H.A.F.C., xv., 150-3. Dorchester Records, 508, 525-8, 678-87, xxix.

3. North Gate in Glippath at top of 'Cater's Close' where Glenview stands.

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and at Maumbury, the Roman amphitheatre. From 14 to 20 June, twenty-four gunners and their mates were in the town, and four pieces of ordnance brought from Weymouth. On 22 July the companies of the Colonel and Governor, Sir Walter Erle, and of Captains John Whiteway and John Seaward were there beside the garrison. The Minute Books again throw some light upon the history of the town at this time. Edward Hill is mentioned as blacksmith to the garrison. Matthew Harvey, mercer, supplied £14 worth of goods to several commanders under Erle, viz., Quarter-Master Thunder, Lieutenant Snelling, Quarter-Master Chesheere, Mr. Fettyplace and Mr. Johnson, Quarter-master to Sir Walter's own troop. John Roberts is owed for arms and the fixing of arms; George Bartlett for iron used in the fortifications; Richard Williams, Chandler, for candles used by the garrison; Thomas Cussens, armourer, for the supply and mending of arms; Henry Hillard for carpenter's work in garrison. On 7 January, 1646, John Whiteway is to receive six months' pay, £126 at 8%, for his services as Captain from 5 February, 1642, until 4 August, 1643: he had also expended £113 12s. od. in money, plate, horse and driver, and other provisions for use of the State. Richard Savage, who served as Captain of a Foot Company at the same time and place, is to receive the same remuneration. Christian Adyn, widow, is to be paid what is owing to her for the quartering of soldiers belonging to Captains John Lea and Smith (?) under Sir Walter; the executor of Thomas Foxwell, deceased innholder, for quartering of officers and soldiers; and William Wilson for the same. John Bunn of Fordington is to be compensated for the loss he sustained through the demolition of his house and stable near Dorchester, when the town was garrisoned.[1]

Despite their elaborate preparations, however, the people of Dorchester made no resistance on the approach of the Royalists. Erle was away besieging Corfe Castle, and the courage of the townsmen had been sapped by fugitives from Bristol. Colonel William Strode, in particular, taking Dorchester on his way to London, when desired by the local magistrates to view their works and fortifications and give his judgment upon them, told them their works might keep out the Cavaliers for about half-an-hour, and then recounted to them strange stories of their manner of assaulting Bristol; and how the royal soldiers made nothing of running up walls twenty-foot high, no works being capable of keeping them

1. Minute Books, 31, 95, 123, 128, 263, 275, 338, 132, 15, 170, 55, 73, 541, 221.

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out. Such terror had the fall of Bristol induced in the minds of the Parliamentarians and so divided were their counsels that no sooner had Lord Carnarvon, with nearly 2000 Horse and dragoons, arrived before Dorchester on 2 August, 1643, than the town sent commissioners to treat with him. Carnarvon received them graciously and upon articles of indemnity, that they should not be plundered nor suffer for any ill they had done, they delivered up the town with all their arms, ammunition and ordnance. The town being reduced, it was not thought necessary to be made a garrison; neither was it so afterwards, but lay open to the mercy of those who were masters of the field. The King had recently acquired a great store of arms and ammunition from the Parliament—in Waller's defeat, and from Bath, Malmesbury, Bristol, Gainsborough, and now at Dorchester. A ship, laden with arms and ammunition, had also arrived about this time at Scarborough. When Prince Maurice came up with his Foot and cannon, instead of at once marching on Poole and Lyme—the only two garrisons in the county still faithful to Parliament, for Weymouth and Portland had followed the example set by Dorchester—he stayed with his army about Dorchester and Weymouth some days; under the notion of settling and disposing the government of those garrisons. Here his soldiers used great license; no care being taken to observe the articles made upon the surrender of those towns. At Dorchester the town brewhouse and many private dwellings were plundered or destroyed: at Weymouth John Ellis of Hazlebury Bryan seized a ship laden with goods belonging to Parliament among which were £600 worth of plate. This behaviour on the part of Maurice's troops was so much resented by Carnarvon that he threw up his command and returned to the King at the siege of Gloucester. He fell at the first battle of Newbury on 20 September of this same year.[1]

On 3 August the following letter was sent from Sherborne by the three Commissioners appointed by Hertford:—

Tanner MS., 62, f. 217.

Gentlemen,

Lately as private friends wee moved you to returne to your alleadgeance in laying downe those armes which you have raysed: but now as Comissioners from his Majestie wee have power to accept of your submission if

1. Clarendon, VII, 191. Proc. Som. Arch. Soc., (1884) Emanuel Green, F.S.A., on 'Col. Wm. Strode.' Mercurius Aulicus for Saturday, 5 August. Minute Books, 31, 135.

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you will bee so happy to your selves as to tender it. If therefore you can yet submitt your selves and render your towne to his Majestie's service, send us some reasonable condicions upon which you will yeald and wee will give you our speedy resolution. Wee expect your answere by sixe of the clock to morrow morning at farthest at the signe of the George in Sherborne.

ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER.
GER. NAPER.
JOHN HELE.

Shirburne,
3 August, 1643.
(addressed:—) To the Mayor and the rest of the corporation att Dorchester.

But, as has been seen, it was unnecessary; the good people of Dorchester having no intention of resisting the royal army. Nevertheless Parliament retaliated where possible. On 22 January, 1644, the day the Oxford Anti-Parliament was opened in Christ Church Hall, the Commons at Westminster formally expelled by vote forty Members who had deserted their House. Among these was Sir Gerard Napier who was superseded in the representation of Melcombe Regis by William Sydenham, afterwards Governor of Weymouth. Napier deemed it prudent to make his submission to Parliament on 20 September; when he took the covenant; advanced £500 for the relief of Parliamentary garrisons; and humbly apologised for his loyalty. As he subsequently asserted that he had sustained much damage at the hands of the King's party, by whom his estate was sequestered, his fine was fixed at the comparatively small sum of £3514.[1]

Mercurius Aulicus for Saturday, 26 August, 1643, hears from Dorchester how miserably the inhabitants "have been cozened by their Patriarch Mr. White and his sub-Levites" Thompson and Benne who, from the pulpits assured people that "Mass was said openly at Oxford; none but Papists were about the King; 20,000 Scots had already entered England; that they should not look upon any book printed at Oxford or published by His Majesty's command: by which means they seduced almost all the town to take the covenant, assuring them most martyr-like they would seal it with their blood; but like more of their Religion left no other seal but the print of their fugitive heels." John White, Rector of Holy Trinity, had his house plundered by a party of Royalist

1. Whitelocke, 80. C.C.C., 1061.

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Horse, who carried off his books. He took refuge at the Savoy; became Rector of Lambeth on 30 September, 1643; and one of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. Four years later he refused the appointment of Warden of New College, Oxon, being "sick and infirm, a dying man." He died in 1648.[1]

Sir Walter Erle was a frequent object of derision to the Royalist writers; but his own account fully bears out their description of the poor quality of the troops by whose means he had endeavoured to reduce Corfe Castle. Shaftesbury says he had been a Low Country soldier, and "valued himself upon the sieges and service he had been in; his garden (at Charborough) was cut into redoubts and works representing these places,[2] his house hung with the maps of those sieges and fights which had been most famous in those parts." At Lord Strafford's trial Erle undertook to manage the 24th article, relating to the design of bringing over the army in Ireland to reduce England, which for want of witnesses he failed to prove, and "was very black and out of countenance." The Queen, upon hearing his name, said that "that water dog did bark, but not bite, but the rest did bite close." He was made Lieutenant of the Ordnance in place of John Pym, deceased, 1643. On his sudden raising of the siege of Corfe, the Royalists at first thought Erle had fled to France but heard soon after that he had arrived at Southampton "that he might have the comfort and company of his dear son-in-law, Colonel Norton, a man of as religious purposes as himself, and one that knows as well how to runne away."[3] On 6 August, Erle wrote from Southampton as follows:—

Tanner MS. 62, f. 218.

Sir,

Your selfe and the whole House (to whom I doubt not but you have communicated my letters) can beare mee witness, (and so can the Comittee of the Safety) how often and with what importunitie I have written unto you both to fore warne you of the storme that was comming

1. William Benne was Rector of All Saints, Dorchester, from 1629 until ejected in 1662 (except for two years during which he attended White at Lambeth;) and, while Rector, preached gratis to the prisoners in the gaol where he built them a Chapel—chiefly at his own charge. In 1654 he was one of the assistants to the Commissioners for ejecting such as were called scandalous, ignorant and insufficient Ministers and schoolmasters. He dwelt at Dorchester until his death in 1680; but was often imprisoned and fined for preaching there and in conventicles in the neighbourhood. Hutchins, II, 379.

2. Compare Uncle Toby in "Tristram Shandy."

3. Whitelocke, 42, 78. Mercurius Aulicus, 13 August.

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upon the poore miserable neglected County of Dorset, and to begg your succours and relief on its behalfe. But all this hath proved to be butt lost labour, that storme being now fallen upon us and haveing wholly crush't and overwhelmed us. I doubt not but you have heard ere this of the comming of great forces into the county under the conduct of the Earle of Carnarvon upon Thursday and Fryday last most of our gentry being joyned with him, some affirme his strength to bee 1000 horse and as many foote, others speake of a great deale more. His comming was[1] suddayne and private. Hee presently summoned Dorchester which as suddaynly yealded. The distractions in the towne were greate, the wealthyest men had removed their goods out of the towne, the poorer sort and the souldiers were much discontented herewith and were likewise mutinous for want of pay, the towne could not have been made good with double the strength it had (such was then the condicion of it). The losse of Bristol and their seing no succours att hand made them to give themselves for lost upon the Enemie's first approach. Weymouth imediately followed the same fortune. These two townes have furnished the enemy with 1000 armes, 50 great gunnes ready mounted, 60 barrells of powder at least and many shippes ready to bee made use of upon any occasion. That these places should be thus provided is no newes unto you for I have heretofore (to shew of what consequences the places were) once againe given you the particulars. The townes of Lyme and Bridport being shutt in between these places and Devonshire cannot hold out. There is no place remayneing that there is any hope of makeing it good butt the towne of Poole whence I came the last night. I left them in a resolution to stand it out untill they heard from you. The place hath great advantage by reason of its situation; if present course be taken to send them 100 men more and 300 or 400 £. to pay them and the rest of their garrison (for the towne is butt poore) I am confident the place will be made good: but there must not bee one minute of tyme delayed. I have sent this bearer to informe you before hand, for I cannot yet with conveniency personally wayte upon you haveing under my conduct neer upon 100 Horse which I have saved and brought away with mee to doe you service and to bee att your disposall, which otherwise had becomme a prey to the enemy, and if I had not kept them together and comme along with them they had ben scattered here

[1] I had two scouts upon the way he came but they were both intercepted.

(f. 218b).

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and there and been wholly lost. These two particulars I most earnestly desire you to take into present consideration: first that of the towne of Poole to send away post instantly to this towne or to Portsmouth and so to Poole and to furnish them with men or money, and withall to putt them in expectation of succours. And in the next place to give direction how these horse that are with mee shall bee disposed of—whether to be putt under Sir Wm. Waller or otherwise; for I have not one penny to pay them, only I take course to discharge their quarters for two or three dayes untill I heare from you and have your resolution: neither can I stay heere about with any conveniency, the dangers and difficulties being considered.

(f. 219). As touching the business of Corfe Castle I shall hope (to) give you such an account of my proceeding in it as that I shall not deserve any such censure as by some hath been layd upon mee. I stayed without makeing my retreat as long as I could, so long that the newes coming to Wareham of the takeing of Dorchester, those few foote which were in my quarter forsooke their gards and gott away leaving mee in a malignant towne with only fourty horse attending mee the rest which were on the other syde of Corfe Castle prepareing to retreat to Poole another way which they did in more disorder then was for their and our creditt; but the newes comming so suddenly, viz., that Dorchester was taken almost as soone as wee had newes of the approache of the Enemie, made them all amazed, two of the gunnes which were left in their quarter I had given order to fetch away and caused the carts to bee provided, but the seamen that came from the shipps under the Earle of Warwick's comand (then in Studland Bay) unknowen to mee tooke them away to carry back their muskets by which meanes and the disorderly retreate of the foote and their makeing too much hast away those two gunnes as I heare since weer left. Upon my heareing that some forces were gathering in Somersetshire and that they were likely to comme for our countie and my Lord of Warwick's shipps sent to assist mee being then (and not before) comme into Studland Bay we resolved (as in such case is usual) before wee left the place to storme it by scaladoe with 150 of their men and as many of myne owne land souldiers, and did it just the night before that this newes came. Some of my men

(f. 219b). were entred in one of the principallest places and being masters of it called others to come unto them to assist them; but such was the baseness of the most parte,

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(seamen and land men both) that of 12 severall places that were to bee assaulted, three only were sett upon, att one of the which the captaine of those seamen that were to goe on, telling mee he could not get on his men I was fayne to offer my self to bee their leader up which motion after much adoe they seemed to embrace and promised to follow mee, and some of them went on with mee a pretty distance but the bullets commeing thick about us they fayrely ranne away from mee and left mee alone, the like being done by others in a third place to those that were their leaders (no man haveing cause to boast of seamen or land men either). So you may easyly guess what was the issue. Had not that God (whome the windes and seas obey) by contrary windes kept back the Earle of Warwicke 10 dayes att the first when he appoynted to comme in person and joyne with mee, and afterwards a longer tyme when he was goeing to relieve Excester, the business of Corfe Castle had been sooner determined and comme to a better end. To doe any thinge of my selfe alone I was not able, more then to hinder supplies from coming to them which for want of men I could hardly doe haveing not 200 men with mee of myne owne and our quarters lyeing farre distant each from other. Had I no ben with those few foote att Dorchester now att this tyme they had been all lost and so likewise had the horse. But I forgett myselfe and have too much diverted you from those two particulars wherein I humbly crave your present resolution, namely concerning Poole and the disposall of those horse that I have with mee which otherwise will disband.

So I remayne, (f. 218).
Yours most observant and ready
to obey your comands,
Wa: Erle.

Southampton,
6 August.
(To Lenthall).

By 9 August the town and haven of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, and the island and castle of Portland, were reduced. As the former was the best post town in the county it was to be kept with great care by the Royalists. The reduction of Portland came about in this wise. A gentleman, who well knew the castle and was trusted by the Parliamentary garrison, undertook to take it with sixty of Carnarvon's men. These were granted him, and, furnishing

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himself with Parliament colours, he marched towards the Castle in great haste as if he fled from an enemy; and called to the guards that he had brought some forces, but was closely pursued by Lord Carnarvon—on which the ports were set open. Thus the Royalists made themselves masters of a place of very great importance, commanding the haven and town of Weymouth; and, as the case stood, of infinite wealth—the rich furniture and treasure taken out of Wardour Castle and elsewhere being lodged here. Sir Edward Sydenham, Knight Marshal, resumed his original post as Governor.[1]

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper had attended Charles at Oxford on a deputation from the gentry of Dorset with offers of help, if Lord Hertford were sent with a small force into the western counties. He was soon afterwards made Colonel of a regiment of Horse and Captain of a troop of Foot, both raised at his own expense; and appointed, by Hertford, Governor of Weymouth and Portland when they should be taken. But after their surrender Prince Maurice did not confirm the appointment; and Cooper at once applied to Hertford, who pressed the matter upon Charles through Hyde, but in vain. Hyde then went in person to the King; and by urgency obtained the commission for the Governorship of Weymouth. Such indeed is Clarendon's own account; but Sir Anthony himself does not mention any difficulty or dispute in the matter. Charles, however, expressed to Hertford his hope that Cooper and the person appointed by the latter to Portland would, in view of the importance of those places and of their own inexperience in military matters, shortly resign their offices. Cooper was at the same time made President of the King's Council of War for Dorset. His sudden change of sides is difficult to explain. Cooper himself declares that it was through conviction that the King's aim was destructive to religion and the State that he gave up, in the beginning of January 1644, all his commissions under Charles and went over to the Parliament. Clarendon states it was from anger at his removal from the government of Weymouth; but there is no evidence he was removed, and he himself asserts that only a few days before his secession from the King's party he received the promise of the Barony of Ashley Castle and a letter of thanks in the royal handwriting. It is possible that the knowledge that he was expected shortly to resign his Governorship may have largely influenced his decision; and Clarendon gives a long account of Cooper's intention to raise another force called the Clubmen, who were to put down both

1. Mercurius Aulicus for Wednesday 9 Aug.

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parties and to insist upon a general amnesty and a fresh Parliament. There exists, however, a letter from Cooper to Hyde written at Weymouth on 29 December, 1643, in which he asks permission to leave the county. It would seem that, had he still been Governor of Weymouth, he would either not have requested leave of absence or would have added reasons for so doing. The rest of the letter is filled with complaints of the low state of the King's affairs in Dorset; from which it may be gathered that he considered the royal cause in the county to be almost hopeless. Other persons of importance, moreover, such as the Earl of Westmorland, Lord Inchquin and Sir Edward Dering, deserted the King's party at the same time, alleging disgust at the treaty made by the Marquess of Ormonde for Charles with the Irish rebels; the favour shown to Roman Catholics; and that "there was no intention of that side for the promoting or preserving of the Protestant religion and the liberties of the Kingdom." Mr. Arthur Trevor, writing from Oxford on 9 March, 1644, to Ormonde, says: "Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper and Sir Gerard Napier are both run away to the Parliament from their brethren the Commons here." At this time, when the royal cause was uppermost in Dorset, it must be remembered that Cooper left a large part of his property at the King's mercy; and that, as we have seen, he had shortly before written to Clarendon, then Sir Edward Hyde, asking for a license to leave his county; complaining that the royal forces were weak and ill-paid there; and that his affairs were generally in bad condition. He was succeeded as Governor of Weymouth by Colonel William Ashburnham.[1]

1. Gardiner, II, 96n. Christie, I, 47, 52 and Appendix II, p. xxix. Clarendon VII, 199, 200. VIII, 60. Hutchins, II, 423. Bishop Burnet ("Own Times" i, 96), ascribes Cooper's defection to an incident which would have occurred before he became Governor of Weymouth; viz. Prince Maurice's breaking an engagement which he had made with one of the Dorset towns, on its surrendering to him for the King.

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CHAPTER V.

Resistance of Poole to the Royal Forces during the winter of 1643-4.

IN the reconquest of Dorset by the Royalists, Poole, Wareham and Lyme Regis, had remained faithful to Parliament. On 15 July, William Constantine writes from Wimborne to Poole advising the surrender of the latter place to the royal forces :—

Tanner MS. 62, f. 170 b.

Gentlemen,

By mediation of my freinds I am got into a condition of liberty haveinge engaged my owne fayth and theirs to yeeld my self under their command when I shal be required, which I am more a gentelman than ever to enfringe, assure your selves that sad condition which your towne is in much troubles mee, and as ther is noe place to which I am more obliged, soe shall ther bee noe endevour wantinge in mee to serve you, and to helpe you out of those miseries which are likely to encrease upon you, now soe itt is that the officers heere whose noble usage I cannott butt acknowledge and commend have treated with mee about the surrender of your towne, my answeare was that if I hadd liberty to open myself to you in a faire and a free waye I would faythfully discharge the duty of my place beinge recorder, and give you such advice as in my best judgment would bee to you most safe and advantagious, to which they condesending I deliver you this advice, that as the condition of things now stands itt is the only way to submitt without delaye to a composition provided that the articles of surrender bee to the effect
1. followinge : firste that noe person in or of the towne bee questioned for any thing they have formerly acted by

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authority of Parliament, and that your goods and persons 2.
bee secured from imprisonment and plonder, and that
noe mulctuary imposition fine or tax bee layd uppon you 3.
butt only such ordinary rates as are layd uppon the
county att large wherin you to paye accordinge to the
antient proportion, that such souldiers or others as are 4.
willinge to depart maye have a safe conduct by sea or
land to portsmouth or Southampton where doubtlesse
they may bee welcom and usefull, and that they maye
march awaye with colours flyinge, musketts laden, bagg
and baggage such as justly belongs unto them selves
without pillaginge any inhabitants or goods within the
towne, if to this your owne providence cann add any 5. That your towne maye return into the antient waye of govenment by Mayor and Justices, and that a governour and garrison bee putt in it, maye bee commanded by some Knight or gentelman of quallity of this county and payd by the country.
resonable thinge of more advantage, if you give mee
notice, I suppose it might bee obtayned by the inter-
cession of the gentry theerabouts who will use all just
endeavours rather then an army should bee heere
quartered. Now my reasons for this advice are thes
which I desire you deliberately to ponder, the misery of
a close seidg which doubtless is entended against you, for
itt cannott bee with sence immagined that since the
country att large submitts your towne wilbe suffered to
continew an awe and terrour to the parts were a greate
improvidence of which the King's forces are seldom
guilty to leave an ennimy att their back, now if ther bee
such a seidg, the parts about Poole wilbe layd wast
houses burned and harvest turned to horsemeate, if itt (f. 171).
bee taken by assalt, noe submission cann pacify the fury
of the souldiers, yet by compossition when itt is besiedged
wee know conditions are badly kept by common souldiers
who will expect pillage when they venture bloode, and
how some of you as have beene most active wilbe
handled, I tremble to imagine, perhaps to the loss of life
doubtlesse of liberty and estate, all which by a tymely
composition when noe army is beefore you noe bloud
spilt maye bee prevented, and your selves, wives and
families preserved from violence, and instated in the
former qualities and courses, itt cannott bee imputed 2.
cowardise in you when the principall townes in the
county hath beene your president and the before rehersed
tearmes are more to bee then any towne I knowe as yett
obtayned. It appears nott to mee that London is nowe 3.
in condition to send you any timely reliefe, the reason
which I shall nott nowe enforme you, butt this I knowe
that Basingstoke and other townes in the rode from
London are fortifyed by the King's army who doubtlesse

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will encounter any assistance that comes from thence.
4. Should you bee able to repell the forces now in this county, yett assure your selves all those forces now in the seidg att Execter will fall uppon you in their march towards London, and in the interim thes few will sufficiently keepe you from provision, for this night new forces came from Dorchester, and the more hardnesse you putt the souldiers to the greater wilbe your suffrance att the last, besides a continuall remembrance of obstinacy by the Kinge when peace is settled which will bee in tyme by sword or treaty, I would nott urge the season of the yeere if this opportunity bee neclected, harvest will bee lost, nor the return of the shippes which will bee endamaged if your haven bee blockt upp of which some are confident, nor can itt bee imagined that your shipps shalbe anoyed by the Parliament since you have heer to fore shewne your selves soe zealous for them, and that you now submitt because you heere of noe army in the feild for your reliefe, nor will your shipps bee out of
Bristol. danger of Bristow certainely your ruine cann bee noe advantage to the Parliament, I knowe what multitude of poore you have, either you must give them constant maintenance or they will endanger your persons as the cause of their sufferance, thes resons occurr to mee att present to ground this advice uppon, itt wilbe wisedome in you to take a timely admonition beefore the souldiers bee in bloud, my house hath been often ranchacceld my cattell seased and att this instant I understand of freshe souldiers quartered uppon mee soe that my suffrance cann hardly bee greater then itt is, if you mannage things discretly you maye escape this mischiefe, for provision maye bee made that noe ordinary soulders maye come neere you. Mr. Thomas Trenchard[1] and divers others
(f. 171b). have submitted and are reseaved. Such as hee have good reson for itt, or they hadd nott doun it. You are yett uppon very good tearmes to make your peace, I doubt this wilbe the last opportunity. Lett mee have notice speedily of your intentions, and I shall prevent the drawinge hither of more souldiers which are sent dayly. I doubt nott butt by freinds soe to secure your propositions as I shall forever deserve thanks from every of you, this I should nott urge iff I conceived that itt would nott contribute to the peace of the kingdom, the security of

1. Eldest son of Sir Thomas Trenchard.

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the tru religion, and the publik liberty, for the defence of which I shall ever willingly expend my bloude.

Thus much with a cleere hart,

From your assured freind and officer to serve you,

WILL. CONSTANTINE.

Pray send mee your speedy answeare as you tender your safty and lett noe tyme bee intermitted lest itt prove soe extreamly micheifvous to you as never to bee amended, noe houre of the night can bee unseasonable to return your answeare to mee wher I lye which is att Winborne.

(Endorsed f. 170:—) 15 July 1643.

But the leading inhabitants of Poole did not agree with Constantine and the suspicions of Parliament were excited against him. On 15 August, having absented himself from the House without leave, an order was peremptorily issued for him to attend the service of the House. To this order he does not seem to have attended; and, being charged with a design to betray the town of Poole to the King, he was on 4 September disabled from being a Member of Parliament—George Skutt being chosen for Poole in his place; discharged from his recordership; and on the 28th had his estate sequestered by the House. Mercurius Britannicus says Constantine formerly "went by sea to Portsmouth and fetched soldiers to Poole, and dared Hertford to come to Poole when he was on his march thitherward; (but you must observe the Parliament forces were then strong and successful, which made this Gentleman a Man then.") In 1644 Constantine "a rotten Commoner" was apprehended in Poole, and the Mayor (George Skutt) was ordered to send him up to London in safe custody, with Sir George Hastings—son of Henry Hastings, of Woodlands—and John Hanham of Wimborne, then prisoners there. Henry Harbin, the late Mayor, was at the same time sent to London; but was released after compounding for his loyalty. Hanham, whose sister Jane was Constantine's wife, had been sent by John Ashburnham as King's commissioner to Poole garrison for its surrender to the King. Constantine, having sat in the Anti-Parliament at Oxford, was committed to the King's Bench prison, and at last compounded for his estate for £430. At the Restoration he was restored to his office of Recorder of Poole; but in 1662 was again displaced for refusing to take the prescribed oaths under the Act for well-governing and regulating Corporations.[1] He was knighted in 1668.

1. P.C.A.M., 1025. Whitelocke, 72, 95, 96. Mercurius Britannicus, No. I. Hutchins I, 36, III, 304.

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On 13 August the Poole authorities themselves ask the Portsmouth Committee for assistance:—

Tanner MS. 62, f. 252.

Gentelmen,

By oure messenger wee understande that you received direction from the Parliamente to assiste us (if occation requires) with a 100 men, oure ernest desire is upon a shorte warninge youle furnish us with a 100 men, wee desire to know whether you can lende us 10 or 12 barrells of powder if there bee neede; at presente this is oure condition, wee are dayley thretened to bee beeseedg, but as yett wee see only parties of horse about the adjacent partes, here lieth att Winburne (4 miles from us) 2 troopes, sometimes 3 or 4, of horse whcich keepes of all oure provision, intercepts oure letters, and surprises our men, by which means wee know not of aney domestick passages, or of what strength the Enimy is in oure county, neither what is become of Exiter, wee haveinge onley 20 poore dragoune horse in Poole, oure men blessed bee God are valiente and full resolved to fighte, 3 broken companies of Collonell Carles beinge good fire men, oure towne was extreamly divided, bey reason of feares, covetuousness and falce jeloseys, but now are all thinges fairely composed by God Almighty, pray lett us heare from you by the next conveniente messenger, in answer to these particulars, in the meane time pray take them into serious consideration, when time shall serve pray sende us worde how thinges in the north stand, and of Sir Will. *Waler's* advance, and what becomes of Gloster, and of the Kinges body of his army, if oure messenger from London comes by you, bee pleasde to commande him to come by water, hee cannot pass by lande, soe maney smale parties of horse passinge to and agen from *Winburne to Ringood*; this is the desire of youre affectionate freindes,

Carlos, Careless?

Waller's.

Wimborne to Ringwood.

Jo: Bingham.
Robt. Butler.
George Skutt.
Will. Skutt.[1]

From Poole,
this 13: at 9 at neighte.

Since the wrightinge of these lines, wee understande this *boote* is to come backe to us, we desire an answere by it,

boat.

1. Colonel John Bingham of Bingham's Melcombe, M.P., Dorset, Governor of Poole, Committee Man. Colonel Robert Butler, Governor of Wareham, Committee Man. Major George Skutt, M.P., Poole, Committee Man. Major William Skutt, Commander-in-chief of Poole garrison, Committee Man for Poole.

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wee likewise ernestly desire youle lende, and now sende us by this boote, 10 barrells of powder, and 200 waite of match, 60 sacer shott, and a 100 minion, and 40 demi-culverine shott,[1] in grantinge us these particulars youle oblige us to bee extreamely thankfull to you; on Wensday laste wee received 2 sommons in the compas of an hour, the first by a trumpeter sente from Prince *Mouris*, the 2d. by my Lorde *Craford's* trumpe; oure answer was shorter then the message, wee gave fire at a troope of horse att a greate distance and killd a white horse with his scarlett rider, for which they vow revenge; God converte them, and bless you, and give us hartes never to feare them that are runninge headlong into hell.

Maurice.

Crawford.

(addressed:—) To oure muth honorde Freindes the committee of Porchmouth thesr presente.

This was sent up to the Speaker with the following covering letter.

Tanner MS. 62, f. 267.

Sir,

I received these inclosed from Poole and have sent them all upp unto you that the House may bee the fuller satisfyed both of the condicion the place is in and of the affeccion of Mr. Constantine. I have written to the Lord Generall to desire him to spare two companyes to bee conveyed from hence the one for the defence of Poole and the other for Southampton whether wee have sent one company already which is to little to secure that place, being full of ill affected who now shew themselves. Our companys are soe weake here that wee cannott possibly spare any from hence without imminent danger to this place if the enemy approach. I humbly take my leave, and remaine,

Your affectionate Frinde to serve you,

RICH. WHITHED.[2]

Portsmouth,
17 August, 1643.

(Addressed:—)
For my honorable Frinde Wm. Lenthall, Esq.,
The Speaker of the House of Commons these.

1. Weight of shot according to Colonel Robert Ward's 'Animadversions of War': Saker ordinary, 5½lbs.; sakeret or minion, 3½lbs.: demi-culverin, 14¾lbs.

2. Colonel Richard Whitehead, of Norman Court, was son-in-law of 'Idle Dick' viz: Colonel Norton of Old Alresford Manor and Southwick Park. He represented Hampshire in Parliament with Sir Henry Wallop; and was appointed Governor of Windsor Castle in April, 1645.

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And on 21 August the Poole authorities themselves thank the House of Commons for their care and affection for them :—

Tanner MS. 62, f. 281.

Sir,

We have received yours, for which we are humble sutors to you, to present our due thanks to the House of Commons for their great care and affections to us. We have beene (its true) summoned by the Enemy, but have slighted their endevours for composeing of their ends, and we resolve by God's assistance to withstand their threats and force. We likewise desyre to be thankfull for your encouragement in assisting us in this strayght with three hundred pounds, being little better then blockt upp, because troopes of horse are billited of purpose to keep off provision from Poole. We have endeavoured to gett three hundred pounds in Poole, and cannot compasse it. We have thought on some other way which we shall humbly tender to the House. We have sent to *Hampton* to endeavour to have three hundred pounds retorned by Bill of Exchang, which being graunted there, we hope it wilbe perfected. A skyllfull and discreete commander would doe service to help to putt things in a warlike posture; yet this towne indifferently is well scituated naturally for strength, but whether we shalbe besieged or not, we are prepareing for their comeing. We desyre God to blesse their endeavours att Exeter and Gloster and hold upp their spiritts. We most earnestly desyre in these dangerous tymes, you would have a tender eye over us, and desyre my Lord of Warwicke to lett Captayne Jones and his shipp ride heere for our safety, and order to be given to one of those shipps that rides neere Portsmouth to come to our reliefe uppon present occasions. Thus not doubting of your love and tender affections to our poore towne, resteth,

Southampton.

Your affectione Frends and humble servants,

Henry Harbin, mair.
George Skutt.
Anthony Waysl (? Wayte).
Aron Dure(r).
Richard Mayer.
Will. Skutt.
Henrye Hardinge.[1]

Poole the 21th of August Ao. Dni. 1643.

1. Anthony Waite, Aaron Durell, Richard Mayer, Committee Men for Poole.

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We hope Sir William Waller will take some speedy course for our relieffe in this our necessity.
(Addressed:—) To the Right Worshipfull our much honoured and affectionate Freind William Lenthall Speaker to the House of Comons, these present.

Lyme Regis being also summoned by a trumpet from Prince Maurice, although "believed inconsiderable," refused as positively to surrender and upon the same grounds, as Gloucester, Poole and Barnstaple had refused; "because their mercies are cruelties, and their promises of security from plundering a certain assurance of a miserable condition, and inevitable poverty to ensue." Thus the whole of Dorset, with the exception of Poole and Lyme "two little fishertowns" and their immediate neighbourhood, lay in the hands of the Royalists. Maurice, seeing that Poole could not be reduced without a long siege, appointed Lord Crawford to command in his stead and marched to Exeter, which surrendered to him on 4 September. On the very next day Essex marched into Gloucester, which had successfully held out against the royal army led by Charles in person.[1]

After the Prince's departure Ludovic Lindsay, sixteenth Earl of Crawford, endeavoured to achieve by stratagem what Maurice had failed to effect openly. Captain Francis Sydenham, brother of Captain William and of Thomas Sydenham the celebrated physician, was quartered at Poole in the house of a Royalist, who, wanting money and having some debts owing to him in the country, obtained leave for his wife to go to Wimborne "a malignant towne and foure miles distant" there to receive some money. While there she conversed with Captain Thomas Phillips, who dwelt not far off; and he asking what Captains there were in Poole and she, among the rest, naming Francis Sydenham; Captain Phillips thereupon seemed desirous to speak with him. On her return to Poole, finding the Captain somewhat discontented, who complained to her of his losses in Ireland and in the Parliament service, she informed him of Captain Phillips's desire to meet him. Sydenham, in order to dive further into the business, seemed to consent if it could be done with secrecy; and, to contrive it the better, a place of meeting was appointed—and herewith the Captain made Governor Bingham privately acquainted. At this meeting Captain Phillips endeavoured to persuade him to stand for the King; to which Sydenham

1. Mercurius Britannicus.

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seemed to give his consent, if he might have his pardon and the loss he had sustained in the Parliament service repaired; which Phillips promised to procure, if the other would assist in regaining Poole for his Majesty's service. To all of this Sydenham seemed to assent. Phillips afterwards acquainted Crawford with the whole business who, being ready to grant what was desired, sent Sydenham a letter under his hand and seal, promising pardon for all former delinquencies and satisfaction for losses in the Parliament service, with free egress and regress to effect the gaining of the town for the King. Sydenham feigned to desire some assurance of the reality of his promises: whereupon Crawford sent him £40 by "one Melledge, a malignant minister," promising he should want no money provided he be constant to the King. Sydenham then vowed and protested he would never fight against Charles; with which protestations the Earl was so well satisfied that they began to treat more particularly of the manner in which the town, and the ship in Brownsea road, was to be betrayed. Francis Sydenham was to be Captain of the Watch on the night appointed, his men being on guard; when Crawford, approaching the town at dead of night with some troops of Horse, was to ride through the gate—purposely left open—and cause a horn to be blown. This being Sydenham's wont, for want of a trumpet when he went abroad, would not cause suspicion in the town or on board the frigate lying right against the gate. Then Sydenham, as if flying for safety and crying out he was betrayed, was presently to go to the Parliament ship and, with such strength as he had with him, to seize upon her. Crawford, liking the plot very well, sent the Captain £100 with the promise that he should have a Sergeant-Major's place in the King's army and the ship for his pains. He, moreover, advised Sydenham that, to avoid suspicion, the latter should in the interval show himself as adventurous as ever before; which advice was faithfully followed by the Captain who took Lieutenant Colonel Henry Verney and other officers prisoners, besides divers horse and arms. The night and hour having arrived, about two o'clock the Captain sent out one of his men to tell them all things were ready and that he expected their coming. Therefore, at the appointed hour, Crawford with his eight troops of Horse—together with two regiments of Hertford's Foot under Colonels Bernard Ashley and Conyer Griffin numbering about 500—appeared. Sydenham lured them on without raising their suspicions and, with the cry of "All is our own; on, on!" the Royalists rushed towards the gate,

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Crawford being one of the foremost. Now, before the gate[1] the garrison had raised a half-moon—at the entrance to which were chains to be drawn up at pleasure. The works called half-moons might be either semi-circular, or angular as redans. When the Earl, then, with his Horse had filled the half-moon; the chains were suddenly drawn up; and the muskets and great guns loaded with small shot, placed conveniently on purpose, gave fire upon those who came on; which caused all who were not slain to throw down their arms and run away. The Royalists lost about three hundred arms; and fifty horses with twenty of their riders were taken in the half-moon, Lord Crawford himself narrowly escaping. The slaughter would have been greater had not the guns been mounted too high above the ground before the gate. The Parliamentary account does not profess to know the number of the slain; but "the country reports there were divers cart-loades." The other side put the best face upon the matter possible by saying "they killed 10 common soldiers and took 4 prisoners, but durst not sally out upon His Majesty's forces which after that they had stayed a space before the town, retreated safe to their quarters, leaving perfidious Sydenham to his perjury and treason, to receive a just recompense with his fellow Rebels, when he shall be less trusted; and more exemplarily rewarded." Francis Sydenham fell in battle on 9 February 1645. On 28 September it was ordered by the House of Commons that the £200, given by Mrs. Barbara Lochere of Fulham to Parliament, should be assigned and paid to Mr. Trenchard or his assigns for the payment of the soldiers in Poole. On Wednesday 22 November the horses taken from Crawford were ordered to be sent up to London by the Governor of Poole to be sold for the benefit of that garrison. In 1835 a skeleton, with long hair, dug up close to the old town wall of Poole was, perhaps, one of Crawford's Cavaliers.[2]

1. This was the embattled gate, the main entrance from the north, which had been erected by Charter from Henry VI and was destroyed by order of Charles II. The southern entrance was by ferry.

2. A true relation of a plot to betray the town of Poole, etc. as presented to the House of Commons. 29 Sept. 1643 in Hutchins, I, 11. Mercurius Aulicus for Tuesday 26 Sept. Godwin, 100. Rushworth, V. 286, 82. Bingham said while he was Governor of Poole some of his officers found hidden in a well £20 worth of plate which really belonged to children of Johnson Melledge of that town, which was sold and money bestowed in provisions for garrison. Minute Books, (p. 501) in 1648 order Treasurer to pay £20 to mother of said children. Verney Memoirs, IV. 111. His elder brother Ralph Verney of Claydon, writes to Governor of Portsmouth on Col. H. V.'s behalf. In January we hear that 'Harry is newly released his prison, but it cost him £60 ransome.' Shortly afterwards he is serving again.

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Edmund Ludlow, the Regicide, at this time Governor of Wardour Castle, was being besieged by Henry, third Lord Arundell of Wardour, who won back his inheritance in the following March. After mentioning Captain Francis Sydenham's clever ruse and Lord Crawford's discomfiture before Poole, Ludlow—early in 1644—states that his own troop of Horse lay between the garrisons of Southampton and Poole to do what service it could against the Royalists and to favour the relief of Wardour Castle; for Waller had assured him he would either relieve the place or lay his bones under the walls. He was destined to do neither. It was between Poole and Southampton that "my cornet, after known by name of Major William Ludlow, was shot through the body, and into thigh and his horse in two places, by some of the enemy from an ambuscade; and being brought to Southampton, and his wounds searched, the bullet that went into his belly was found at chine of his back, with a piece of the waistband of his breeches, which being cut out, he wonderfully recovered to be in some measure serviceable to the publick. To encourage the forces of Poole and Southampton to come to our relief I sent them word that they should have seven or eight hundred pounds to gratify them, which I was able to make good with what I had remaining of the plate I found in one of the closets of the Castle."[1]

On 1 October, Weymouth was ordered to supply "what musquets Lord Hopton may need." During the same month 'The Ann and Joyce,' one of the vessels fitted out in Poole to act against the Royalists, captured two ships in Swanswich (now Swanage) Bay. The one was freighted with linen cloth and other French merchandize, belonging to some Royalists at Weymouth; and the other, a French vessel laden with corn, gunpowder, arms and other ammunition, intended to be carried to Ireland for the use of the King's forces there. Two-thirds of these prizes were adjudged to the sailors and soldiers who engaged in the capture; and £500 of the remainder were ordered to be allowed to the town and garrison of Poole towards the payment of the soldiers, and the providing of munition and other necessaries for their defence. On 24 October, £200 more were voted by the Commons for the use of Poole garrison. On 3 November, a Committee was appointed by the House to consider the measures necessary for the preservation of Poole; and a few days afterwards provision was made for four ships in service for the safety and defence of the town; and 32 pairs of pistols,

1. Ludlow, I, 69.

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that had been seized and forfeited, were delivered to Sir Walter Erle to be conveyed to Poole for the service of the garrison. About this time eight hundred of Murrough Lord Inchquin's men, described as "native Irish rebels" landed at Weymouth under his brother Henry O'Brien.[1]

The ancient town of Wareham, even in Camden's time "by occasion partly of wars, and partly by sudden casualty by fires, by reason also that the sea by little and little withdraweth the commodity of an haven, is almost run to ruine: and in the very heart of the old towne it bringeth forth store of garlick." It had been, however, early fortified and made a garrison for Parliament. On the 19 August, 1642, £10, and on 2 September, £50 had been advanced by the County Treasurer for that purpose; but not long after it fell into the King's hands. About 23 November, 1643, the Poole garrison sent out a party of some two hundred Musketeers under Captain Lay[2] who, disposing his men in such boats and lighters as belonged to the town, went by water to Wareham —about seven miles to the west of Poole. It was then possible for small craft to reach the former town by threading the western arm of Poole harbour and then proceeding up the river Frome. The first opposition they encountered was from certain musketeers who played on them, from a breastwork erected on the passage, a mile before they came to Wareham. Captain Lay immediately ordered a party ashore; whereupon the Royalists at once threw down their arms, and ran away crying out, "Heels, heels for the town!" The alarm being thus given to Wareham, several ambuscades were prepared in the hedges to greet the invaders from whichever direction they should arrive; and the footbridge, which they considered the chief mode of approach into the body of the town, was well guarded. But the Parliament commander, "being too wise for such untutored freshwater soldiers" had, before he came near the town, landed a strong party which—being divided into two parts—was to enter Wareham, in two places at the same time. The rest of the attacking force, meanwhile, was to disembark by the main landing place by the bridge across the Frome, which joined Wareham to the Isle of Purbeck. This place was exactly observed; and, on the way, the enemy's ambuscades played upon the Parliamentarians at the same time retreating into the town. But they did little hurt for the night was dark; and Captain Lay had ordered his men to keep their matches close and not to discharge until

1. Whitelocke, 80. Hutchins I, 12. Godwin, citing Rawlinson MS. 395, f. 47.

2. Perhaps the Captain John Lea of Bridport in command there June, 1644, for whom see Minute Books, 55, 114, 377, 568, and C.C.C. 3213.

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they came to the town's end; so that the enemy had little opportunity of taking correct aim. The attacking party then advancing, the Royalists left all their defensive breastworks and drew themselves up in the centre of Wareham crying out, "Now come on, ye Roundheads, if ye dare." The assailants, having come up from the various quarters of the town, answered their taunt by a volley of shot at which the garrison of Wareham unanimously threw down their arms and took to their heels. Many of the Royalists escaped by a postern-gate; but about two hundred were taken prisoners together with much ammunition and arms, fat oxen and sheep, hay and provender provided for the next day's market, cloth and other pillage. Captain Francis Sydenham had in the meantime gone eastward from Poole to Wimborne to demand that town also, but chiefly to prevent any assistance coming from thence to the Royalists at Wareham. On 24 November Poole harbour was occupied by Warwick who proceeded up the Channel towards Wareham; and took five small vessels belonging to the Royalists there, besides plundering the town. On 11 December some goods seized by Captain Drinkwater and other goods seized at Richmond were sold, and the proceeds ordered to be paid for the service of the towns of Poole and Lyme. About 20 December it was known in London that Captain Francis Sydenham, after having fortified Wareham, had marched with about one hundred men to Dorchester; apprehended Captain William Churchill, Deputy-Governor of that town, and his lieutenant Joseph Paty—both of whom had been very active against Parliament, and "had compelled that town and county to yield obedience to the King's cormorants." Sydenham also broke open the prison, and freeing such Parliamentarians as were incarcerated there, took them away with him. Meeting a cart, laden with muskets and gunpowder on its way from Weymouth to Bristol, he threw the powder into the river, broke two hundred muskets; and appropriated eighty—that number being as many as his men could carry. He borrowed (sic) also of Robert Coker, a Royalist goldsmith, such plate as he had. All of which being accomplished in one hour and a half, he returned safely to his garrison at Wareham. A little before this action he made a raid into the Isle of Purbeck and returned with 323 head of cattle. At Dorchester many prisoners were taken with whom Governor Bingham of Poole was allowed to compound on Saturday, 23 December, "and also with Mr. Wyatt that endeavoured to betray Poole." The money thus realized was to be expended upon the defence of Poole.[1]

1. Vicars' 'God's Arke,' 81, 82, 100-1. Minute Books, 303. Hutchins I, 12.

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The Map of England and Wales of 9 December, 1643, presents a considerable difference from that of the beginning of May in the same year. The King had indeed lost the remainder of Lincolnshire and of Lancashire, with the exceptions of the garrisons at Lathom House and Greenalgh Castle; but he had won back a piece of Yorkshire containing Leeds and Sheffield, and most of Derbyshire. All Wales was his except the little peninsula upon which the town of Pembroke stands; and, if he had lost a piece of Shropshire and nearly all the southern half of Staffordshire which he had held on May-day, Charles yet retained an island in the Parliament's dominions containing Lichfield and Ashby de la Zouch; and had added the City of Hereford, all Gloucestershire save "the little city of Gloucester," part of Buckinghamshire, most of Berkshire, Devon save Plymouth, all Somerset, Wiltshire save Wardour Castle, Dorset save Lyme and the parts about Poole, and the greater part of Hampshire.

On 23 January, 1644, the Governor of Poole writes to Colonel Thomas Carne, Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Wight, asking for the loan of Foot-soldiers and arms:—

Tanner MS. 62, f. 522.

Noble Sir,

On Friday last I wrot unto you by an expresse wherin I was an earnest and humble suitor to you that you would be pleased to lend us 200 or 150 foot souldiers with their officers and arms. I told you then in what condicion we were, and what we had done in and about the fortifyinge of Warrham which garrison we keepe not only for termes of honor, but for necessity. For without it hardly can our foot subsist; and for our horse it is an impossibility for us to keepe them without that garrison: all our hay and oates beinge brought from thence. Now suffer me to second my last motion by earnest beginge you to send me some men if it be possible, for the Enemy dayly increaseth; besides the Irish they have drawn from Bridport, Corfe Castle, Lulworth Castle, Wimborne and Blandford with other adjacent places many smale parties, which in the whole makes upp a body of 1400 foot and 500 horse. We expect a falinge on by them every night, and for our greater disadvantage I well know that there were landed on Saturday last, 10 great flatt bottomed boates in the Isle of Purbecke sent from Weymouth and brought that night to Corfe Castle which they keepe extreame private, soe that now by these boates they have an opportunity either to assault us at Poole or at Ware-

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ham. It is conceived that these 10 boates are able to bringe over neer 500 men which may much annoy either place. For towards the sea, Poole is not fortifyed, we there trustinge to our shipps. Had wee our garrison men in Poole, which now we are necessitated to lett them remaine in Wareham, I should neither troble you nor doubt the issue of an assault, but beinge absent from us I am constreyned to importune you in this buisnes. I besseech you lett me receive a word or two from you whither or not you can furnish us. If we faile of these men I know but one way that is safe, which is by quittinge Wareham leaveinge a strong hold to the enemy, and then we be inforced to send 220 horse into your Island, there to grase all this winter, which at present are in a forward way of beinge a compleat regement. Sir, I have given you a relation of our wantes and of what condicion we are in. If the state may be served by securinge us with loan of your men, which by Godes blessinge may bee effectuall for that purpose you would bind me to acknowledg it a testimony of a publick spiritt and a reall expression of your love to this particular place. Sir I am your affectionate frend and servant.

Jo. BINGHAM.

Postcript. Sir, your men shall have as good accomodacions as Poole can afford.
Sir, I continewe my earnest request the ten great gunns you promised Capt. Skutt which we much wante and will much pleasure us, as well as the men desired.
Poole Jan. 23. Indorsed "For Collonell Cearne."

Lord Jermyn, writing on 11 February, 1644, from Oxford to Prince Rupert, says he has heard one has come out of France to Weymouth with some little quantities of arms and ammunition—190 barrels of powder, 500 muskets and 300 pair of pistols—that there is no news from the west "but a little blow given in Dorset" to Colonel George Wyndham's regiment of Horse "to repair which I hear 500 are gone out of Wilts towards Dorset." A party from Poole had sallied out and, by means of an ambuscade, entrapped Colonel Wyndham and about seven or eight score of his Horse, and slain Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Barker. Wyndham and the rest of the men taken were carried prisoners to Poole. Near Poole, on 18 February, Lord Inchquin's Irish regiment were defeated, divers prisoners with two pieces of ordnance taken; many killed; and their magazine fired. On 20 February the

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man who had brought over the arms to Weymouth "was snapped in his return near Dorchester and £3000 in gold taken from him." The Poole and Wareham garrisons, falling upon the convoy, took the money which Rupert "Prince of Robbers and Duke of Cumberland or Plunderland" was sending to Weymouth; 100 horse, arms and ammunition; and carried them into Poole. On 26 February Jermyn writes again: "we have news of three ships coming to Weymouth with arms. I hear there is in one of them 15,000 arms; but I know not the kinds nor the proportions in the other two." On the same day the House of Commons ordered that Colonel Wyndham was to be bestowed upon Governor Bingham of Poole to be disposed of for the benefit of Poole and Wareham; and that the said Governor was to distribute the money taken at Dorchester to the officers and soldiers of Poole and Wareham garrisons with special regard to Major Sydenham, who was to be repaid £140 lent by him. It was further ordered that Mr. Henry Bridges be recommended to the Governor and considered in this distribution of money; and that the paper and packets taken on the same occasion at Dorchester be referred to the consideration of the Committee for examinations. On 27 February a party of the garrison of Wareham under Captain Francis Sydenham was met at Holmebridge by 25 Foot and 20 Horse of Lord Inchquin's regiment, commanded by Captain Purdon and his lieutenant, who engaged the 300 Horse and Foot of the Parliament near five hours. The Captain and Lieutenant, being both wounded, ordered their men to lay them on the brink of the bridge; where they encouraged them, until more of the royal forces coming to their assistance, the adverse party beat a hasty retreat—leaving forty dead and eight loads of hay and provisions they had plundered from the country. The Royalists had twelve wounded, but none killed. The lieutenant, however bled to death; encouraging his men with great cheerfulness.[1]

On the occupation of Bristol by the Royalists a quarrel took place between Rupert and Hertford as to the appointment of a Governor. Hertford named Hopton, but the Prince obtained from Charles a promise of the Governorship for himself. To allay this strife Hopton consented to waive his claim, and accepted the post of deputy-governor under Rupert. "We can think no man fitter for that command than yourself, it being by far too little a recompense for your

1. Vicars' 'God's Ark' 156, 163, 172. Add. MS. 18981 ff. 31, 47, 63. Hutchins I, 10, 12. Minute Books, 65, 490. Peacock, 85, 88. Hutchins I, 420, citing Mercurius Aulicus.

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great deservings," wrote the King to Hopton; explaining that he was tied by his previous promise to his nephew, and adding that he intended to testify his acknowledgement of Hopton's services "by some real testimony of our favour." Accordingly, on 4 September, 1643, Hopton was created Baron Hopton of Stratton. In October, 1643, Charles ordered Lord Hopton to "draw into the field for the clearing of Dorsetshire, Wiltshire and Hampshire, and so to point forwards as far as he could go towards London." He forthwith began to consider at Bristol what size army he could raise for the purpose. There were among others some beginnings of regiments in Dorset and Somerset; and, about this time, there came into Bristol two regiments from Ireland under Sir Charles Vavasour and Sir John Paulet. These latter amounted to between four and five hundred Foot "bold, hardy men, and excellently well officered; but the common men very mutinous and shrewdly infected with the rebellious humour of England; being brought over merely by the virtue and loyalty of their officers, and large promises which there was then but small means to perform." Hopton, in spite of all obstacles, designed to have fallen first upon Wardour Castle; and, for that purpose, he sent orders to fetch four great guns from Weymouth "with pretence, for the works at Bristol." The Irish regiments were given quarters about Bath with private instructions to their officers to draw them—under pretence of bettering their quarters—on towards Warminster and Hindon. Once there, Hopton had resolved with them and the rest to have fallen suddenly upon Wardour; and so, upon reasonable success there, to have struck at Lyme and blocked up Poole. All this he conceived was very feasible; and that, by this means, he would have left no enemy at his back. But Hopton was obliged to abandon his original design owing to Sir William Ogle's untimely surprise of Winchester Castle, who produced a commission for the command of it from Oxford. Ogle then importuned Hopton to advance to his relief, procuring likewise letters from Oxford signifying the King's command to the same effect. "So as the Lord Hopton being then necessitated to leave his first design, resolved (as he conceived) upon the next best, which was to appoint" Sir Charles Vavasour to draw his regiment to Hindon. There Vavasour was to join with Henry and Francis Boyer, who had with their two troops of dragoons reasonably secured the country from the depredations of the Wardour garrison; and with the four guns from Weymouth, delivered to him at Fonthill, to endeavour the reduction of that Castle. At the same time Hopton appointed a meeting

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with all the gentlemen of quality and chief officers of Dorset at Blandford; in order to compose all differences between them and to take views of the forces of Horse and Foot they had levied, "dividing to every of them several quarters of the County." He intended to leave among them Colonel Bernard Ashley, with Lord Hertford's regiment of Foot which was but weak, and Colonel Conyer Griffin, with a little regiment of his own which was weaker, to maintain the blockade of Poole and Chideock House; and so to hold up the enemy in other parts of the county, until he was able to return to them. And to that end he divided the whole contributions of the county amongst them all, which was £1000 a week. But owing to Colonel Bernard Ashley, whom Hopton intended to act as Major-General of Dorset, falling sick and continuing so for some months; Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper going, without Hopton's knowledge, to Oxford and procuring orders to disturb the contribution; and the rest of the gentlemen although intending very well to the royal service yet proving unsuccessful in their proceedings—the King's affairs impaired apace in Dorset. Early in November Hopton was joined at Winchester by Sir John Berkeley with two infantry regiments raised in Dorset. Waller, on the approach of Hopton, retired from Alresford with his army and sat down before Basing House on 7 November. Hopton, thereupon, finding his great want of Foot and the necessity there would be within a few days to advance towards the relief of Basing, cast about every way to supply himself. And, not having heard of the mutiny of the Irish regiment at Wardour and doubting that nothing but money would make them tractable, he went himself thither from Winchester and carried £300 with him. On arriving at Fonthill he was presently entertained by Sir Charles Vavasour and Lord Arundell of Wardour with a complaint that the regiment lying at Hindon "was in a high mutiny against their officers, insomuch as they durst not venture to come amongst them." Upon receipt of these news, Hopton, that night appointed a rendezvous of Sir George Vaughan's regiment of Horse and of the two troops of dragoons near Hindon, and with these the next morning early fell into the town upon the mutineers; took some of the principal prisoners; and commanded the rest of the regiment to draw out. And upon that terror, and the execution of two or three of the chief offenders, he drew the regiment quietly to Winchester. But, to supply the blockade of Wardour in their stead, he sent Colonel Barnes thither with a new regiment of about 300 Foot, as the Colonel accounted them, which he had some months before levied in Dorset by com-

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mission from Lord Hopton. Vicars, on the other side, records that it was reported in London, about 8 November, that a considerable number of English-Irish Protestant soldiers—having been transported out of Ireland to Bristol under Sir Charles Vavasour on the pretence of fighting for King and Parliament—on their arrival discovered that Bristol was no longer in the Parliament's possession. When, therefore, their commanders would have forced them to take an oath to fight against Parliament they utterly refused it, saying they had not come from fighting the bloody Papists in Ireland with intent to take part with the same and other Papists in England. There arising a great mutiny the soldiers slew some of their commanders and forced the rest to fly to Oxford. They then unanimously marched out of Bristol towards Bath; and from thence, under "one Apleton, a brave spirited man and valiant soldier,"[1] marched to Colonel Massey at Gloucester. But before they left Bath, divers gentry "weary of the King's cormorant tyranny" joined them. Hopton, on 28 November, was repulsed by Waller at Fareham; but Arundel Castle surrendered to Hopton on 9 December. Four days later Waller defeated Lord Crawford at Alton; and retook Arundel on 6 January, 1644. On 29 March the Cavaliers under Patrick Ruthven, Earl of Forth, and Lord Hopton were defeated by Waller at Cheriton near Alresford.[2]

1. Is this the Captain Robert Appleton of 1640, (Peacock, 91)?

2. Bellum Civile, 62-5. Vicars' "God's Arke" 61. C.S.P., 252. Charles, with the double view of placating the merchants and conveying his own despatches, established in November, 1643, a weekly passage between Weymouth and Cherbourg.

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CHAPTER VI.

Siege of Lyme Regis (20 April to 22 May, 1644).

LELAND describes Lyme Regis as "a praty market-town set in the rootes of an high rokky hille down to the hard shore. There cummith a shallow broke (the Lym or Buddle) from the hilles about a three miles by north, and cummith fleting on great stones through a stone bridge in the botom." And Camden observes that in the very entrance into Dorset out of Denshire (Devonshire) "the first place that showeth itself on this shore is Lime, a little town situate upon a steepe hille, so called of a small river of the same name running hard by: which scarcely may challenge the name of a Port or Haven towne though it be frequented with fishermen, and hath a rode under it called the Cobbe, sufficiently defended from the force of winds with rocks and high trees." Nevertheless, the possession of the little town was of vast importance to both parties, but especially to the King's: a great part of the west depended upon his taking it or being repulsed from its modest walls. Poole and Lyme commanded all the south coast as far as Topsham; so that no supplies could be sent or any trade carried on but by Parliament, who were masters of the seas. Their garrisons much infested the royal quarters in those parts; and made excursions into the heart of Dorset and Somerset, and into Devon to the very walls of Exeter. After Bridgewater was taken by Fairfax, on 23 July, 1645, Lyme was of considerable advantage to Parliament: for a chain of fortresses was thus stretched over the isthmus between the English Channel and the Severn Sea in Bridgewater, Langport and Lyme, by which Devon and Cornwall—then, save for Plymouth, entirely at the King's devotion—were blocked up from all intercourse with the eastern part of the country. In 1642, Sir Thomas Trenchard and Sir Walter Erle, who had formerly represented the borough, took possession of Lyme against the King; and, it being quite defenceless, the first

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care of Parliament was to fortify it. This was partially effected the same year; all classes labouring towards the erection of the different works, in which the women not only joined but encouraged the men, when fatigued, to renew their exertions. On 14 December, Bury charges £10 for ammunition delivered into Lyme. This took place in consequence of an order from Parliament of 6 December, 1642, that the treasurer of the proposition moneys should detain one hundred marks for the fortification of Lyme. In August, 1643, the town possessed a regiment of ten companies commanded by the Governor. On 7 September, Parliament ordered twenty barrels of gunpowder, a ton of match, and a ton of saker and minion shot, to be sent by sea. On 15 November, an ordinance of both Houses provides for the payment of one tenth-part more of customs and subsidies for the defence of the town and port of Plymouth, the isle of St. Nicholas, the towns of Poole and Lyme, and places near adjacent. In "the Scottish Dove" for 8 December, 1643, appears an account of the putting into execution of the Commission of Array. The Commissioners sat at Totnes to raise men to march upon Lyme. Few appeared; and those who did refused to act against this town. The Commissioners would have hanged the first who refused, as an example to the rest, "but they all cryed, Hang one and hang all, and goeing to a mutiny, so that the Commissioners were forced to shift for themselves."

On 2 January, 1644, Parliament had to consider the humble petition of the Mayor (T. Sealey or Ceeley), Burgesses and inhabitants of Lyme informing the House of the approach of Sir Ralph Hopton and Lord Poulett with their forces near the town and of the petitioners' danger—they having been already threatened for their good affections and hearty endeavours on behalf of the public. The petition sets forth the consequences to the town in regard of the many ships then lying in the harbour and the guns and ammunition there; the ships having lately returned laden with merchandize, which was an inducement to the Royalists to come. The place, also, was unable "by the strength in it to make opposition or resistance." Parliament thereupon ordered Sir Walter Erle and the Deputy-Lieutenants of Dorset to send such forces as the occasion should require; and the better to enable the town to defray the charge and expense of this great work, it was likewise ordered that they might take £200 out of their own subscription money. The governor of the town was Colonel Thomas Ceeley (or Sealey), son perhaps of the Robert Ceeley (merchant) who had been Mayor in 1640; and under his command the garrison intimidated those in the neighbourhood

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well-affected to the royal cause; and excited the friends of Parliament to join them in beating up the enemy's quarters, which they repeatedly did with varying success. About 4 January, a body of either 500 or 800 well-armed soldiers mutinied, while marching from the western counties to join Hopton at Winchester; and, marching to Poole and Lyme, took service under Parliament. The *Mayflower* which had been the King's flagship at Falmouth, was taken by the Parliament's ship, the *Eighth Whelp*, and brought as a prize to Portsmouth. On 8 January, 1644, the storekeeper at Portsmouth was ordered to deliver "to Henry Dolling, part-owner of the ship the *Arke* of Poole, appointed by the House to lie before that town for the defence and safeguard thereof, six pieces of ordnance, with carriages, ladles, emptions, shots, and other gunners' stores" forming part of the armament of the *Mayflower*, allowing Captain Dolling to select his own guns. The *Arke* of Poole, of 180 burthen with 32 men, was employed from 18 November, 1643, until 28 February, 1644, at a cost of £444 7s. 5d., or £3 15s. 0d. a man per month.[1] On 18 January, 1644, it was reported that a party went from Lyme, at her request, to fix a garrison at Ashe near Axminster, the house of Lady Drake. Lord Poulett, however, marched thither and took it before the fortifications were completed. His Irish soldiers "stripped the good lady, who, almost naked, and without a shoe to her foot but what she afterwards begged, fled to Lyme for safety." This Lady Drake was Eleanor, widow of Sir John Drake, Baronet, of Ashe, and half-niece of George Villiers first Duke of Buckingham. Her daughter, Mary or Elizabeth Drake, by her marriage with Sir Winston Churchill, M.P. for Lyme Regis under James II, became the mother of John, first Duke of Marlborough, who was born at Ashe in 1650. The Parliamentarians burned down a house belonging to Mr. Tuberville, and the King's forces that of Sir Walter Erle, whither several of the rival party had retired.[2]

Colonel John Were of Halberton relates that Major Orme, an officer of the Lyme garrison, was ordered to attend him as his guard about some business the governor desired Were to

1. Henry Dolling, junior, of Worthe in Purbeck, "owner of a greater part of the said ship" is on 15 March, 1647, owed £111 1s. 10½d.; Nicholas Heward the same amount; and William Heward for ⅓ the ship £222 3s. 8½d.. These three, never having received any satisfaction, are to be paid the above sums at 8%. Minute Books, 359.

2. Roberts' 'Lyme Regis,' 77 to 80, 296. Godwin, 153. Whitelocke, 82. Minute Books, 404. Eleanor, Lady Drake, was a daughter of John, Lord Boteler of Bramfield, Herts, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Villiers of Brokesby. Another daughter of Lord Boteler married James Ley, second Earl of Marlborough.

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do for the town and garrison. This was to borrow £20 upon the Parliament Propositions "of my brother Cheeke" which he accordingly did, and brought it to the governor—none knowing but Orme. Soon afterwards it being discovered that Orme was in the habit of parleying with the enemy without leave the Major was banished from Lyme and sent by sea towards London. But the ship he sailed in "either willingly or forced" made Weymouth; whence Orme went over to the Royalists at Exeter, and came with Maurice against Lyme. While there he acquainted Colonel Ashburnham with the fact of the money lying at Frolick Bayly's house; and said that Cheeke was a great enemy to the King and had lent £20 to maintain "that Arch Rebell Were" and the rebellious town of Lyme. Orme thus procured by Ashburnham's means a sequestration for Lieutenant-Colonel Chamberlain and himself for Mr. Cheeke's estate from the Prince. These things Were complained of, not holding Orme fit to be "in our Armie"; and gave it under his hand to the lord Field Marshall, who sent it to the Council of War at Lostwithiel. The Council committed him, but, by the intercession of William Butler (Were's Major), Orme was soon released. "If such a fellow were fit to be in our Armie let the World judge,"[1] Were had returned to Lyme from London on 21 February, 1644, with about two hundred men. The next day all his forces, with the garrison of the town, were drawn up on Lyme hill; from whence a party under Captain Peto was sent to Studcombe, or Stidcombe House, and Axmouth, to secure those places. On 23 February, Were, with his officers and 300 Foot, advanced to Stidcombe House with the intention of falling upon Colyton, but was ordered back to Lyme by the governor. On 3 March, Captain Townsend drew out by command of the Council of War 100 firelocks[2] and fell upon Bridport, where he surprised 100 or 130 Horse and met with Were and Captain Thomas Pyne on Chideock Hill; where they were with Horse and Foot to secure his retreat. Were adds "we had returned safe to Lyme had not Major Orme there basely run saying 'Retreat, the hedge is lined with musketeers, or we are lost,'

1. In October, 1646, Frolick Bayly, who had rented the farm of Catherston Lewston, sequestered from John Jeffery, for the last 3½ years, is excused all rents and arrears of rent from the same in consideration of his losses on behalf of Parliament. He is excused again in Feb. 1647. Minute Books, 65. 183.

2. The generic term 'firelock' covered two distinct varieties of musket—the wheel-lock and the snaphance or flintlock. The latter however was the kind of firelock usually employed in the Civil Wars. In this weapon the spark which fired the priming of the gun was produced by the contact of a piece of flint with a steel plate. This lock was of German invention, and the word snaphance means snapcock. Firth's 'Cromwell's Army,' 87.

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which occasioned a disorderly retreat so that I lost some men, but yet returned to Lyme with all the Horse." The chief industry of Bridport was the making of ropes and cables for ships, the soil thereabouts yielding the best hemp. Hence the expression "a Bridport dagger" implied a halter. On 10 June, 1643, Lieutenant Lea had garrisoned the place for Parliament. Were's success at Bridport so heartened the Parliament party in the neighbouring counties that, on 4 March, several messengers came out of Devon to inform Were, who was acting as Waller's deputy to raise men in Dorset, that the country was in arms and desired assistance from the Council of War at Lyme of Horse and ammunition. Thereupon the Governor of Lyme called a Council of War, whereat it was unanimously agreed that Major William Butler should go to Hemyock Castle, near Wellington, with 60 Horse; bring those that were there to Were at Stidcombe House; and that Were should send out his warrants for the raising of the country. Were performed his part of the engagement, but Butler disobeyed his orders. For advancing to Hemyock, with Captains Shaw, Karslake, Saunders, Captain-Lieutenant Cawsey and others, Butler overstayed his time with fatal results. He was first attacked by Major Carre, who lost his life and divers of his soldiers in the enterprise. On 6 March, Lord Poulett, Sir John Berkeley, Sir Richard Cholmondeley, Colonel Francis Blewett and other Royalists drew out of their garrisons of Axminster, Colyton, Chard, Exeter, Taunton and Bridgewater what forces they could to fall upon Hemyock. The Royalists took the town, forced Butler into the Castle, who surrendered it next morning, in which were 200 prisoners, 10 officers and 80 Horse. On 9 March, Were, to divert the besiegers from Hemyock, had fallen upon Colyton with 300 men and taken that town, 300 arms, 250 prisoners, the magazine, 3 colours, 12 drums and several prisoners of note; and was advancing to the relief of Hemyock; when, hearing that his officers had been surprised before it, he retreated to Stidcombe House again. Were accuses Butler not only of wasting time fatally before Hemyock, but also of stopping his warrants and forging others, "putting my hand unto them without my assent to command the country at Hemiock, whereas I commanded at Studcombe." And afterwards, Were continues, Butler "delivered the Castle so dishonourably that three honest men were hanged, and himself and the rest carried prisoners to Exeter with a distinction who were Lyme soldiers and who were country men—the country men were bound up like rogues and Lyme soldiers only having a piece of match upon their arms." Were indeed appeals to all the commanders with him at Lyme, those with

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Butler and all the country besides, as to whether (had Butler obeyed orders and returned with the Hemyock men) Were had not in all probability been master of the field. He might, he thinks, have freed Devon by his own endeavours: for then he had arms, magazine and other necessaries of war enough; the people contributing money and provisions freely. He also believes that if the Commissary's roll at the first Muster at Southampton be examined it will be found that the Commissary, Captain Verney, has cheated the State; for Were hears he received pay for 150 soldiers when he had not above 30 as well as for 12 lieutenants and 12 ensigns when he had not so many. The Commissary has since boasted at Reading that he got £100 by the muster. Were continued at Stidcombe House until 20 April, every day or night having an alarm from or fight with the enemy. Thrice he was summoned to give assistance to Lyme and fall upon a quarter of the enemy's, which was punctually performed "through tedious marches by him and his soldiers"; although they were much discouraged by the little use made of them on their arrival.[1]

A few days after the taking of Bridport, Captain Thomas Pyne had issued out of Lyme with a party of Horse and Dragoons against the Royalist garrison at Burley House, within seven miles of Lyme. This house, generally called Chideock Castle and sometimes Whitchurch Castle, belonged to Henry, Lord Arundel of Wardour; was strongly situated; surrounded by a moat; and furnished with two pieces of ordnance. Nevertheless it was stormed and the cannon captured together with 50 prisoners who were carried to Lyme, the rest of the garrison escaping. Pyne garrisoned Chideock with 200 men; who compelled contributions from Bridport and eleven adjacent parishes, which before had been paid by them to the King. About the same date information came that Captain Jordan, afterwards Vice-Admiral Sir Joseph Jordan, at this time rear-admiral of the squadron on the Irish coast under Captain Richard Swanley, had chased Lord Marlborough to St. Malo and captured two vessels. James Ley, third Earl of Marlborough. Admiral of the Royal fleet, such as it was, had sailed to Guernsey and Jersey on a fruitless quest after recruits for the King's army; and was glad to make St. Malo when pursued by the Parliament ships. The

1. Col. John Were's 'Relation' and 'Apologie.' Mercurius Aulicus for 9 March, 1643-4. Tract, Lyme Regis, 2. On 29 November, 1642, £10 had been voted wherewith to fortify Bridport; on 14 December, 1642, the Bridport Corporation agreed, that "the inhabitants who have muskets shall watch at night in turn; that a watch house shall be erected at each bridge; that eight of the Commoners shall watch at night, and eight by day, two at each of the three bridges, one in Steak Lane, and one in Weak's Lane."

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first prize, which had been a ship belonging to Lyme, was of 110 tons burthen with a cargo of canvas, wine, etc., and carrying 13 pieces of ordnance. The other, chased by Captain John Thomas who ran her aground, was only of 36 tons burthen with a similar cargo. They were both bound for Topsham. On the following day they took two more Barques of Topsham of 30 ton apiece bound for St. Malo and laden with woollen cloth, iron, train-oil, etc. On 7 March, the Dorset Standing Committee writes from Poole to William Sydenham permitting him to deal with suspects in Poole and Lyme as seems best to him. They think, however, it is better for the present to let Mr. Geier (probably James Geier, Alderman of Weymouth) go unsequestered, as the return of his ship will be more advantageous to the State than if he were now seized upon. There are £500 worth of provisions coming to Sydenham with all speed; but they wonder at not hearing from him of the receipt of the £100 they had borrowed and sent him. On 15 March intelligence came that Were with about 150 Foot and Dragoons from Lyme, on his way into Devon, had been surprised; most of his men taken prisoners; and carried to Colyton. Thereupon Captain Thomas Pyne, sallied forth with a party of Horse from Lyme the same night; slew the sentinels at Colyton; surprised the victors while carousing; took a Colonel, several inferior officers, 60 soldiers, many horses and arms, and recovered the prisoners.[1]

A little later—on 29 March, 1644—Waller, in conjunction with Sir William Balfour, had defeated the Earl of Forth and Lord Hopton at Cheriton, near Alresford, thus regaining for Parliament the greater part of Hampshire and Wiltshire. Reinforced from Poole, within ten days after the battle Waller had occupied Winchester, although the Castle still held out; had overrun Andover, Salisbury, and Christchurch; and was threatening an advance into Dorset. Indeed from Salisbury he sent out a party of about 1000 Horse and Dragoons who swooped down upon Winterborne Whitchurch in the heart of the county; took Sir John Miller and a hundred other gentlemen prisoners, who had met together to raise men for Hopton; and chased the enemy as far as Weymouth, taking 300 prisoners—70 of whom were officers and gentlemen—and 500 arms. Meanwhile about 22 March Sir Thomas Aston with part of his horse fell upon 120 of the Parliament Horse; killed and took above 20 and charged into the very Port of

1. Whitelocke, 83, 84. Add. MS., 29319, f. 27. Minute Books, 170. Vicars' "God's Arke," 176, 182, 184.

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Poole; where the cannon and small shot played thick upon him from the walls—though posted within pistol-shot. During this month John Vicars, the Rabshakeh of "Hudibras," discerns God's goodness displayed in "the notable Sea-storm, wherein about 1500 Irish Rebels were cast away; and the land-storm also, which God raised against those bloody Irish-Rascals at Poole and Wareham; together with the singular good success of Colonel Norton against the enemy at Southampton." On 4 April, the House ordered £300 to be advanced for the use of Poole. On Thursday, 11 April, Wareham fell again into the hands of the Royalists through the treachery of Captain Morton who was Captain of the watch on the night of attack. Colonel William Ashburnham, Lieutenant-Colonel Froude, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry O'Brien, Lord Inchquin's brother, and Major Pigot with only eleven troops of Horse attacked the town and took it at daybreak with the loss of two men and five wounded. They found twenty-five Parliamentarians dead in the streets; fourteen more were drowned. They captured six Captains, and 120 soldiers, the rest escaping to Poole. They took also thirteen pieces of ordnance, two hundred muskets and other arms. O'Brien was made Governor. The Parliament account states that not above two men were lost on both sides in the fight; but accuses the Royalists afterwards both of putting many to the sword, including the perfidious Captain Morton, and of ravishing many of the women. On 17 April, Parliament specially recommended the Committee of both kingdoms to take measures for the safety of Poole and the County of Dorset; and the commanders and other officers were sent down to their respective charges. A little earlier in this month letters had been sent to Maurice ordering him not to sit down before Lyme or any other place, nor to fight with Waller should the latter advance into Dorset, without further directions from Charles. An order was, also, at once given that two regiments of Foot were to be drawn from Dorset, and as many more as Hopton should find necessary from Bristol, Malmesbury, and the Forest of Dean to Marlborough; there to join with and recruit the royal army. On 10 April, Charles and his army lay at Marlborough. On 12 April, the King returned to Oxford; but, upon a rumour that a considerable force of Parliamentarians was drawing towards Aylesbury, which place was designed for the rendezvous of Essex's army, new orders were sent to the Lord-General and army not to stir from Marlborough unless they had intelligence that Waller would attempt to go into the West. They lay there many days expecting Waller's advance; but he, instead of following his western design, was about this time (because his

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City regiments insisted upon returning home) forced to journey in person to London; leaving the main strength of his forces about Farnham, Alton, and the neighbourhood. The Parliament set about raising out of London and the adjacent counties a new army for "their Darling Waller wherewith to conquer the West." On 17 April, the day after the King's speech proroguing the Oxford Parliament, Queen Henrietta Maria began her journey into the west and came to Exeter where, in the middle of June, Henrietta, afterwards Duchess of Orleans, was born.[1]

Prince Maurice does not seem to have shared in any way the capacity of his elder brother Rupert; as a soldier he was personally brave enough, but without power of strategy or sense of discipline. With much of Rupert's rashness he lacked his brother's power of commanding men. Indeed he "understood very little more of the war than to fight very stoutly when there was occasion"; and he carried to excess Rupert's contemptuous disregard for the civil and political aspects of the English Civil War. In the middle of October, 1643, when about to besiege Plymouth, Maurice was struck down by a long and dangerous attack of influenza, "the new disease" as it was called. In their report to Rupert, of 17 October, from Milton, Doctors William Harvey, Robert Vilvain, and Smyth describes his illness as "the ordinary raging disease of the army, a slow fever," attended by great loss of strength. But as on the morning of writing the Prince had recognized both Dr. Harvey and Dr. Smyth they have good hope of his recovery, "and concluding the disease to be venemous, they do resolve, to give very little physick, only a regular dyett, and Cordyall Antidotes." The army, adds a postcript "marcheth this morning towards Plymouth"; but the siege had ultimately to be abandoned. Maurice was then directed to march through the southern counties on London, and in February, 1644, was commissioned to act as Lieutenant-General in all the counties south of the Thames save Hampshire. In March he was ordered to advance eastwards, and on 7 April arrived at Beaminster, on his march towards Lyme. Here he abode until he was burned out of his quarters; for on 14 April, being Palm Sunday, the little town of Beaminster was practically destroyed except East Street and part of Church Street. The fire was first kindled in John Sargent's house in North Street, a musket being discharged into the thatch. The wind fanned the flames so that the whole town was practically

1. 'God's Arke,' 195, 197. Hutchins I, citing Mercurius Aulicus, 79. Mercurius Civicus, No. 47. Perfect Diurnall, No. 38. Walker, 8 to 12.

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destroyed in two hours, and most of the goods rescued from the burning houses were carried away by the soldiers. One hundred and forty-four dwelling houses, besides barns and stables, were burned; and the total loss was estimated at £21,080 at least. On Friday, 4 July, 1645, more than a year later, Joshua Sprigg found it "a place of the pittifulest spectacle that man can behold, hardly a house left not consumed with fire; the town being fired by some of the enemy in five places at once, when Prince Maurice was there, by reason of a falling out between the French and Cornish." The inhabitants sent a petition to the Prince, after he had left the place; pointing out that, owing to the obligation they were under to relieve the poorer sort who had lost all in the fire, the heavy charges for free quarter of Maurice's army and providing of provisions for the same were especially irksome. They beseech his Highness that the charges for free quarter and provisions may be deducted and repaid to them out of their own weekly contribution paid to Colonel Strangways, and that each man's weekly tax may cease until the said charges be repaid. What answer, if any, was vouchsafed to this petition appears to be unknown. In 1646, the people of Beaminster obtained an ordinance of Parliament for raising £2000 out of the sequestered estates of George Penny, of Toller Whelme, a Paptist, in satisfaction of the losses they had sustained during the wars; and the town was rebuilt only to be destroyed again by fire in 1684. By virtue of this ordinance they entered upon the whole estate of Mr. Penny, and received all the rents without allowing him any part; until an order was obtained by Sir Roger Pointz from the two Houses, for sequestration to discharge Toller and Barcombe farms therefrom. The Committee of Dorset refused to obey the ordinance unless Mr. Penny would compound with the town and pay them their £2000; whereupon it was agreed that Penny should pay the town £300 in cash, £500 to be allowed in timber, and £100 per annum for twelve years. As a recusant and a collector for Dorset in 1639, when the Roman Catholics subscribed money for the Scottish war, Penny could have no mitigation of the sentence.[1]

On 20 April, 1644, Prince Maurice sat down before the town of Lyme Regis to besiege it. He brought with him from Plymouth four Regiments: those of Sir John Grenville, afterwards Earl of Bath, and eldest surviving son of Sir Bevil; of Colonel William Godolphin; of Colonel Thomas Basset;

1. Ad. MS., 18980, f, 125. Sprigg, 66. Verney Memoirs II, 171. Hutchins II, 93. 119. Minute Books, 140-1, 200, 208, 271, 353, 375. C.C.C., 2782.

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and of Colonel St. Aubyn respectively. Between Plymouth and Lyme he was joined by some Irish Regiments of Foot; and was assisted in his attempt by Sir John Stawel, Sir John Berkeley, Lord Poulett, Colonel Francis Blewett, Sir John Borlace, Colonel Seymour, governor of Dartmouth, and other brave officers. The besieging force is said to have numbered as many as 6000 with an excellent train of artillery. At the beginning of the siege, at all events, the four Cornish regiments lay on the north side of the town; Lord Poulett's and the Devonshire regiment on the west; and the Irish on the south. The garrison of Lyme consisted of about 1100 men under Colonel Thomas Ceeley the governor, assisted by Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Blake, afterwards the famous Admiral, Colonel John Were and others; who defended the little town with amazing obstinacy and enthusiastic courage, inflamed by the sermons of twenty-five puritanical lecturers who, according to Mercurius Aulicus, assured them of salvation if they died. The women distinguished themselves, and did duty on the works, encouraging and supplying the soldiers with refreshments. The place was not strong either by nature or art; the works slight and commanded by hills; so that when the besiegers first came before it they were so confident of success that they declared it would be but a breakfast-work; and that they would not dine until they had taken the town. In the sequel, had they rigidly adhered to their rash vow it is certain they would have perished from starvation.

The Forts guarding Lyme from the land side appear to have been situated as follows: Davey's, Davis's, or Davye's Fort "the stay of all" on the Church cliffs, lay near East Cliff cottage. Further east, the site of which has now fallen into the sea, was Newall's, Newel's or Newhill's Fort, which guarded the entrance of the town by Charmouth lane. The exact situation of Gaytch's, Galche's, Gaich's, or Gawk's Fort, called also the middle Fort, is apparently unknown. The Western Fort protected the entrance to the town in that direction. It probably guarded the entrance of Middle Mill lane; or that by some road higher up the hill, such as Hay lane. George Roberts says in 1834 "when recently removing a bank in a piece of ground called Hatchet's, for the erection of some cottages, a hatful of balls was picked up by the workmen. This spot is just above the right bank of the river." The Forts commanding the sea appear to have consisted of one contiguous to the Jetty; Bell Cliff, a Fort containing a large bell, used to call men to their posts, as is supposed; and the Eastern Fort, or Gun Cliff, where four guns were mounted. There were also guns on the Church Cliffs, and

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five commanded the entrance of the Cobb. Members of the Davey and Newall families had been Mayors of Lyme. Among the reduced Foot Captains of 6 April, 1648, who are to receive £12 a piece, occur the names of Captains John Davyes, William Newall, and James Galche. On 29 January, 1649, Captain James Gaich has the public faith for £797 9s. 2d: *viz.* £683 15s. 3d. for faithful service for Parliament in Lyme garrison for 1409 days at 15s. per diem, £263 8s. 9d. being deducted for free quarter; £106 7s. 9d. voluntarily advanced by him for the use of the State in May, 1643, in provisions and ammunition for said garrison; and £3 6s. 2d. in plate, upon the proposition of Parliament.[1]

The following Royalist account of the siege does not materially differ from those given by the beleaguered party.

Clarendon MS., 23, No. 1738 (8), f. 186.

Upon Xmas day, 1643, Prince Maurice drew of from Plimmoth with Sir John Greenvill's, Collonel Godolphin's, Coll. Bassett's and Coll. St. Aubin's regiments, (leavinge some forces at Plimbton Maurice three myles from Plimmoth under the commaund of Generall Digby and Coll. Bassett, then General General of the Ordinance, to block up that garrison) and marched to Tavistocke where hee quartered with those 4 regiments untill towards the middle of March, and then marched towards *Lynne* with those forces to which at Beaminster, Charde and Axminster were joyned some Irish regiments of foote and the Lord Paulett's, Sir John Berkley's, and Coll. Seymour's, in all to the number of about 6000 foote, with an excellent trayne of artillery, and upon Easter Eve, 1644, marched with a full body before the towne and that night took some houses possessed by the Enimy within halfe a myle from the towne where in his Highnesse and some generall officers afterwards quartered, next day the 4 Cornish regiments were drawne on North syde, the Lord Paulett's and Devonshyre regiments on the West, and the Irish on the South, the towne it selfe beinge befreinded on the East syde by the sea, and fortifyed on the South parte with a stronge fort (called *St. Davies* forte) from whence was a lyne made extendinge it self to the sea on the North part. And that day a party was drawne out commaunded by Coll. Rhemes to *Stircombe* House a small garrison of the Rebells with in 3 myles of Lynne and in shorte tyme

Lyme.

Davey's Fort.

Stidcombe.

1. Roberts' 'Lyme Regis,' 197. Minute Books, 377, 565, 569.

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(after some small resistance) made themselves masters thereof. The same day also the rest of the army made a hott assault upon the towne, and burnt many of their houses adjoyninge to it, and as it was conceived might then have been taken (the souldyers' mettle beinge not yett dulled) had they not bene drawne of upon expectancy of forces promysed to bee sent by Coll. Ashburnham (then Governour of Waymouth) which aboute a weeke after came to the number of 300 or thereabouts. Upon this drawinge of the Enimye's courage was advanced, and their resolution more firme to resiste findinge themselves able to stand under such a storme, and by this tyme some shipps were come to their supply as well of men as all other necesaryes which made them presume very much that they now made frequent sallyes, and some tymes seized upon the gunnes but were always beaten of againe to their losse. The Prince's guards were very neare the Enimyes some near *their* pistoll shott, and 12 pieces of ordinance planted in convenient places which occasioned much expense of ammunicion, insomuch as during this siege there was spent 500 barrells of powder, and match and bullet proportionable, whereof upon occasion his Highnesse had supply from Bristoll, Exon, Bridgwater, Taunton and Waymoth. The towne was severall tymes stormed, in which the King's party suffered great losse havinge many slayne, wounded and taken prisoners, one Captain killed, Lieutenant Coll. Philips and some other officers of thar quality dangerously hurt yet after recovered. The falling on was for the most part on the Cornish syde where the Enimy was strongest (the Cornish beinge more terrible to them than any other) contrary to the advice of the best experienced souldyers. The last attempte was by shootinge hott iron into the towne out of the great gunnes by which divers of the houses in the heart of the towne were set on fire but they were so well provyded with wett hydes that they were soon quenched. So that now havinge lyen before Lyme about 9 or 10 weekes and receivinge certaine untelligence that the Earle of Essex was marchinge westward, his Highness drew of from Lyme in the night and marched towards *Honnington* (a towne in Devonshyre) with his whole army beinge lesse by one halfe at least then when hee first sate downe before Lyme, and at Honnington stayde to refresh his souldyers untill the Queene went from *Exon* whome the Prince with his army did guard to Okehampton, and thence fixed his quarters where hee received very large recruits both out

then in MS.

Honiton.

(f. 86b).

Exeter.

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of Cornwall and Devonshyre. And the Prince havinge notice that the Earle of Essex was within little more then a dayes march of his Highnesse' quarters at Okehampton, the Prince with his whole army retreyted to Crediton about 7 myles from Exon, and next day to *Heavy Tree* and as soone as Prince Maurice' forces were gone out of Crediton and before all (for some whoe stayde behinde to drinke or plunder were taken prisoners) the Earle's army came into the towne, and the way beinge open then to Cornwall (the Prince's forces lyinge still about Exiter) The Earle marched forward with as much speede as so vast a body and so large a trayne of artillery could possible move with. After the Earl was marched forward towards Cornwall a sufficient distance, the Prince againe returned to Crediton and shortly after the Kinge cominge with his royall army to Honnington, the Prince attended with some officers and gentlemen of quality mett his Majesty betweene Honnington and Exon, and after the Kinge had reposed himselfe a day or two in Exon and taken a view of the fortifications, gunnes and store there, the Kinge and Prince of Wales came to Crediton to take a view of that army which they did with much satisfaccion, and there the King Knighted in the feild, Sir Henry Carey, Sir Joseph Wagstaffe,[1] and Sir Thomas Bassett with his Majestye's own sworde, Sir Thomas refusinge to draw his owne so that that honour was (at least seemingly) forced upon him, hee havinge formerly refused the same at Bristoll.

Heavitree.

It may bee observed that duringe all the siege before Lyme, though sicknesse was very ryfe there and other exigents that must needs attend a garrison (spetially the inhabitants) so longe tyme, and in the heate of Summer, pent up so close as that garrison was, that neither officer nor souldyer, nor any other person came out of the towne (otherwise then upon sallyes) to the King's party.

Amongst all their sallyes this was most observable which was made by the Enimy upon the Cornish syde at nooneday (the guardes then beinge most secure) beate the guards of from the gunnes and seized upon them whereof newes beinge carryed to the Cornish quarters and their officers of the feild, the souldyers of their owne accords drew out into reasonable order, and beinge ledd on by

The souldiers stayed not to carry any ammunicion with them.

1. Wagstaffe had been Lieutenant-Colonel in Parliamentary army, but on being taken prisoner in January, 1643, changed sides and accepted a commission to raise a regiment for Charles.

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Burly,[1] Lieutenant-Generall of the Ordinance (well beloved and respected of the common souldyer) they soon recovered the gunnes, knocked divers of the Rebells in the heade with the stocks of their musquetts, and the Lieutenant Generall himselfe (though hee had such tender eyes ever since hee was scalded at Lansdowne, that hee was forced to weare glasses before his eyes when ever hee ridd or went abroade) did very good execucion havinge killed 5 or 6 with his owne hands upon the grounde, the rest of the enimy that escaped fledd for their security, and havinge only *spewked* one of the gunnes left them in the possession of those who had a better title to them than they could then ether by force or otherwise derive to them selves. spiked.

(Endorsed:—) Shipton's relation concerninge the seige of Lyme.
About April, 1644.

On 20 April, the scouts of the garrison discerned the enemy on Rhode Hill before they advanced to Uplyme Hill. The Royalists raised a battery within musket-shot of the town and, adds Mercurius Aulicus, to the Prince's summons by a trumpeter the garrison and townsmen returned a very insolent answer; and declared they would grant no quarter to any Irish or Cornish. Edward Drake,[2] one of the garrison during the siege, has left a narrative of events as they appeared to those beleagured in Lyme. It runs as follows:—

The Diary of the Siege of Lyme Regis.

An account of the most remarkable passings that happened at the streight siege of Lyme Regis by Prince Maurice from the time of his sitting down before it being the 20th of April, in the 20th year of K. Charles unto the 16th of June following.

In the afsd 20th of April, the enemy appeared on a certain Hill called Uplime Hill, about 2 miles distant from Lyme Regis, near the midway between the enemies

1. *John Burley*, in 1642, Captain of the *Antelope* (of 512 tons burthen with 160 men), joined the Royal army when the fleet rebelled against the King. At the end of the war he retired to the Isle of Wight, of which he was a native; and unable to control his indignation, when Charles entered Newport a prisoner, caused a drum to be beaten in order to gather a force to rescue the King from Carisbrooke Castle. For this quixotic attempt Burley was executed on 10 February, 1648. *v. Walker* 42.

2. On 6 May, 1652, Mr. Edward Drake, of Colyton, Devon, married Mrs. Ann Castilion, of Stratfordtony, in St. Thomas' Church, New Sarum.

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quarter at Axminster and Lyme, where the soldiers were mustered, and as it grew near the evening they advanced towards the town about three quarters of a mile nearer the edge of the Hill and ordered the whole body of the army both Horse and Foot in view of all the town as was judged and discovered through perspective glasses in a
Breast. *Brist* 3 or 4 Troops a mile in length or thereabouts, and esteemed by some in all 3000, by others 4000 and somewhat more, being in all as it afterwards appeared 4500 men, and in Town were near 500 fighting men more or less who were not a Jot dismayed at the sight of the enemy but rather longed to have dealt with them, and so shouted to the enemy, and the enemy answered them with shoutings and they and some musqueteers of the enemy crept towards an Hill and fell on a House called Haye[1] a quarter of a mile distant from the town where we had placed a garrison of thirty men, who making some slight skirmish with the enemy, at length forsook the House and retreated into the town without any other loss—so left it to them who entered; and presently after our garrison in another House called Colway,[2] where we had the like number of men and of the same distance from the town, likewise quitted that House which the enemy presently possessed, being not tenable or well to be kept by us against so potent an enemy, which two houses became very offensive to the town: in the former the Prince took his quarters—21st April, on Easterday following, the enemy having made good those two houses and wherein some few lay that night the remainder of the army being the greater part which quartered that night in the side of the said Hill and in Uplime, making many fires on the Hill side, marched towards the town and took up their quarters in and near about the said two Houses in the morning about 3 of the clock, and shortly after they began to draw out some of their men in files, so drew them up the Hill towards the West end of the Town purposing presently to possess themselves of some poor cottages without our line and took [? hold them] which when one man [? our men] perceived they fired and so prevented them thereof, nevertheless while the houses were burning the enemy came down in the smoak into the closes from

1. In 1645, Hay Farm, valued in 1641 at £100, the property of Richard Alford—five times Mayor of Lyme—was sequestered.

2. Colway or Colweigh, a large Manor-house, was a Farm, about half-a-mile north-west of the town which belonged at this time to Colonel Henry Henley. Committee Man and later M.P. for Dorset.

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hedge to hedge brandishing their swords, and so crept into ditches and lay very boldly shooting at us every hour the remainder of the same day with very great courage within very near pistol shot of our line and Western Fort with their musquets where they did us no other damage at all either hitting or hurting any one man more than the Captain and Chief gunner of the said Fort at that time. They within the town entertained very valiantly and notwithstanding the hedges and ditches, where the musqueteers of the enemy lay very busy like hardy soldiers (some of the hedges being so low that [? they] lay over on their [? breasts] to give fire) they slew many of them in sight and as was confessed by some prisoners which afterwards were taken by them within the Town near 40 men that day from our Fort and Line.

April 22nd. On Monday night, the 22nd of April, the enemy raised a Battery on the West side of the Town on the side of the Hill to play with their ordinance upon our West Fort which did shortly beat down the top thereof where our ordinance lay being but slight built up with a post of Timber something high with a gate under being the way into the Town and made little more than musquet-proof with boards and turf whereby we were fain to dismount and place our ordinance in the next post under it having hurt only one man[1] by a splint of a board by means of a great shot out of a Demi-Cannon from the enemy's Battery 32lbs. weight where they had also whole Culverins which played all the next day upon our Fort and the Town and did a little execution on the houses and no other hurt that day but what was done formerly in the Fort saving only their musqueteers slew one of our men in the Line being shot in hand (? head) as he was indiscreetly looking over the works, such exquisite firemen were the Enemy who constantly keep playing on us with musquet shot night and day doing no other hurt hitherto. Capt. Davis behaved so well this day with his ordinance from our Eastern Fort that the enemy would only abide in the Battery.

23rd. On this day also being Tuesday, the 23rd April, the Governor of the Town despatched an express to Poole in a sloop by water to Capt. *Sydingham* there desiring him to give intelligence to Sir William Waller of the condition of the town that relief might be sent to it both by sea and land. But Capt. Sydingham's diligence

Ceely.

Sydenham.

1. Apparently Captain Marsh the commander of the Fort.

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and care for the cause of us and the public weale was such that he hired a boat in his own town to send unto us which cost him £3 to inform himself the better of our case (having accidentally understood something of the matter formerly) which, when the Town of Lyme perceived the boat make in towards them they presently despatched a sloop and also a barge of the town wherein were 15 prisoners for the better security which lay at anchor in the Road to meet the Pool sloop doubting lest it had been a boat of Weymouth to have landed ammunition at Charmouth for the enemy which the Town supposed they wanted which when the Pool ship perceived having formerly struck his sails and applying himself to his oars presently hoisted his sails again and made backward to Portland Point with might and main and so outsailed the sloop and barge and so returned to Pool with this answer that we were besieged by sea and land supposing our barge and sloop to be Dunkirk Frigates and that he heard the ordinance play and thus by means of Capt. Sydenham's preventing care of our Town.

24th. On Wednesday following, by the time our sloop came to Pool Capt. Sydenham was then ready in the river to sail to Portsmouth to certify Sir William Waller of the premises who then lay with an army of 9000 Horse and Foot quartered at and about Farnham Castle almost ready to advance for the Western ports who [? whose] answer to our Governor's letter you shall hear after in its proper place.

This said 23rd of April about 6 o'clock in the morning the garrison drew out about 190 men well appointed and a thing much desired to the soldiers who longed to fight with their enemies more than for a good breakfast and so sally'd out on the West side of the Town gave fire on the enemy ere they espied them and thus suddenly surprising them fell upon them boldly and with the stocks of their musquets routed them from their Battery, seized on their Demi-Cannons and other ordinance there, pursuing them to the top of the hill, killing and slaying them until they fired other ordinance upon them of the Town causing them to retreat having removed the enemy's colours from their Battery with 35 common soldiers, prisoners with much arms and near 100 slain whereof Capt. Berkeley[1] was one with others of note taken prisoners which after-

1st sortie.

prisoners taken.

1. Another account says Captain G. Billet.

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wards, within the space of two days, was set at liberty by a fine art (?) as you shall hear anon. There were lost of the Town at this time about 7 or eight men, the Commander of the Forlorn Hope[1] received a shot in his head which was soon after cured: at this time also three more were hurt in the streets standing at a door by the glance of a bullet of 32lbs. weight from the enemy's said Battery out of their Demi-Cannon whereof Capt. Hooper was one whose hurt was in his leg beneath the calf not hurting the bone, one of the other two was hurt about the knee whose bone was bruised to pieces, the other was a slight hurt on the leg also. This day the enemy raised another Battery in Colway meadow against our Middle Fort (whose Capt. James Gaych was formerly wounded with a musquet shot in the shoulder of which he was soon after cured); where they placed a culverin with which they fired on our Middle Fort and after a shot or two struck through the same, slew one man and wounded another, and so made unuseful as to hurt or damage the enemy's Battery, whereupon they within the town removed two of the guns there placed leaving one behind to scour the trenches in case the enemy should be so bold as to attempt the scaling of the line about the Town as afterwards they did. The issue whereof you shall hear amongst such things as were acted on the 6th day of May next following we planted the other two guns on a new platform not far from the said Fort very convenient to play on the enemy's new Battery where they did good service.

Here I may not forget to set forth what became of Col. John *Ware's* regiment which lay quartered at Sted- Were.
combe House the major part whereof was commanded away into the Town of Lyme on the 21st of this month of April which through much difficulty came into the said Town with the loss of 2 or 3 men through cliffs being encountered with a good part of the enemy's Horse and Foot, the remainder of the Regiment consisting of about 70 men whereof Capt. *Peter* was commander were after Peto.
24 hours fight with four or five hundred Horse and Foot having shot through the house divers times and at last when 2 or 3 of their men in their Flanker without the

1. Captain Reed, Road, or Wood. Mercurius Aulicus says: "The besieged sallied out at break of day at the west end of the town; came unseen; passed one of the King's batteries and seized a piece of cannon; but some of the Cornishmen forced them back, killed 54 and took 10 prisoners. Prince Maurice was advanced within pistol-shot of the line on every side, and raised some batteries."

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Court walls of the House where they had one piece of ordinance upon which they craved quarter to depart with their colours displayed and one bullett in each soldier's mouth with another in his pocket to Lyme which the Prince would not grant being sent to at his quarters before Lyme but promised them good quarters which was to depart with their lives only to their homes without anything being taken from their persons and this the 22nd of April they yielded which terms were soon after broken by the enemy on their part robbing them and spoiling them as soon as they entered and so sent them away prisoners some to Taunton some to Exon most dishonourable.[1] This 22nd of April eight or twelve men without any command issued out of the Town and slew on the west side of the town of the enemy 16 or 20 men and retreated with some arms taken with [? no] more than any only one man hurted on their part whose name was Barnard Hill (who was mortally wounded in the side of the head with a musquet shot indiscreetly looking over the line) and put to flight of the enemy 50 or 60. The men without command sallied out of Gayche's Fort and routed 50 of the enemy slew some took 16 musquets with pickaxes shovels and one shoulder of mutton.

April 24th. On this day being the 24th of April nothing was done but playing with ordinance on both sides unless certain Dunkirk Frigates in league with the enemy visited our coast supposing those within the Town had been ready by this time to have betaken themselves to sue for succour and so to have transported themselves elsewhere. But they chose rather (if they had been straightened) to have issued forth and defended themselves valiantly.

Thursday 25th of April. The enemy raised a new Battery in a lane within pistol shot of our West Gate which constrained the Town to barricade the said gate in the inside with earth and stones three or four yards thick to prevent a breach. They continued playing upon Gayche's Fort from Colway meadow and Tucking's orchard[2]

1. "When we left (Stidcombe)" comments Colonel Were, "there was no want of anything and we thought it as tenable as the town of Lyme. Why Capt. Peyto should surrender it upon such slight terms is admired (wondered at)." Some at any rate of the Stidcombe garrison forced their passage over the Pinney Cliffs to the west of Lyme and so into the town.

2. Perhaps belonging to one of the family of Anthony Tutchin, mariner, who by deed dated 1661, gave a free-hold house and one-acre field to Charmouth for the benefit of seamen, seamen's wives and children—a dole originally given in shoes and stockings.

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without any great hurt. Now powder and match began to grow short in Town. This day about five or six of the clock in the afternoon the aforementioned ship of the Town with the 15 prisoners therein was either betrayed by some of those who had the charge of them or else so negligently kept by the master of the ship that on a sudden the late prisoners became the keepers of their keepers and so hoisted sail brandishing their swords in sign of victory bidding the Town farewell they steered their course towards Weymouth where they arrived the next day. In which ship was the aforesaid Lieutenant taken prisoner in the sally; and on Tuesday the 23rd of April, Lieutenant Colonel Powell and Capt. Harsey were taken prisoners at *Culliton* the last beating up the enemy's quarters with divers other notable malignants which unhappy accident much discouraged the townsmen and soldiers the said Lieut-Col. Powell being with two or three days after in arms against the Town. They within the Town were not so much dejected with this unhappy change as they were revived and cheered the next morning. Colyton.

Friday, 26th April. This day in the morning very early appeared in sight two goodly ships off Portland Point under sail making towards the Town and by seven or eight of the clock came in under the command of Capt. Davy's Fort. Then he hailed the ships with that a sloop with six or eight men were sent ashore to him; but when they perceived them to be friends the joy that was in the Town was inexpressible and on the other hand a great concern to the enemy who first apprehended them to be their friends whom they expected (to wit) The Earl of Marlborough but they were deceived for his ships were under the command of Capt. Man who had letters of Mark from the Parliament and was ready to supply the Town with anything it stood in need of and that was aboard him. This day Capt. Marsh was slain with a musquet-shot through a porthole.

Saturday 27th April. The enemy shot granadoes[1] into the Town from Colway Battery which did no hurt. The night before and this day they raised a new Battery on the East side of the Town which as soon as the townsmen perceived it struck some terror in them at first fearing it could have beaten down Capt. Davy's Fort being

1. Grenades or shells first, apparently, called by the Irish 'bombs' when Ireton besieged Limerick v. Firth's 'Cromwell's Army' 170.

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within musquet shot, which fort is the stay of all for it commandeth round about the town and doth good execution. Therefore to prevent the [? damage] Capt. Davy thickened and lined his Fort on that side next the Battery six or eight feet thick, but after some shot made thence by the enemy the townsmen perceived it did little damage to that Fort upon which they were much comforted: nevertheless it quickly beat Capt. Newell out of his Fort being built after the very fashion and like materials as Capt. Marshe's was over the highway leading into the East end of the Town. In this Fort was one man slain one or two more wounded the enemy playing also on the Town from this Battery did some small hurt to the houses. Now the enemy had been round about the Town as far as they could go for the sea and assayed all ways and means but storming and could not prevail which much discouraged them and even made them hopeless of ever gaining the Town."

On 27 April the Committee of Both Kingdoms write from Derby House to Lord Warwick enclosing extracts from letters of the governors of Lyme and Poole relative to the distress Lyme was in, and the consequence that town was to shipping in the west. The governor of Poole has apparently caused three of the Parliament's ships to go thither; but the Committee have no assurance that they have gone and therefore desire Warwick to hasten their departure, if not yet started, with all needful supplies. On the same day they write to Waller doubting not he has already heard from Colonel Sydenham of the distress of Lyme, and commending the town to the General's care. On 5 May they write again to Waller enclosing a letter from the governor of Lyme in which he desires the relief of the town to be taken in hand. The Committee hear Waller has ordered three hundred men to be sent there, and that number of Foot should be sent immediately if not already gone: moreover, as these men must go by sea and are at the mercy of contrary winds, the Committee think it of very great advantage to the public to despatch a considerable party of Horse and dragoons for the present relief of the town. This letter was carried by Thomas Pidcock who met with Waller four miles from London. Whitelocke says "In these assaults they relate that the women of the town would come into the thickest of the danger, to bring powder, bullet and provisions to the men, encouraging them upon the works."[1]

1. C.S.P. p. 137. Whitelock, 88.

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Drake's diary of the siege continues as follows :—

April 28th. This being the Sabbath Day and the 28th of April in the morning they made an offer of storming the Town, blew up their trumpets beat their drums and sounded an alarm round about the Town and approached very near the line in some places so that the townsmen discharged their ordinance on them with caseshot which did much execution on them which the poor soldiers perceiving and loving their lives best would not venture further at the same time many of them being forced men and ever and anon the Horse were constrained to beat on the Foot slashing and hewing them when they were put on any hard service else they would have run away unto their homes. At this time the enemy lost 60 or 80 men as was reported by some prisoners which were taken afterwards the enemy shot so fiercely their small shot that it was perceived off of Portland Point early in the morning by Capt. Somester of the Mary Rose[1] and Capt. Jones of the Ann and Joyce two parliament ships of good burthen the one carrying brass pieces the other (*i.e.*) the Ann and Joyce being merchant men Iron pieces which were sent for the relief of the Town from Portsmouth by whom the townsmen were supplied with ammunition and all manner of provisions as Beef, Pork Pease Butter Cheese Bread Beer and Wood; Yet the enemy kept doing and played very hotly with their ordinance on the Town but did little hurt with these ships came our sloop from Poole informing us that Capt. Sydenham had procured these vessels for the Town and withal sent the Town a letter purporting his readiness to negotiate on the Town's behalf with Sir William Waller. On this day at Capt. Marsh's Fort was one man slain with the wind of a bullet from a piece of ordinance (as was supposed) for no wounds did appear on his body, one more was mortally wounded with the same bullett there at that time having his chin struck away. 1st storm.

April 29th. Being Monday the enemy shot fire arrows into the Town which by good providence did no harm. This day also were landed 100 men from the ships whom the townsmen welcomed. reinforcements.

30th. Being Tuesday, the townsmen, with the aid of some of the seamen sallied out again, clogged one of the enemy's ordinance lying within pistol shot of Marsh's Fort and the line, slew 50 or 60 men and 2 or three 2nd sortie.

1. Of 321 tons with 100 men.

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women of the Irish, took 2 or 3 prisoners and some arms. On the Town's side was slain Major Harrington[1] as he was looking over the line beholding the fight with 8 or 9 more common soldiers taken and slain in the fight.

May 1st. Being Wednesday, the enemy gave the Town a small alarm and so retreated without harm. This day the governor dispatched one Mr. Pley, a townsman[2] with letters by sea to Sir William Waller who, about ten days after, returned with his answer as you will find hereafter.

May 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th. Being Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday the enemy lay quiet, but the weather being turbulent the townsmen doubted of the riding of the ships in the Road yet they remained safe at anchor.

2nd storm. May 6th. Being Monday the enemy stormed the Town in 3 places about 7 or 8 of the clock in the evening while the townsmen lay very secure and most of the soldiers were absent from their quarters to their suppers so that for the space of 20 perch in length about the line in most places a man should have found scarce more than 8 or 10 men until the very instant the enemy came near within pistol shot of the line and this happened by means of the enemy lay still in the days and came on in a thick fog so that they could not be discovered until they came so near as you have heard. A man would marvel to see how eagerly each soldier ran to his quarters when the alarm was sounded in the Town. The enemy cried "Fall on, fall on, the Town is ours, the day is ours," the commanders of the forlorn hope leading up their men such as would come on very gallantly. They within the line entertained them as bravely and with no less courage, though few in number at first as you have heard, crying "Come on, you Rogues, we are ready to receive you," although I approve not of such language though it be the only language of an enemy, yet here I insert it to show the courage of the soldiers. Afterwards, when the line was replenished and the soldiers all at their quarters within the space of one hour (each party contending for

1. Inadvertently slain by his own men. So many of the besiegers were killed in the sortie that the water that served the town was coloured with blood.

2. Rushworth and Were relate that on 1 May the enemy "gave us a thundering Alarum in the morning and began to make their Fort-Royal against Capt. Davies' Fort." On 20 October, 1646, George Pley, merchant, for his great losses sustained during the sieges of Lyme and Weymouth is allowed to hold and enjoy the Farm of Caseway, sequestered from Captain Nicolas Payne of Radipole, delinquent, for one whole year; he, the said Pley, discharging the fifth to Mrs. Grace Payne, the wife, and children. Minute Books, 35, 400.

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the mastery) the enemy was repelled from the line and constrained to fly leaving behind them their scaling ladders which they brought with them, having with them also hand granades and pipes with granades on the tops of them which the townsmen took in the conflict. There were slain of the enemy on the spot 80 persons or upwards besides such whose bodies were stolen away the night following and such as were presently carried away in the fight. Some prisoners that were taken confessed of 16. The truth whereof if it might be known there would appear to be slain that time in all about 100 men many of them commanders and gentlemen of quality amongst whom was Colonel Francis Blewett[1] who was first found to be one of the slain by a letter in his hose that was brought in by a soldier of the Town, his body being stript naked and so left in the field besmeared with blood and dirt, but being known by a captain of the Town his body was caused to be brought into Town on a ladder and so was washed and cleaned in the view of many amongst whom myself was one. In his body appeared three mortal wounds, two in his back between his shoulders, supposed to be with a brace of bulletts out of a musquet and another in his head with one slight wound in his thigh with a sword or rapier. This end had he who, whilst he lived, was an extreme and bitter enemy to the parliament for he was so restless in the pursuit against them that he was the only chief and principal man who after their quarters had been twice beaten up at Colyton [? assailed] and utterly routed them and placed new garrisons there. At this time there was taken of the enemy Capt. Mollenieux [Molyneux] a very bold and stout man; there was also taken with him Capt. Pawlet of Milplash,[1] who was mortally wounded and died two days afterwards, and two or three common soldiers; divers other commanders of the enemy were enquired after by them the next day in the morning which they missed; it is likely they found them afterwards among the dead bodies, for I suppose they could not be so cowardly as to run from their quarters as abundance of

enemy's repulse.

pikes?

1. Second son of Robert Blewett of Holcomb Court, Devon, and was buried at Holcomb Rogus.

1. Captain Pawlet of West Melplash near Beaminster was akin to the Marquess of Winchester. His estate soon passed to the Henleys of Henley near Crewkerne, and in 1693 to Richard Brodrepp of Mapperton. William Paulett and William Molineux were lieutenants under Colonel Sir Thomas Glenham in Northumberland's army during the second Scottish War. Peacock, 80. Hutchins II, 115.

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common soldiers did because the time was very fit for them it being a dark and foggy evening so that the Horsemen could not keep them and slash them together as they did in bringing them on. It was thought the enemy was weakened four or five hundred men of those that were slain and wounded. There were taken at the time from the enemy near 200 arms as musquets pikes and *croslets*. Of the Town's part was only one man slain and one more slightly wounded.

corslets?

1st parley.

May 7th. Being Tuesday the enemy craved a parley for the burial of the slain and demanded the body of the aforesaid Francis Blewett which was granted on condition the Town might have all such arms as were to be found in the field where the dead lay which was also granted, and for the body of the said Blewett demand was made by the Town to have in exchange one Mr. Harvey[1] brother-in-law to the Governor but that thing was wholly left to the Prince's pleasure whether to grant or deny, who sent his answer that he would not be tied to any such conditions; So the dead corpse beshrouded and coffined by the townsmen was carried to the west end of the town by the townsmen and delivered over the line to the enemy. Lieutenant-Colonel Blake being there at the delivery demanded of them that came for the corpse whether they had any order or command to pay for the shroud or coffin. They answered no. He replied nevertheless "Take it, we are not so poor but we can give it you," and so it was delivered to them. But the Prince was no so freely disposed as to send back or release the said Mr. Harvey as was desired although he never took up arms but was taken by a man of war belonging to the harbour of Weymouth as he was passing from Lyme by sea to Portsmouth having with him one Mr. Alford[2] of the Town, a merchant, a prisoner, supposed by some to be a malignant and a desperate one because he was very rich and not very forward in advancing the parliament cause and especially because he had a son in arms against it and at this time before the Town. The man I cannot

1. Edith Harvey's cellar was 1644-8 used as a public magazine for arms and ammunition. The Harvey family came from London to Lyme about 1582 and left soon after the Civil War. Richard Alford afterwards cleared of charge of delinquency; 5 times Mayor.

2. Gregory Alford fought against Parliament, and compounded for his estate at £10. After the Restoration very severe in his treatment of dissenters. Mayor for the second time when Monmouth landed; but left the town hurriedly. Minute Books, 25, 134, 165, 184, 340, 395, 399, 400. C.C.C., 2077. Roberts' 171.

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condemn nor altogether justify. This day Lieut-Col. Blake (who was officer in chief of Col. Popham's regiment in the Town) told a commander of the enemy's who this day at the time of the parly was treating with him just under the line of the Town. "Here you see and behold how weak our works are; they are not things wherein we trust; therefore tell the Prince that, if he desires to come into the Town with his army to fight, we will pull down ten or twelve yards so that he may come in with ten in a breast, and we will fight with him." Answer was made they would come in were they could and was most for their advantage."

One report mentions Colonel Giles Strangways and another his brother—probably Colonel James Strangways—among the slain; but both are incorrect in this particular. A letter was presented to Parliament from Plymouth respecting the valiant carriage of the Lyme garrison on 6 May; and £300 were granted and £300 lent on part of Sir Edward Yates's estate. Maurice does not appear to have profited much by the ministrations of the illustrious discoverer of the circulation of the blood; for The Kingdome's Weekly Intelligencer (no. 54) for 6 May says: "Prince Maurice and not his Ghost (though he is Ghost-like, his infirmity considered) stormed the town of Lime the third (sic) time, and was beaten off with great loss, above 80 of his men slain in a ditch, 60 in another, and the rest neere pursued to their works; and the Garrison brought off 2 pieces of Ordnance from the Enemy within the command of their works, though the Enemy slew many poor countrymen to compel them to fight to save the 2 pieces of Ordnance. Same party informs likewise that the 300 Foot, designed long since by Waller, to go by sea from Portsmouth to relieve that place, are not yet come by reason the Ship Commanders pretend want of authority to land them there. It seems they cannot go on at sea as well as on land without command, though winds be fair and opportunity fit: a good Commander will take an opportunity of advantage without a command. But wherever the fault is, Warwick gave command long since to some of the ships to land these 300 soldiers, and *they* deserve to be cast overboard that have wilfully neglected the service. Fire is the greatest want in Lime." On 7 May, Lord Jermyn informs Rupert that the Prince of Wales is to go into the West; and that the King had declared he never meant to call Maurice from thence, nor that the Prince should go, until Lyme were taken and an army raised fit to receive him. On 12 May, Sir

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Edward Nicholas writes to Rupert from Oxford: "Lyme holds out still; we made an assault upon it this week and were repulsed with the loss of about 100 men, but no officer of theirs, but only our Colonel Blewett. This day, I hear, Prince Maurice resolved to give another assault upon Lyme, and doubted not but he should carry it." An Exact Diurnall (no. I.) for 16 May is advertized by Captain Jones "lately come from Lyme, that in the last brave sally of the defendants Maurice lost his own colours, which afterwards by the Defendants were set upon a House of Office in their works and withal they sent him word it was more fit for him to return to his native Country, than to lie in wait as a Thief to cut the throats of those that gave him bread. Since the siege first began there have been slain, wounded or run away of the Enemy above 2000. The said Captain also said our soldiers sing Psalms and pray night and day, having many goodly Ministers among them." Vicars gives a somewhat fuller account in his truculent fashion, saying: "Captains Jones and Pley report valour of townsmen under Ceeley—a second Massey—in defending Lyme. . . . . Maurice sent a trumpet to fetch off the body of Colonel Strangways (Blewett), and took one away which they said was the man. The enemy had made about 1000 great shot against the town, and yet had slain with them but one old man who was making his will just as the bullet hit him—as at Gloucester where but one old woman and a pig were killed by the Cannon—and had consumed at least 200 barrels of powder in firing their great and lesser guns. When the ditches were filled with dead Royalists, Maurice asked for a parly which the Governor refused; sending word he would make a breach twenty yards, wherever the Prince desired it, and gave him leave to come and take the town if he could. But Maurice refused his offer; and sent him word he would make a breach himself, and hang the governor over the wall. Thereupon Ceeley sent a prisoner home, bidding him tell Maurice: England had fed him and his brother with bread, and they in requital came to consume her with fire and sword; but he hoped to see them both rewarded with a halter or made shorter by the head. One of Maurice's captains whom the town took, being mortally wounded, desired to receive the Sacrament (a rare devotion in a Cavalier) and at the point of death was asked whether Prince Maurice was alive. He positively assured them he was; although he had been long, and continued, very ill of an infirmity." On 16 May, Mr. Pley and Captain Jones were called into the House of Commons; and the Speaker took notice of their good and faithful service, promising that the

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bills payable to Captain Jones, drawn by Edmund Prideaux, afterwards Attorney-General and Richard Rose—Members for Lyme Regis—should be duly honoured. He further desired them to return thanks to the town, and to assure the inhabitants that the House would not be wanting in anything that might encourage them. It was resolved that a twentieth-part of Sir Edward Yates's estate should be applied to Lyme, and the money raised upon such delinquents as had exported wood and fuller's earth. At the same time Lord Pembroke was thanked for supplies sent from the Isle of Wight, of which he was governor, and Mr. Owner for a contribution of £20. Pembroke, indeed, "that most honest-hearted Patriot of his Country" offered to mortgage his whole estate so as to raise money for the preservation of the towns in the West. On 17 May he faithfully resolved to live and die with the House of Commons. On 12 May, Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State, writes from Oxford to Patrick Ruthven Earl of Forth and Brentford, Lord-General of the royal army, "We have certain news that H.M.'s forces before Lyme were repulsed, and that there is no good agreement among Commanders-in-Chief in the King's army there." And three days later he writes again: "No news from Lyme Regis but that Prince Maurice endeavours to take it by approaches, and hopes to be master of it this week."[1]

Drake's diary of the siege proceeds as follows:—

May 8th. Being Wednesday Town doubted of an onset by the enemy gathering themselves in a body, which kept them of the town in a very [? anxious] posture all that day and the night following. Capt. Pawlett died of his wounds. This day also a parliament man of war, Capt. Cock, arrived with his *ship* in farther aid of the Town and supplied it out of his own provision with such necessaries as were wanting. *The May-flower.*

May 9th. All this day being Thursday till noon the enemy was very silent. In the afternoon the ordinance played on both sides till night, and then the enemy applied the small shot very smartly to little purpose.

May 10th. The next day being Friday the enemy approached something near the line on the west; the townsmen sent out a small party and removed their quarters thence.

May 11th. Being Saturday, Sir William Waller's answer accompanied with six parliament ships (in some of

1. C.S.P., 160, 162. Add. MS. ff. 170, 177. Vicars' 'God's Arke,' 231, 233. Rushworth, 677-682. Col. Were's Diurnall, etc.

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which were 240 soldiers) were sent to strengthen the garrison by Sir William Waller under the command of Major[1] —— which much encouraged the townsmen and daunted the enemy, who fired many pieces of ordinance as they were landing but did no harm. This very day there were slain in Capt. Davey's Fort three men in the evening as they were singing a psalm with the minister at the request of an honest man with a bullet of 18 or 19 pound weight from the enemy's east Battery, one of which was the chief gunner of the Town all whose lives might have been saved if they had hearkened to their friends there present who advised them a little before not to sit in that place being on the carriage of one of the guns full in pistol shot. Another had his arm struck off in the beginning of this siege in the Fort who is lusty and not likely to die. Here I promised a copy of Sir William Waller's letter but because I am prevented by a mistake you shall have it among the occurrences of the day.

May 12th. Being Sunday, Capt. Jones, who commanded one of the parliament ships, sent Mr. Pley once more with letters to Sir William Waller who was desirous to hear every day of the state of the Town until such time as he could relieve us by land. This day the enemy shot more fireballs[2] into the Town which did no hurt at all; they also raised two Batteries this night on the west side of the line, and the townsmen counter-work to prevent the danger thereof.

May 13th. The next day, being Monday, they played on the Enemy's Battery with their ordinance which did little damage. They were very busy also with their small shot on both sides without any great harm to either. A Demi-cannon out of the *May Flower*[3] was sent on shore and this evening mounted on a new platform.

May 14th. Being Tuesday the enemy lay very silent thinking at last to make us weary with nothing doing; therefore the townsmen sent out a small party to rouse and quicken them on the east quarter of the Town where they supposed them to be weakest. But when they were

1. The squadron was commanded by Captains Jordan and Man, bringing with them Major Catsforch and 3 Companies. Jordan's ship was the Expedition of 300 tons with 100 men.

2. One house was set alight by these.

3. A very common name for a ship in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries v, Mr. R. G. Marsden in "The English Historical Review," XIX, no. 76, p. 669, perhaps identical with the *Mary Flower*, Merchantman of 1642, of 450 tons and 121 men.

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roused they found them to be stronger than they imagined and therefore retreated without more doing. The night following another party was sent by the townsmen on the west quarter where they fell on the enemy as they were hard at work on their breastworks, killing some, wounding others, brought away some of their mattocks and shovels with one musquet. In which skirmish the townsmen had three men wounded, one mortal of the said three.

May 15th. Being Wednesday, Capt. Milne, commander of a parliament ship, amongst others that lay before Lyme at the time under the command of the Right Honourable the Earl of Warwick, appointed Lord High Admiral of England by the parliament, arrived from Portsmouth to Lyme and with him one hundred and twenty soldiers under the command of a pious and valiant captain called —— Chase,[1] which added still more courage to the townsmen; the same day a culverin was sent on shore from Captain Somaster, aboard the *Mary Rose*. The enemy lay very quiet with their ordinance all this day but the soldiers were hard at work on the breastworks endeavouring to draw a line about the Town purposing to keep it company as long as they can. Also the townsmen began a new platform in the cleeves[2] between Capt. Davy's Fort and the Church.

May 16th. Being Thursday they planted a demi-culverin and played with it on the old burnt walls on the west where the enemy lay which did some execution on their being within pistol shot of the town line.[3]

May 17th. Being Friday the enemy fired[4] about sixteen pieces of ordnance on the Cob which did some harm to the ships there in the forenoon. The afternoon was rain with much thunder and lightning which caused a pacification that afternoon's space and the night following until the next morning.

May 18th. Being Saturday the enemy tauntingly from their works called to the townsmen within the line as they lay within their works to know when they should have another sally. The townsmen (that very well knew that

1. Captain Chase of Chichester; and "400 Foot of Sir Arthur Hazlerigg's" says Vicars.

2. The Church Cliffs, generally called the Cleeves, once a great place of resort, but now mostly fallen into the sea.

3. This day the besiegers endeavoured to make up the breaches torn in their batteries by the town ordnance but could not, being continually battered.

4. After a silence of three days. During the night the Royalists made a line in opposition to the town's northwards.

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there was a rod in brine for them that lay not far off neither, I mean a party of 120 men or more, waiting when the daylight appeared to fall on them) answered they should have one very shortly, and then told them further that they would cry "Oh! Good gentlemen, I pray give us quarters;" and so it fell out indeed, for suddenly after the daylight came on they fell on them, clouted them from their works on their east quarters, slew near 20, took 20 prisoners, 20 or 30 men's arms, cloyed a piece of brass ordnance lying in a Battery there, took such ammunition as was there and other baggage and retreated into the Town again. The ordnance being presently afterwards fired on the townsmen was supposed to be split.[1]

Sally. The same time they sallied on the west but the enemy ran away on the alarm on the east so that no execution was done there, they retreating thereupon, which was by reason that sallied on the east retreated so soon having finished their design for that time where they had 3 men slain and taken prisoners on their side. This night the enemy raised a new Battery on the west side of the Town having been employed all the day before in making breastworks near about it, all within half musquet shot of the Town line to prevent landing of necessaries for the Town. This night also the Town sent out a small party of 30 men on the enemy as they lay hard at work on their new west Battery, slew near 20 of them, took 20 pickaxes and shovels with C.R. (meaning Carolus Rex) and the crown on them, with the loss of two men and one more hurt those that were wounded of the enemy lay groaning and crying 'Bloody men, bloody men' so retreated into their works.

May 19th. Being Sunday the Town ordnance played on the Enemy's new Battery on the west raised the night before; they continued making breastworks towards the Cobb and in the afternoon about three or four of the clock there was a short parley; some shot passed between both parties which slew of the enemy six or more; one of the Town's party was wounded. This day also one of the Town died of a fever occasioned by a wound received in his thigh, and thus the day was ended.[2]

1. The townsmen entered the Fort Royal and beat the besiegers home to their grand quarter. In the evening the Royalists played hot again on the Cobb, and continued making up of their trenches.

2. A cessation of arms for the space of one hour for fetching off three lost in sally of previous day. The town ordnance afterwards slew many at the enemy's grand quarter; but the night passed very silent.

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May 20th. Being Monday little was done on either side: some pieces of ordnance was fired on each other with little or no execution on either. The besiegers are hard to work on their West Battery and breastworks there and elsewhere. A certain boy of the enemy's stole away the Townsmen's colours from the Cobb this morning while two boys lay there sleeping in the barques.[1] The Townsmen had one slain this day about Capt. Gayche's quarters. About this day a piece of ordnance in Deyes meadow was found to have a broad nail driven in the touch-hole thereof and primed upon it, and when fire was given to it the nail appeared; this was in the west line opposite the assailant's new Battery and breastworks. In the west likewise, near about the time of storming the Town 6 May, there was ten or twelve musquets that had their touch-holes pin'ed, some with a stick, others with pins, others had their scouring rods stolen, another his sword bowed and thrown aside, which argues the Town though little is not clear of traitors.

May 21st. Being Tuesday the assailants raised a new Battery with cannon baskets on the very edge of the cliff next the Cobb, midway between and the Town, so that they could not go neither unless they would work on the strand home to the water. They continued making breastworks and preparing ordnance for their new Batteries. Little else was done this day only the ordnance of the Town played a little on them without much hurt doing on the assailants. Also this day there was one other of the defendants slain near about James Gatch's works; this happened by means the Town lieth in a bottom and the enemy above them on both sides so near that the Townsmen lie open to their view wheresoever they walk to come under their line and towards their work. They seeing this inconvenience were constrained to make a ditch and bank to the end they might walk the more securely.[2] This day and the day after before there was a pretty strong easterly wind which caused the parliament vessels to ride something unquietly and the Townsmen to look out for news from Sir William Waller.

May 22nd. Being Wednesday, a very fatal day to the shipping of the town lying in the Cobb as you shall hear

1. The besiegers having approached the Cobb by way of Lieut-Col. Blake's quarters seized two horses—close to a party sent out to rescue them.

2. The besiegers fired many great shots into the Cobb, and at night raised a half-moon breastwork against Captain Gaych's Fort and approached near that part of the line.

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anon. But, first of all of the morning, at which time you shall understand that there was a small vessel wherein were near 300 bushels of malt and pease for the Town store brought home almost to the Cobb gate to be unloaded somewhat the sooner and easier but it fell out far otherwise, for it cost them more pains, longer time, and much dearer than otherwise it might have done had it been unladen sooner or after another manner. After the townsmen had begun to unload the barge in the morning, the same being brought in under the command of the enemy's ordnance, who, having a very good gunner, played on it with a culverin [? demi-cannon] and sunk it in a very short time, which caused the carriers to give over their work, and so the malt and pease were spoiled. Nevertheless, half for half being offered for to have it presently unladen, some six soldiers and others undertook the work and began to unload; but it was not long ere a shot from the assailants struck out the brains of one as he was filling a sack in the barge, struck another through the thigh very dangerously and gave another a slight hurt in his head and soon made some of them relinquish their work. This unhappy beginning had this day, but this was not the worst for about seven or eight in the evening the assailants to the number of 50 or 60 ran down suddenly from their work and so into the Cobb where the barges lay, casting in Wild Fire among them and so that night burnt most of them.[1] But while those things were doing, the defendants rallied on them (after that a party of twenty or thirty men in which the townsmen had placed there in the ships to lie for the better securing of them upon the sudden surprise by the enemy had fled and saved themselves in the boat there and so quitted the Cobb) took their Battery on the edge of the Cliff wherein were only musqueteers and forced the enemy to fly, whereon the enemy's horse forcing their foot on again caused the defendants to retreat and so fall on again into the Cobb firing other ships that else would not have been burnt with their former Fire Balls and forced other men of the defendants who upon the said sally were in the Cobb to take boat and so to save themselves amongst whom an Ensign was after that he had been wounded by the enemy and gotten a boat with much labour without

1. A list of delinquents given under date 1 April, 1647, has "In the King's quarters George Bird of Westhay; hee advised Prince Maurice to burne the shippes in Lyme Cobbe, which was the way to take the towne."

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any oars and having no skill to row, but at length he got safe to shore although the enemy made many shot at him. Divers of the enemy were slain but no man of note that I can understand, and a gunner taken prisoner. The defendants lost five or six men, one more who was a principal instrument in the preservation of the town until this time, named Captain Pyne, who was mortally wounded, being the man that had the command of the horse belonging to the town, a very valiant man. This disaster you cannot choose but think much troubled the Town and 'twas a sad spectacle to behold the burning of so many ships that formerly brought into the kingdom so great commodity (though but a little Town) that the custom or import thereof brought into the King's exchequer four, five, or six thousand pounds, sometimes more. The loss of the ships was not so much lamented as the loss of Capt. Pyne yielded for dead; for more ships might be got again, but such a man was rarely to be found.

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CHAPTER VII.

Siege of Lyme Regis—continued.

(23 May to 15 June 1644).

ON 23 May 1644, the Lord High Admiral Warwick arrived in aid of beleaguered Lyme; and in his letter of 30 May to the House of Lords he describes the condition of the town at his advent. He found Lyme in great want of victuals and ammunition; although Captain Somersted (Somester) had spared them 35 barrels of powder and a good quantity of biscuit and other provisions. Some provisions had also been delivered by Captains Jordan and Jones. He had himself sent them 38 barrels of powder and some match; and had contracted with a Sandwich man for near £400 worth of corn, malt, butter, cheese etc.—they not having two days bread left. The night before he arrived the besiegers had burned nearly twenty barques and some the night following. He had been fully informed of the gallantry of the defenders, being about 1100 men, who, although they wanted shoes and stockings and were kept upon continual duty, yet resolved to hold out to the uttermost; and when all failed, to cut their way through the enemy with the sword. On 21 May Digby had written from Oxford to Rupert: "we are still in expectation of Lyme, though repulsed upon one assault with the loss of 100 men. God grant Prince Maurice good success in that enterprize." On 26 May Digby reports: "a dayly probable expectation" at Oxford of the fall of Lyme. On the same day the Duke of Richmond writes from the same place to Rupert:—"we have many good hopes brought us of P. Maurice taking Lyme, and the last messenger, a soldier, with great confidence affirms by the 29th current it will be gained. There will not be much longer time to do it in; for P. Maurice is to go with the King's advice to Bristol . . . ."[1]

1. Rushworth, 337. Vicars' God's Arke, 243-7. Tract, Lyme Regis, 1, 2. Add. MS. 18981, ff. 176, 182, 184.

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The diary of the siege continues as follows:—

May 23rd. Being Thursday in the morning arrived the Right Honourable the Earl of Warwick Lord High Admiral of England, eight ships accompanying him, and by noon sent into the Town his own surgeon to dress the wounds of Capt. Pyne (being informed of the accident by one of the Town sent to let his Lordship know thereof amongst other things) and withal his Lordship sent a message by his surgeon to desire some commanders of the Town to come on board the *James*[2], a ship of about eight or nine hundred ton, to consult with him about the welfare of the Town, and withal promised them all the assistance that he could spare either for men or provision. In the afternoon the governor accompanied by Captain Lieutenant Blake and some of the inhabitants of the Town took a shallop and rowed unto the Lord Admiral aboard the said ship and so towards night returned. This day also in the morning three or four ships remained unburnt in the Cobb which being perceived by the owner of one of them he hired certain soldiers and mariners for 2s. 6d. a piece to adventure to tow it out unto the Road who taking a little boat (being but six of them) set about the business. They were no sooner got out of the Cobb a little way off but they were espied by the enemy and forthwith there came shot from a piece of ordinance that at first struck through the little boat, carried off one man's leg and gave another a little wound and made such a hole in the boat that they were forced to stop it with their hats and so loosed the boat from the barge and came away leaving it behind them narrowly making their escape. But the barge was driven on shore so near the town walls and out of gunshot of the enemy that she was saved, being laden with malt for the town. The other ships remaining behind, the enemy set on fire and burnt, and all the day continued carrying away thence iron bolts and such other stuff as they found there to serve their town [turn?] but some of them bought that dear likewise for there was made a shot or two from the town with a piece of ordinance that slew two or three of them. Three or four men within the town being at variance about dividing their victuals (not for that there was any great want thereof) the enemy perceiving the contention fired a piece of ordinance which missed them and struck a hut through where four or five

2. Of 875 tons, 260 men.

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men lay and hurt neither of them. That evening also another accident fell out amongst some of the soldiers of the town at the line near Capt. Gaych's Fort who fired two pounds of powder and scalded two or three of them something much and burnt a hut or two without any more harm. This evening the *Mary Rose* one of the parliament ships, that arrived for the safety of the town the 28th of April as you have heard, hoised sails for Portsmouth to victual herself anew having supplied this town and disbursed most of her store. In which ship were transported three or four prisoners, whereof one was Captain Millenaux taken the 6th May when the town was stormed with some other women passengers who were carried aboard yesterday for the ease of the town and to the grief of the enemy who saw such carrying and re-carrying to and fro the ships. The poor people, boys and others, fetched out the malt and pease from the barge that was sunk before the Cobb-gate and would not suffer it to be altogether lost in the dispute of the enemy altho' some bullets great and small fell about them now and then. This day a letter was sent to Prince Maurice from one Mr. Peters, chaplain to the Lord Admiral aforesaid, from on board the *James* and delivered over the line to Captain———————by him to be conveyed to Prince Maurice at his quarters, the copy whereof I shall omit as being tedious and one of no consequence to our present design.

May 24th. Being Friday there was little done on either side, only the Town ordinance played on the enemy as they were working about their line and new Batteries.

May 25th. Being Saturday at night the enemy placed a piece or two of ordinance in their battery at the edge of
Cliff. the Cliff and other ordinance in another battery which played directly on our landing place, so that the town is barred from landing any provision or necessaries by day, as appeared this morning by the enemy's shooting at a shallop sent aboard the Lord Admiral for some accommodations which constrained the shallop to continue at sea till evening and came not on shore till near 12 o'clock that night which brought one day's provision of biscuits for the town and news that the Lord High Admiral or some of his ships had taken a small vessel laden with coals for Dartmouth or Topsham which he would bestow on the town wanting wood and fuel, and also that the mariners and soldiers aboard the Admiral had sent 30 pair of boots besides as many more of shoes to furnish

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the soldiers of the Town which they extremely wanted, and further that they would scant themselves one week in a month's provisions of the bread the better to supply the wants of the Town, so great was their zeal and affection to the poor Town thus straitened, contending with so many malicious enemies, and they rested not only here but commended this for an example to other ships of the company riding there with them, and by this means 40 weight of biscuits is made up for the present supply of the Town, and the Lord High Admiral so honourably condescended to the distressed condition of the Town that he engaged himself to send 4 or 500 marines to keep the Town while the others sallyed out to beat up the enemy's quarters on that part that stopt the loading of provisions.[1] This day there were slain about the Town line three men of the garrison at several places. At this time also Prince Maurice sent a message into the Town to have his prisoners there well dealt withal about their victuals according as he should deal with the townsmen having an intimation they were scanted thereof. An answer was sent him back by the Governor that if the Prince would be pleased to supply them with a more plentiful portion (he having the command of the country and well stored) they should be sure to have whatsoever he pleased to send them, or if he would exchange them man for man according to the law of arms he should be very ready so to do, if not he knew very he should them farther (?).

May 26th. Being Sunday little or nothing was done now that valiant man, Captain Thomas Pyne, died of a fever occasioned by his wounds received the 22nd of this month.

May 27th. Being Monday about 3 o'clock in the morning the body of the said Thomas Pyne was interred in the chancel of the said parish church of the said Town of Lyme Regis and while his body with ———— honoured with a volley of shot round about the Town first the gunners discharged their ordinance and afterwards the musqueteers which the enemy perceiving so early in the morning caused those about the line to give fire, the rest presently blew up the trumpet and

1. Warwick says he had received a letter from the Governor praying for a supply; and that his men unanimously consented to give the garrison one of their next four months' bread, and to bate it out of every day's allowance—yet with hopes the State would make it good again. They also spared them 30 pair of boots, 100 of shoes, 160 of stockings, clothes and some victuals.

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storm. appeared for to storm the Town, which thing was concluded on and appointed then to be done by them the day before, and therefore they were soon ready, which was occasioned the sooner by means of the said volley given by the townsmen so early and so freely for him that so well deserved on the Town's behalf having spent his blood in its defence.[1] Forthwith the enemy's ordinance began to batter on the houses very smartly and struck down chimnies and ran through the roofs of divers houses and slew several of the garrison about the line having planted their ordinance so that the enemy's quarters on the west did batter on the eastern quarters of the Town and their east quarters on the Town's western by means the Town situated as in a pit. Thus they continued battering until noon showing forth their scaling ladders on divers quarters and played on Capt. Marsh's quarters on the west side of the Town from three of their breach. quarters, and make a breach on the line but so as that they dared [? not] to be so bold as to enter in a body. The townsmen ever and anon casted up new earth in the breach and digged themselves into the grounds in a hole so that at last the ordinance could not hurt them and so the musqueteers constantly stepped up gave fire and so made good the breach. At last the enemy made an offer to enter on two several quarters of the Town where they had battered all the forenoon. But it was very advisedly and came on very thinly but fiercely and they were entertained with the like valour by the townsmen so that Enemy repulsed. they soon repelled them, slew on the spot 16 of them besides such as were taken prisoners and many more would have been slain if they had come on in a greater body. But their common soldiers loving their lives better than such service waited for an opportunity to run away rather than to fight, so that the commanders were fain to back and heark [? hack and hew] them to bring them on, and as they thus came on they were made twice to retreat with loss and shame. There were divers of the enemy's commanders slain at the time whose names I cannot yet learn because the bodies of the slain are parly desired but refused. not as yet well viewed by either party and a parly being desired by the enemy presently after their repulse would

1. At a Council of War it was resolved to spare the town from the fleet 20,000 weight of bread more, a hogshead of beef, another of pork, and some small shot. The Commanders in Lyme desiring some of the seamen to guard their line, whilst the garrison sallied on the enemy, Warwick determined to send them 300.

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not be granted by the Governor so suddenly lest there should have been deceit or treachery used by them and also in case they should come on again within a day or two the bodies of the dead may be a terror to them. There was one Captain of the enemy taken prisoner at this time called Captain Austin,[1] an Herefordshire man, who was Captain Lieutenant to Col. Blewitt in his life time who was slain before the Town at the first storm of the 6th of May as you have heard. One of the common soldiers was taken prisoner being mortally wounded with a musquet ball in the back. This day was the most fatal and greatest loss for the number of men the townsmen had since the siege began[2] for they had at this time 12 men slain, two of them at one time with a piece of ordinance (viz.) Lieut. Jacob of Tiverton or thereabout, one of Col. John Wear's regiment, and William Vincent of Colyton who was struck in his head with the bullett that the brains fell out. This slaughter of so many of the townsmen this day was by reason of the new planting of the ordinance in their new west Battery so long preparing and in regard the townsmen had not had any experience of them before, but after they had this woeful tryal of them they endeavoured to prevent the like mischief for the future as well as they could. There were wounded of the garrison this day Colonel John *War* and Lieut. Col. Blake.[3] Were.

May 28th. Being Tuesday the enemy continued battering on Marsh's Fort and the line thereabouts in the evening ensuing with one shot from their east Battery they slew at once near the said Fort 3 men, besides 2 or 3 that were slain that day. This evening about ten of the clock at night, were landed for the Town that freely came on shore by the said Lord Admiral's motion 300 mariners to do their best endeavour for the beating up the enemy's quarters that hindered and troubled the townsmen in their landing of provisions, which the enemy perceiving, fired divers pieces of ordinance at the boats as they were drawing near the Cobb gate, but they missed their aim hurting one man. 2nd reinforcement.

1. Captain Aston, brother to a servant of Mr. Ketchmar in Fish Street, London. Vicars' God's Arke, 243-7.

2. Warwick mentions among the wounded of the garrison Colonel Clare and Lieutenant-Colonel Bidel. Of the Captains who led the Royalist forlorn hope Captain Southern, wearing Lord Poulett's armour, was slain.

3. Were "shot in the belly but not dangerously:" Blake "slightly hurt in the foot," Vicars' God's Arke, 243-7.

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May 29th. Being Wednesday the said Lord Admiral by advice of counsel taken beforehand with some of the commanders of the Town garrison and the Governor sent away two ships[1] with six or seven shallops with many men in them towards Chideock and Bridport making as if it were to land some forces in or about those places which was only to give an alarm to the country thereabout and to cause the enemy to draw away thither their Horse, or a good part of them, to the end they within the Town might sally out and fall on the remainder of the enemy, that while this was done in the morning which indeed caused the enemy forthwith to send a troop of Horse or more that way with some foot, but because the ships and shallops continued near the shore discharging some pieces and not landing indeed, most of their Horse returned very shortly.[2] Now they perceived that they within the town had some design on them because they very well saw their drawing out of men from every ship the day before and the sounding of trumpets in the morning about the town line, the mariners having brought six or seven trumpeters with them and therefore they had doubled their guards the very night the mariners landed and gave many a volley of shot that night, doubting lest they within the town would have sallied on them, and therefore they kept themselves very quiet all the forenoon, but about 12 o'clock they began to batter with their ordinance very fiercely and seconded it with their musqueteers and shooting into the town grenades which did no hurt, and having made a breach into the line by Marsh's Fort, the enemy came on with ladders 6 or 8 abreast home to the breach, not doubting but to have entered.[3] The mariners many of them were at first very fearful and would fain have withdrawn, but the rest of them very courageously and valiantly stood to it, some of them reprehending for their timourousness. One of them amongst the rest that bore the mariners' colours being a stout man both of person and courage stood in the breach displaying the colours so bravely, that out of all doubt he was a great encouragement to the rest of the soldiers, he never giving a foot of

Feint.

2nd Breach.

1. The Expedition and Warwick Frigate. Warwick says provisions were short, soldiers spending about 1200 weight of bread a day and about 4000 people in Lyme.

2. Warwick says "Four or five Troops and some hundred Foot continually attended Motion of our Boats." The shots from the ships forced the Enemy to cast up a breastwork by the seaside for his own defence.

3. The Royalists came on "about 1000 strong" says Warwick.

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ground till such time as the staff of the colours was shot off in his hand with 2 or 3 of his fingers, saying to another of his fellows standing by him in those or the like words, "here take you the colours while I go to the surgeons to be dressed." And there the fight continued for the space of near 8 hours even to the setting of the sun very hotly, but at last the enemy was forced by necessity to retreat into their works and so the storm ceased. In which assault there was slain of the assailants many a man, of which diverse were of quality whose names were unknown to the defendants. They drew away their slain almost as fast as they fell, leaving behind them on the ground 30 or 40 dead and dying bodies, some say 50, which were slain this day, and on Monday, 27th of May, which were not as yet buried.[1] There were also taken on this day nearly 30 arms of pike and musquets. Little was taken this 29th of May, only a firelock or two with some pick-axes and such like tools with some ladders. There were slain at this time of them within the town one Lieutenant of the mariners and one other common man with one common soldier of the Town. Major Townsend received a hurt in his head. The evening they of the town stript the dead corpses of the enemy that lay without the Town line, in one of whose pockets were found divers letters written from Exeter, one amongst the rest was a letter of———[2] who is of the Queen's bedchamber, a fugitive that fled out of this kingdom the beginning of this parliament, it was a very wanton letter and written to the Duchess of Richmond then about Oxford, with a warrant

Enemy repulsed.

1. Warwick declares that 400 of the Enemy fell and but six or seven of the garrison were slain or hurt, One woman shot off 16 Muskets at the enemy and the women of the town generally filled the soldiers bandoliers while they fought.

2, He had come that morning "from Exeter with letters for Oxford, whither he would fain have carried news of the taking of Lyme; but God prevented him, both in his journey and news, and the letters were found in his pocket and sent to London; the principal thing reported in them being that they found the ways to Oxford began to be obstructed; that the Queen was better (I hardly believe it) than formerly, and much comforted in Dr. Miroon's (Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne's) coming to her." Some of these intercepted letters, says Vicars, were "dated at Lyme, 24 May, under the hands of Sir Faithful (Faithless) Fortescue, John Ashburnham, Groom of the Bedchamber, her Majesty's bedchamber friend, and some others of that stamp which informed their great masters, Lord Bristol and Chief-Justice Sir Robert Heath, by those letters that that villainous town of Lyme had destroyed more brave gentlemen of the West and men of honour than had been lost in all the West since these wars began: but that they were resolved once more to storm it for a farewell, and would dispute it line by line and work by work, yet feared they would be forced to leave the siege; else the country people would cut their throats they were so bent for the Parliament at Westminster." Vicars 'God's Arke,' 243-7, 240. Perfect Diurnall, No. 44.

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of the Queen's to some of the officers of her revenue for the conferring of some place for the keeping of a park and house on one of her party. I may not here forget how the many good shot was made from Capt. Davis's Fort and platform in the clift during the fight which did very good execution on the enemy as was thought. But at this time although divers pieces of ordinance from the enemy were fired on them yet hurted no one. This night following those of the Town repaired the breaches of their line indifferent well.

May 30th. Being Thursday in the morning the enemy craved a parly for the burial of the dead which was granted on this condition that the Town was to have the pillage of the field and arms, and the enemy the dead bodies; thus they spent the day in carrying away the dead and burying them without doing any other notable thing on their part. This day they within the Town prepared two several new platforms; one on the top of the gate under Marsh's Fort was made almost unuseful saving only this way. The gate being well barricaded up with earth and stones to the top thereof 10 or 12 feet thick and it serveth well for the securing of the lane going into the Town in case the enemy should attempt to batter the place anew and so endeavour to enter the Town where the breach was made and now repaired. This lane being hollow and deep the enemy may march without danger 5 or 6 in a breast home to the line of the Town which this said platform will prevent. This evening between 10 and 11 o'clock at night there was landed for the Town at Cobb-gate beer and other provisions without any hurt or opposition for now they began to see that it was in vain to hope to starve the Town. This day also there appeared in view of the Lord Admiral as he lay at anchor in the Road 2 or 3 ships bound for the West whereupon a ship with a frigate was despatched away this afternoon to fetch them up and to see what they were, who pursued them and chased them till night. In the interim you must wait to hear of the success amongst the occurrence of the day following.

May 31st. Being Friday in the morning betimes there appeared in sight of the Town about Portland Point 8 ships which much comforted the Town for they expected news out of the east every minute both from Sir William Waller as for victuals altho' the Town had no great want of anything but were comfortably refreshed by the ships lying in the Road, and about the same time were six

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other vessels seen in the west making towards the Town also. About noon they on the east and they on the west came to anchor in the Road by the Admiral and his squadron. Now those of the Town much longed for the approach of night to be fully satisfied of what they hoped for with so much the more eagerness as it was near at hand and yet would not be acquainted with it till night for the danger of coming on shore. The night being come Mr. Pley who was formerly sent to Sir William Waller brought word from the East that a party of Horse of 500 were prepared to come to their relief and that he had brought with him both ammunition and victuals, which so much comforted them, with news also that the ships of the west were the ship with his frigate dispatched yesterday by the Earl of Warwick with a prize being a Dutch Hoye with two States men of war for his convoy worth £10,000 and upwards (to wit) £2500 in ready money which was found in one of the convoys of the Hoye and the freight of the same Hoye in goods amounted to £8000 more. All this while the stream and current of things ran very pleasantly but continued not very long so for even ere this news was well conceited it happened that about noon this very day the enemy shot fire-arrows into certain houses standing by themselves some 3 or 4 just within the Town line, which in a very short time were consumed to ashes. Yet this little troubled the defendants but they purposed hereupon to uncover all the thatched houses within the Town whereof they had many which (in case the assailants persisted in their enterprize) would also be fired and the whole Town in danger thereby. Yet they within the Town were not so circumspect in foreseeing the danger thereof as they were negligent in putting it in execution, or as vigilant as the enemy in taking all advantages and opportunities that might damage the Town. This day there died one Bailey of Tetworth near Chard of his wounds formerly received by a bullett from a piece of ordinance which broke his thigh in pieces; 2 other died also (viz) Mr. Turner's son and the Widow Poole's son.

June 1st. Being Saturday all the morning the enemy lay very still till noon or thereabouts and then on a sudden they had fired the west end of the Town in 2 or 3 places with fire-arrows which in a short time afterwards in regard the weather was hot and dry consumed about 20 dwellings[1] in two several streets and was very likely if

1. Warwick says "20 or 30 houses."

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the wind had not blown the flame northwards by a southerly wind (out of and from the Town) it would have endangered the whole. The enemy this while was not idle but played with their small shot amongst the fire very hotly to the intent the fire might not be quenched by any within the Town that should endeavour it. Howbeit the townsmen did venture on the houses and last by their endeavours to stay the fire, and, by that time it was almost out, the wind turn about into the Town, nevertheless they put an end to it. While these things were in action the enemy fired three or four pieces of ordinance which endangered many and with one shot among the rest from a piece of ordinance slew two, struck off both the hands of one woman as she was carrying a pail of water or some such thing, and struck off one arm of another maid,[1] and hurt some others. This fire at first did something terrify the inhabitants and troubled all the soldiers but they courageously resolved to keep their works in case the enemy should come on, as they did not, which was much admired by them within the Town, which caused them to think the enemy wanted ammunition or that they were weak and out of hopes of taking the Town. This was a sorrowful accident to the Town and so much the more to be lamented seeing a providence might have prevented it. This day in the morning the garrison had one man more named Mr. Thomas, a Cornish man, slain as he was looking through a loophole of the line, a stranger in the Town and a merchant, who not long before came from foreign parts, and [? an] honest man and one that promised at his arrival to put himself into the service of the parliament whensoever and where he had an opportunity. But understanding at his landing at Barnstaple that Lyme was not straitly besieged conveyed himself to Bridport and from thence to this town and so here ended his life. One soldier more of the Town of Capt. Case's[2] Company was slain yesterday."

Warwick's letter of 30 May, urging the speedy relief of Lyme and giving an account of the siege down to that date, was received on 8 June when both Houses voted him a

1. Vicars relates that "a maid who had had one of her hands cut off in the fight, being asked what course she would take to live, said 'Truly I am glad with all my heart I had a hand to lose for Jesus Christ, for Whose Cause I am as willing and ready to lose not only my other hand but my life also.' A sweet and most saint-like speech indeed!" Vicars' God's Arke, 247.

2. One Henry Case was a lieutenant in Lord Peterborough's regiment of the Parliament army in 1642. Peacock, 28.

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letter of thanks; that £1000 per annum should be given to the town out of Lord Poulett's estate; and that full satisfaction should be made the inhabitants for the losses sustained by them. On 30 May the Committee of both Kingdoms had despatched letters to Essex, Waller, Warwick, and Ceeley respectively. They have that morning, they announce, obtained a packet of intercepted letters from Oxford to Exeter; wherein the condition of Lyme and the state of the West are fully discovered. They are about to send such a strength as may relieve Lyme and prevent levies of men and money, now raising by a new Association in those parts, as well as to recover the whole west, whose affections are already very inclinable to Parliament. They have therefore desired two gentlemen of that county—Sir John Bampfield of Poltimore, and Anthony Nicoll, M.P. for Bodmin—to repair to Essex and Waller to arrange the matter. They especially call Waller's attention to the state of Lyme "considering that the safety of the western parts is committed to your care and many of your forces designed to that end." Warwick is exhorted to continue giving assistance by sea, and the governor of Lyme is assured of speedy help. Their letter to Ceeley was sent by one recommended by Mr. Rose, M.P. for Lyme; with a similar one, at the same time, written in taffeta. On 1 June, Warwick writes to the Committee sitting at Derby House from aboard the *James*, at anchor before Lyme Regis. He mentions that the day before there came into the Bay a small vessel with 10 barrels of powder, corn, and other provisions; and expresses his belief that 1000 Horse with five or six hundred dragoons would raise the siege and put those parts into a posture of service to the Kingdom. On the 30th he had seen two ships of war sailing westward, having in charge a hoy for Topsham with a cargo of rich goods, valied at £2000; which upon examination he found to be laden by English merchants in Holland and consigned to Ford "a great malignant in Exeter," and therefore thought fit to send her up to London to receive sentence in the Admiralty Court. Upon further examination he found five barrels of money shipped aboard the man-of-war for Exeter "under the factorage of one Bayly, a peremptory and surly malignant," who was secured while endeavouring to press on the Captains an interpretation of Warwick's seizure of the galliot as ground enough for a national quarrel between England and the States of the United Provinces. Warwick had, however, seized the money—about 10,000 rix dollars—and would keep it aboard to bring up at his return; having managed the business so that the Captains went away well satisfied with a letter from

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the Lord Admiral, representing to the States of Holland the truth of his proceedings and the cause. He suggests whether it might not be proper for this State, by a public declaration, to restrain the Hollanders and other foreign States from convoying arms, clothes, or victuals to any town hostile to Parliament. "This," he concludes, "would amount to no more than what the Hollanders do in not suffering His Majesty's ships to convoy any contraband goods to Dunkirk; by which means the enemy will be less furnished with supplies, and will also want those advantages for trade which he now enjoys." On 2 June, Edward and Thomas Ceeley, on receipt of the Committee's letter, send a despatch to the same to hasten relief by land with all speed, or the town will be lost. This letter was reported by the Committee on 10 June. On 3 June the Committee instruct one of its members, John Crew, M.P. for Brackley, created after the Restoration, Lord Crew of Stene, (i) to repair to Lord-General Essex; (ii) to desire him speedily to take all advantages to fight; (iii) to send a party to raise Lyme siege, if this is not already done; (iv) that if unable to engage the enemy this week, then Crew is to inform Essex of the Committee's order requiring Waller with all his force to march into the west: and (v) Crew, who is to return on the 12th or sooner, is to confer with Essex how, when Waller's forces have marched westward, his army may suppress that of the enemy.[1]

The diary of the siege proceeds as follows:—

June 2nd. Being Sunday the enemy lay very quiet and they within the Town likewise—only they would sometimes salute them with a piece of ordinance as they saw an opportunity, as they used to do when the enemy lay still. This day about noon arrived Captain Hawks into the Road and anchored by the Lord Admiral by an especial command of the Committee of both Kingdoms with an express touching their relief signed under the hands of the Earl of Northumberland and Joshua Maitland, a Scottish Lord, which follows in these ensuing words:—

Letter.

Gentlemen, we have received an account of your streights and have appointed relief for you both by sea and land, and be assured that in a very short time such forces shall march towards you as shall by the blessing of God raise the siege. We understand

1. Rushworth, 332, 337. Vicars' God's Arke, 241, 243-7. Tract, Lyme Regis 1. C.S.P. 1644, 181, 190.

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by intercepted letters that the enemy fear that you will dispute with them from line to line and that they have little ammunition left.

Derby House
30th May 1644.

Signed in the name and by warrant of the Committee of both kingdoms and by your very loving friend,

NORTHUMBERLAND,
JOSHUA MAITLAND.[1]

This with other good news of the prosperity of the parliament forces in other parts as that the Earl of Essex had chased the Oxonians from place to place and had taken *Abington* within 5 miles of Oxford and that by reason the King had removed his forces from Oxon he and Sir William Waller purposed to pursue them to Woodstock and *Chippen Norton* where they lay but perceiving [? the] King's secret return with some Lords in the night, they lay close siege before Oxford. That Col. *Massay*, Governor of the city of Gloucester, had taken Beverston Castle, *Malmesbury*,[2] and Chippenham with 400 prisoners, 12 pieces of ordinance and was come to the Devizes. And that Prince Rupert was in Lancashire and dared not to relieve the city of York besieged by the parliament forces and that the Earl of Manchester and Sir Thomas Fairfax had 1000 Horse and foot ready to encounter him. That Prince Rupert was sent for by the King to come unto him on pain of death or else his crown was lost. That the King had concluded a peace with the Irish bloody rebels and given them a general pardon. You need not doubt but that the town esteemed this news by water in general greater gain than the loss they received by fire the day before, to see the parliament have such care and respects towards them as indeed it well deserved all things considered, for until this streight siege they never had above 300 from the parliament and not half that came to the poor soldiers, and yet they were contented to continue their service with hopes of better recompense hereafter. Thus this day ended without further doing.

Abingdon occupied 26 May.

Chipping Norton, 2 June.

Edward Massey.

June 3rd. Being Monday both parties lay very quiet all the day only some musquets shot passed now and then between each other and at night about 10 o'clock the

1. John Maitland, ultimately first Duke of Lauderdale.
2. Malmesbury surrendered 24 May.

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town having about 7 or 8 boats laden with provision to be landed at the Cobb-gate and the moon giving some light and the enemy perceiving it to draw near the shore fired 8 or 10 pieces of Ordinance on the boats, but never hurted one man.

June 4th. Being Tuesday about 2 o'clock some 3 or 4 pieces of ordinance passed on each side, some of which from the enemy slew a gunner of the Town of the company of Capt. Perry[1] as he was washing his feet not far from the Cobb-gate where were near by him divers women drying clothes on the strand: one more of the Town was also slain on the line which was a mariner through indiscreetly looking over the works. This day also was brought into the Road when the Lord Admiral lay at Anchor an Irish man of war, with six or eight pieces of ordinance, taken on the Irish coast. This day also the Lord Admiral discharged the two States men of war the convoy of the Dutch Hoy taken the 31st of May, as you have heard before, which hoisted sail and departed. This morning also 6 or 7 of the Lord Admiral's squadron hoisted sail and with a gentle gale of wind steered their course towards the west, waiting and expecting some good fortune from that quarter.

June 5th. Being Wednesday little was done on either side, only the enemy, after their usual course every day when they are not quieted, now and then discharged their small shot, as also in the night altho' to small purpose, the besieged answering them sometimes in like manner, and this afternoon discharged 5 or 6 pieces of ordinance on their west quarters about the time of relieving their guards at night, one shot of which, falling amongst a company of 30 or 40 that were got together, being made from Capt. Davy's Battery on the Cliff, and slew 1 or 2 of them with a commander of them also, which was slain from the line with a musquet shot by Christopher Hooper. This day also Joseph Lanier an inhabitant of the Town died of a wound received from a piece of ordinance of the enemy's as he was standing in the street on Saturday 1st of June when the enemy had fired the Town, as you have heard, being of the number of those that were hurt and slain with one shot that day. This day also there came into the town a sergeant and a corporal from the enemy's quarters, being weary of their employment on that side. This was confessed by them by reason of some

1. One of the reduced officers paid £20.

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conference between the enemy and them within the Town over the line the night before, being with many others amongst them on the west quarters by arguments convinced of their errors, and then wished themselves in the Town with those there, saying that they were deluded and brought out of Ireland (being Englishmen which voluntarily went thither a year or two before for the suppression of the rebellion there) to fight against the parliament, but did not truly understand the difference till now, or to this effect. These Men informed the Governor that the enemy did almost despair of ever taking the town, and therefore did resolve to burn it if they could, and to this purpose had procured a witch who had undertaken to fire the *stone* [? *healed*] houses and further would promise them to sink the Lord Admiral with his squadron of ships by devilish art and practice which caused to command certain thatched houses on the east side of the Town to be uncovered to prevent them of their purpose (not for fear of the said witch or any such devilish practice for he was a man of greater faith and more knowledge), for the matter was possible to be done with such arts. This night the Town had more provision landed at the Cobb-gate. The aforesaid sergeant and corporal confessed that there had been of the enemy since the beginning of the siege to this day 42 sergeants and 12 gunners slain. stone-covered.

June 6th. Being Thursday little was done on either side saving at the relieving of the guards of the enemy some ordinance was fired on either side; one from the enemy struck off a gunner's arm of the Town called Squire[1]: some small shot also passed between them as the usual manner is from the line. This night and the day following, a rough easterly wind made us uneasy in respect of the ships in the Road among which were 2 or 3 barges laden with provisions for the Town, but they continued safe. This day died one Matthew Hemway of a wound he received a little before in his thigh from a musquet ball as he was walking the street. This day one Hooper of the Town slew one officer of the enemy.

June 7th and 8th. Being Friday and Saturday little was done on either side.

June 9th. Being Sunday about 10 o'clock at night the enemy fired 7 or 8 pieces of ordinance on 5 or 6 boats as

1. On 20 January, 1646, Treasurer Bury is ordered to pay to Richard Squire 10s., and to Edward Norwood, 20s.; they having lost their limbs in the siege of Lyme. Minute Books, 146.

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they were landing provisions at the Cobb-gate which broke one oar and shattered a bag of biscuits in the boat.

June 10th. Being Monday there appeared in the morning 17 or 18 vessels under sail about Portland Point making towards the Town from the east which they thought came to their relief. About 10 or 11 o'clock they anchored in the Road by the Lord Admiral therefore the Townsmen wished for night that they might hear some agreeable news but before that time they hoisted sails and steered their course to the west and, as they afterwards heard, were bound for Plymouth. This disappointment much discouraged the soldiers though they were resolved at last to wait with patience till another opportunity.

June 11th. Being Tuesday the enemy about 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning to fire the town they shot red-hot bulletts and iron bars crooked at the ends[1] that they might hang on whatsoever they lighted one of which kindled a house where the ammunition was and likewise several thatched houses which were saved by the diligence of the people who took care to fill their vessels with water for that purpose. Thus the enemy spent the forenoon though in vain; the Town in the engagement lost one man and 4 or 5 were hurted. The loss on the enemy's side was one captain, one gunner and some others as the townsmen were informed by some country friends that came to them privately. This evening the Town received letters from the Governor and other friends at Poole who were desirous of hearing their condition assuring them that relief was preparing for them if not already prepared. There was at this time landed 22 or 23 dozen pair of shoes besides many pairs of boots for the soldiers which caused some murmuring because every one was not supplied that wanted. The enemy began to raise a kind of platform behind an old wall with cannon baskets in the west quarter within pistol shot of the line.

June 12th. Being Wednesday the enemy was going on with the said platform behind the old wall and making the breastwork by it the better to secure their ordinance there to be placed, when the Town took notice of it and

1. "Nearly 100 great pieces, loaded with shanks of anchors, bars of iron, and red hot shot" says Warwick: "but only three men hurt" cf. Sieges of Hull and Gloucester in 1643. The enemy "outrageously shooting into the Town barres of Iron, pieces of Anchors, and great shot blown up to as great a measure of heat as was possible (they having a Forge on purpose.") Vicars' God's Arke, 253.

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resolved to remove them thence. The combat was not extraordinary this day yet it was not the least for hurt to the Town (what to the enemy is uncertain) for a sergeant of Major Harrington's company (who was slain at the second great sally) was killed as he was looking through a porthole [? and] one honest man more of the Town called Jeffery Westlay,[1] with one mortally wounded called Thomas Way, late a student of the University of Oxon,[2] and one that [? other] with the same piece of ordinance at once, which very narrowly missed myself and some others. This evening 5 or 6 boats landing of provision and ammunition were brought on shore (viz) 14 hogsheads of beef and pork, beside pease, biscuit, and powder,[3] having divers shot made at them from the enemy though to no purpose. This day also one Salter a trooper of the Town (and of the company of the said valiant Thomas Pyne not long since slain) was buried, being a valiant soldier who died of his wounds received about a week ago. This evening the Town shallop launched at the Cobb-gate to go on board the ships in the Road for victuals, but as soon as she got in sight of the enemy's Battery on the edge of the cliff near the Cobb they fired a piece of ordinance on them which slew one man and struck off half the hand of another and the remaining part was cut off when they came on board the ships."

On 5 June, Waller and Sir Arthur Hesilrige write to the Committee from Stow-on-the-Wold professing themselves most sensible of the danger to Lyme, and of the mischief that will grow in the west unless timely prevented. They think Essex intends advancing into those parts from a letter received from him that same day which they enclose. They themselves are now in pursuit of the royal army. The same day Warwick from on board the *James* in Lyme Bay advertizes the Committee that he still continues before Lyme; although in some respects inconveniently, having no means at hand to procure fresh water or provisions. But he has no intention of stirring from thence while he can possibly stay; well knowing the presence of the squadron is a great encouragement, and the assistance of its mariners—not yet returned aboard—a

1. Was he akin to Bartholomew Westley (or Wesley) who held at this time the sequestered Rectory of Charmouth?

2. Son of Thomas Way of Bridport, pleb, matric. Wadham Coll: 4 June 1641 aet 18.

3. Warwick sent 10 barrels of powder.

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great advantage to the town. The soldiers from the enemy's works seem to have their former spirit and fury much abated, their railing language being not so frequent; nor have the besiegers confidence of their own relief. Their Lordships letter written in taffeta has added to the townsmen's resolutions and hopes of a speedy deliverance. He begs them to notice that the supplies of powder and match lately sent from the Isle of Wight by Captains Lockyer and Jones have come in small parcels and short proportions: whereas upon a storming day the town—having within it 1500 soldiers including the seamen—spends about 15 barrels of powder, and every day and night near a quarter of a ton of match; so that the proportions yet unspent will last but 5 or 6 days service. As the ships cannot spare more he asks the Committee to give order for a reasonable supply of ammunition. On 6 June Essex informs Derby House from Chipping Norton that the relief of Lyme has taken up the best of his care, which next to fighting the King's army, is, he supposes, the matter of most instant concernment. The King is now fled, rather than gone, with an army having left his heavy carriages at Oxford; and his force is so much made up of light horsemen that an army with carriages must come much behind him. Essex has applied himself to the relief of Lyme which he dare not undertake with less than his whole army, and in case the King should not go westward with his army, the Committee's wisdom and care will provide for what may tend to the safety of those parts. On 7 June Waller from Stow-on-the-Wold writes that he has disbursed £1000 out of the western money for the service of the train of artillery which was promised by the four Associated Counties to be repaid within 10 days after his departure. He desires the Association may be reminded of it from the Committee, and the money paid forthwith to Mr. Trenchard. On the morning of the previous day he and Hesilrige attended Essex, who stayed the night at Chipping Norton and next day marched back to Burford. The Lord General's resolution is for relieving Lyme and the west. Being thus put out of their way, and Lord Essex commanding an eye should be had which way the King takes, they resolve to follow the latter wherever an army can march. On 10 June the Committee exhort Warwick to continue encouraging Lyme until succour by land can arrive; and next day notify Essex that the Commons have resolved "that it is most convenient for Sir W. Waller to go into the West." The Committee think Waller's army strong enough and that of Essex more suitable for employment in other parts. But because Waller has not yet come into the west, they desire

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Essex to stay with the main body of his army where he now is until their next letter. Meanwhile they hope he has already sent a considerable party of Horse to raise the siege of Lyme. Yet because the letters from both Houses, sent the day before to speed that party may miscarry, they enclose a copy of them; so that Essex may see the necessity there is for an immediate relief. They earnestly desire him to put these orders into execution at once. A letter of like import with similar enclosures was at the same time despatched to Waller. The same day the Committee report a letter from Essex declaring his resolution to march with his army to the relief of Lyme. A letter from both Houses to hasten him was agreed to. It was ordered that the money of Sir John Byron, first Lord Byron of Rochdale, should be bestowed upon Plymouth and Lyme, and £2000 from the estate of Sir Edward Yates upon Lyme; also the assessment of one-twentieth of Mr. Daniel Harvey's estate, £1000.[1]

On 12 June Warwick from aboard the *James* in Lyme Road, writes to Derby House. No relief has yet been heard of; and the enemy continues his siege, daily bringing his approaches nearer the town. The garrison is in great want of powder, match, and bullets; and Warwick can scarcely spare more out of the ships without too visible prejudice to the service. There are many sick and wounded in the town; so that for their ease the seamen from the fleet are continued there. They had intimation of Colonel Norton's coming to their relief, and more recently of a good party from Lord Essex: the failure whereof would too much discourage if not dishearten them; because, instead of the siege being raised, they find the enemy daily furnished with new provisions and lately reinforced by two or three hundred Irish soldiers from Wareham side. This day he had sent letters to Lord Essex, by way of both Poole and Portsmouth, to represent the state of Lyme. He urgently requires some forces by land, and a supply of powder, match and bullets by sea. He will continue before Lyme though with no other ship than his Vice-Admiral. The rest of the ships of both squadrons are either in the Irish seas; or in Weymouth Road, where two are continually plying: or about Dartmouth and Exmouth, where two are likewise disposed; or for the defence of Guernsey; or detained in the Thames through want of means for their despatch; or in the Downs by special order to attend certain convoys and services from thence. Moreover, some of these ships are less able for service through some of their men being

1. C.S.P., 198 to 226. Roberts, 93.

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necessarily left behind for the defence of Lyme. On 13 June the Committee send Essex further orders from the Commons and desire him, with the residue of his forces not sent to Lyme according to former instructions, to march into Oxfordshire and the adjacent parts and block up Oxford. They again urge the speedy despatch of a party of Horse for the relief of Lyme. They have received his letter of the 10th instant from Lambourn, Berks, and will endeavour to hasten supplies of money and ammunition to him. The same day in a letter to the Committee of both Kingdoms resident in the Scottish army they state that Waller, following the King closely, the latter came to Evesham and is now about Sudeley Castle. Essex marching westward was at Faringdon on the 9th; Hungerford on the 10th; and Ramsbury, Wilts, on the 11th. On 14 June, Essex writes to Derby House from Blandford. In their letter of 30 May the Committee had ordered him to send a force westward sufficient not only for relieving Lyme but also for regaining the whole west by preventing the levies now raising by the new Association in those parts—such being the request of the western gentry. He resolved therefore to march westward with his whole army—a strength little enough in his judgment to effect what they desired—and of this he acquainted them. He conceived they were not displeased at his plan of campaign since for eight days they were silent—which he took for approbation. But now having advanced as far as Blandford they direct him to make a stand, and send away a considerable party of Horse for the relief of Lyme. He would like to believe they are misinformed of late or he had not received such an unexpected countermand after his unwearied endeavours in pursuance of their instructions. For Lyme cannot be relieved by a party; and if it could, that party must consist principally of Foot: for Horse can do very little service in those narrow passages. Yet against his own opinion and that of the Council of War he has sent such Horse as are most likely to do service; but he is unable to understand how his Horse can break through Prince Maurice's army of Horse and Foot. Even if they should succeed in joining with the men of Lyme in pursuit of Maurice, he does not know what his army would do without the Horse the while or how the Horse would ever return to his Foot again: for if the enemy should break down a pass his Horse are shut up for ever. He is compelled, then, both by the discipline of war and the rules of reason to march further with his Foot: for fear his Horse should receive a blow. He must not retreat or the enemy will be encouraged and strengthened; Hopton will have time to raise men and

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money; and Essex's Foot will be quite disheartened. If once his forces come to face about they will certainly be like a routed army, broken all to pieces, and melted away after they are broken. The Committee is also misinformed concerning the strength of the enemy: for there is a party of Horse and Foot gone to them with money from Salisbury within these two days; and they may draw out some of their garrisons from Weymouth, Bristol and elsewhere, and turn them into dragoons to cut his forces off in the straight passes when they perceive that Essex has sent none but Horse. The enemy's strength of Horse is far beyond what the Committee speak of; and he hears Hopton is marching towards them with Horse and 2000 Foot, mostly newly raised. He will not dispute how well Waller is beloved in the west: the Committee know something of Bristol and Plymouth. He is sure Lord Robartes is not hated there, who has their ordnance from Cornwall; and is more deeply engaged, because he has a considerable estate in those parts and is intrusted with a higher place in the army than the Major of a Brigade. Robartes is cordially tender of the good of his country; and the western gentlemen understand their interest so well that they will not be displeased with an army that adventures itself for their relief, without putting them to any extra-ordinary charge. Whereas, if Waller goes thither he will indeed free them from paying contributions to the enemy, but will command them to pay contributions to himself; though Essex knows he has received already large sums from the western gentry for the payment of two or three regiments which have done them but little service as yet—the other regiments under his conduct being paid by the City of London or the Associated Counties. Essex is resolved not to spoil the western Counties because he goes to relieve them; and that is, he conceives, the way to reduce them. He respects not pay, but is ready to serve the State and the West, though it cost him dear; yet he is confident they will not suffer him and his army to perish in their service. Waller is engaged to look to his Associated Counties by ordinance of Parliament, and his faith passed to those distressed counties. Now that there are two considerable garrisons in those counties at Basing and Winchester, yet unremoved; he may do well to perform what he had undertaken—before he undertakes a new business. Waller was engaged in pursuit of the King's army, and his care for the present should be to hinder levies in Worcestershire. If the Committee think fit to call him off he will be sooner at Oxford than Essex can possibly be; and there may help Major Browne to beleaguer Oxford. Lord

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Essex asks pardon if he makes bold to order and direct his own Major-General: for in truth he does not see how Waller can take care of all the counties along the seaboard from Dover to St. Michael's Mount. He refused indeed to protect a county or two, and said that was only to lie at receipt; and yet he thinks that service honourable enough for his General. If the Committee think fit to set Waller at liberty and confine Essex; let them be pleased to make the former, General, and the latter, Major General of some Brigade; that Essex's soldiers may have free-quarter, free plunder, and fair contributions besides, as Waller's have without control. Finally, that army which has the greatest strength of Foot will be most able to reduce the west, and Essex believes he has the most resolute Foot in Christendom. Let the Committee then take heed how they disaffect them: for if they lose them, either by commanding him to lie still or by putting them upon ordinary services which are below them, their Lordships will repent too late and he too soon. If they encourage him to advance further into the west, he hopes in reasonable time to relieve Lyme and distress Weymouth. But if they recall Waller from his pursuit of the King and stop Essex in his march to the west, they are like to lose the benefit of both armies this summer; because, put upon cross services which lie far out of their way, they are denied the benefit of those fair opportunities which God has put into their hands. Let them consider what he has said: and, if by following their advice the west be not reduced; Hopton's army recruited; and Lyme lost—let not the blame be laid upon him, their innocent though suspected servant.[1] On 13 June the Lieutenant of the Ordnance was ordered to deliver, out of the stores remaining in the Tower, 20 barrels of powder to Henry Bridges of Poole for the defence of that town. About this time[2] Lord Hopton came to the leaguer before Lyme; demanded five men out of every company; promised to make good the deficiency thus created by an equal number of pressed men; but was denied. This a prisoner reported, and Warwick also heard by one of the frigates which came from the west on Monday, 10 June. He subsequently learned that Hopton went to Dartmouth, whither he arrived on the night of Thursday, 13 June, with 7 Horse, reporting he was commissioned to raise an army of 15,000 men if he could get them.

1. C.S.P., 1644, pp. 227 to 232.

2. *Ibid*, 239. Warwick's letter of 15 June: Tract says "last Sabbath day," viz. 9 June. King's Pamphlets, Vol. 161, no. 9. Vicars' God's Arke, 253-6.

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The diary of the siege concludes as follows :—

June 13th. Being Thursday there came into the Road and anchored by the Lord Admiral 3 or 4 ships wherein was the new Governor of Plymouth with Sir John *Banfield*, new governor of the Island, there to succeed Col. Gould that valiant gentleman who died of a natural death about Candlemas before. They had also with them some other commanders, one of whom was Major Sir Thomas Drake, brother to the Baronet Drake of Buckland near Plymouth, with some other land officers bound from London to Plymouth to put themselves in possession of their new offices.[1] Little was done this day, within or without the Town, only some musquet shot passed between each other. In the evening divers boats landed with provisions at one of which the enemy made 3 shot from a piece of ordnance, 2 of which came something wide and grazed on the water, the 3rd falling short sunk into the water and had it grazed as the former did, it must of necessity have endangered the boat. About 6 o'clock in the afternoon there came into the Town from the enemy, a sergeant who gave intelligence that it would not be long ere the enemy would raise the siege, which was agreeable news to the town, and the sooner erected [? credited] because they observed this day the removal of a certain tent which they had for their counterguard on one of their quarters of most strength. This day also Lieut.-Col. Blake within the Town at the instance of [? the] Lord Admiral conveyed himself aboard the *James* unto him to consult about landing more mariners on shore on some design against the enemy. The 2nd sergeant which came this day informed the Town that a shot out of a piece of ordnance from the Town against Collway House killed therein a gunner and one more and brake 4 musquets, and further informed that the enemy had slain from the Town since the siege, Colonels, Lt.-Colonels, majors, captains, lieutenants, and ensigns 125, and 27 gunners and their mates. In the afternoon 16 or 20 mariners without command sallied on the enemy over the line by Capt. Davy's Fort and beat off the enemy from their hedge and their breastworks thereabout, took one prisoner, 3 pieces.

Bampfield.

1. Warwick says, "on Thursday Sir John Bampfield, Col. James Carr, and other officers came into this Road and went away in the *Hector* the same night, so I suppose by now they are safely landed at their intended port." The property of Sir Francis Drake, Circumnavigator of the World, ultimately passed to his youngest brother Thomas. It included the Manor of Buckland Monachorum.

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of —— and 1 musquet; the prisoner promised to tell them some good news if they would spare him his life which they did. The enemy being beaten into their Battery they caused another party to be brought, on which the mariners retreated without doing or receiving any more harm.

June 14th. Being Friday about 1 o'clock in the morning there came from the enemy into the town Capt Lieut. Phere[1] with his wife, servant maid, 25 officers and common soldiers, who having delivered up 17 arms desired they might keep their swords which was granted. They brought news that the parliament forces were not far off and that the enemy was preparing to raise their siege. Upon the entrance of these men the Town was alarmed by the enemy shooting their fireworks which set some houses and a little straw in flames which was pulled off the houses before to preserve them from that danger. Altho' both parties fired smartly upon each other yet they quenched the fire and landed several boats with provision. At this time there happened to fall on a bed in one Robert Newcombe's house where five children lay together one hot piece of iron which only singed or scalded one of them. About 6 or 7 o'clock in the morning the Lord Admiral sent 3 ships with divers boats of men towards Charmouth and Chideock under pretence of landing there;[2] which caused the enemy to send some men from Colway, though not many because they believed it not to be real (they having been served so once before) as indeed fell out. About noon the Town perceived the enemy began to take

1. Lieutenant Faire (Parri' in Lord Brayes MSS. Hist. Mss. 10th Report) of Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill's regiment and his ensign, who had the night before come into Lyme with 22 soldiers, went aboard the *James*, 14 June. From him Warwick learned that Maurice had notice of forces coming to Dorchester, and that many of the Prince's army were ready to come into Lyme as soon as an opportunity offered. Vicars 'God's Arke' mentions Lt. Fair, an officer of Lord Broghill, brother (*sic*) to Lord Inchquin, with 10 also of Inchquin's regiment and some 15 others. In Warwick's *letter* Faire's regiment is said to have been that of Baron Maule of Brechin (Patrick Maule, first Earl of Panmure). Broghill was later first Earl of Orrery and dramatist.

2. But Warwick notices his manœuvre of 14 June, when he made a diversion by the landing of seamen on the east-side, so as to draw the enemy off the town. This causing the Horse and Foot, who came down to oppose them, to fly to the hills the seamen were given the opportunity of conversing with certain of the country-people, who appeared generally well-affected to Parliament "in respect of the great pressures laid on them by a beggarly and cruel enemy." Warwick was informed by some of these that Hopton had two days previously commanded all between 16 and 60 to repair forthwith to Dorchester with such arms as they could provide, provisions and money, to withstand some forces expected there suddenly under the command of Essex or Waller; also that some hundreds had been pressed for this service, but had made their escape.

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down their tents and drew away their ordnance with diligence and therefore began to pluck up themselves hoping relief near at hand. This while Capt. Davy was not idle for he fired on them wheresoever he perceived them drawing away their ordnance and as 'twas thought not without doing execution. Major ———, having weighed those things, with a small party issued over the line by Capt. Davy's Fort and beat the enemy out of their hedge works into their great Battery, which being perceived by the enemy they drew from Colway Horse and Foot to relieve their friends, lest the Town would have fallen on them as they were drawing off their artillery. This caused Major ——— to withdraw with his party unhurt. Capt. Davy fired on the enemy as they were coming down towards the said Battery through a certain lane and slew one but what other hurt was done is a secret. In the interim certain country men escaped from Charmouth and Uplime and came into the Town informing that the enemy had laden their carriages and resolved to be gone with all speed and that the Earl of Essex, then Lord General, or Sir William Waller (by the enemy's own report) with an army was drawing towards the Town. These things much concerning the Town after eight weeks siege were in hopes of being once more at liberty and thereupon let fly their small shot, which was answered by the enemy though without any damage to either party. This evening the townsmen made bold to land a good store of provision at the Cobb-Gate without any damage although the enemy played with their small shot, their ordnance then being drawing away. Night being now come we only waited the next day's product.

sally.

repulsed.

June 15th. Being Saturday about 2 o'clock in the morning[1] the enemy had quitted their line which was first discovered by two or three of the besieged who gave fire on the enemy's works to alarm them. No answer being made they fired a second time, to which no answer being made they ran violently on the enemy's works where they unexpectedly found a mine that they endeavoured to spring in order to blow up their works on the South side and within pistol shot of the Town about 10 feet into the earth. The Lord Admiral and those of the Town received express that the Earl of Essex would be at Dorchester

1. About 2 o'clock a.m. Warwick's boat brought the news from Lyme that the Royalists were drawing off their great guns and raising the siege; facts confirmed by a letter from the Governor. Maurice himself withdrew about 5 o'clock on the previous night.

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that night for the Town's better encouragement. The soldiers went on to Colway and Hay Houses to see what may be found there, and having found much arms and provision they had a market and sold it there. Others walked into the fields and green meadows to refresh themselves after so long a siege and to enjoy the benefit of the fresh air. This day died the young scholar Mr. Thomas Way of his wounds received the 12th of this instant, as was before mentioned, and was buried the next day. One act of cruelty was committed by the mariners this day, who finding an old Irish woman of the enemy's looking out her friends, not supposing them to be gone, drove her through the streets to the seaside, knocked her on the head, slashed and hewed her with their swords, robbed her of 20 or 40 shillings, cast her dead body into the sea, which was cast on shore between Lyme and Charmouth where her carcass lay till consumed.[1]

June 16th. Being Sunday and the day of returning thanks for the Town's deliverance, Mr. Peters preached in the Forenoon, chose the 23rd verse of the 136th psalm for his text, and in the afternoon the 7th verse of the 1st Chapter of St. Luke.[2] This day were sent into the Town two messengers who brought news that the said General was advanced as far as Dorchester with an army of 13000 Horse and Foot.

EDWARD DRAKE.

Copied from the original found in White Lackington House the 1st of August 1786,
and entered into this book by Thomas Follett."

It was at noon on the Saturday when the siege was raised that Warwick went ashore, and accompanied by his Secretary William Jessop and many others, viewed the works of both the contending parties. They found those of the besiegers contrived with so much strength and skill, but the townsmen's, on the other hand, so slight that it was a miracle how they could have held out so long against so resolute a foe. "The truth is" adds the Lord-Admiral, "the courage and honesty of the officers and soldiers were in a manner their sole

1. Warwick's Secretary, William Jessop, and Vicars state explicitly that the unfortunate old Irishwoman was slain and pulled to pieces by the women of the town. Tradition speaks of a hogshead, stuck with nails, into which she was put and rolled into the sea.

2. Hugh Peters' texts were: "Who remembered us in our low estate: for His mercy endureth for ever"; and "And they had no child, because that Elizabeth was barren, and they both were now well stricken in years."

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defence." They lacked only money. Vicars says "the defence of Heaven was merely and clearly their munition of rocks;" the town "standing at the bottom of two hills, and their works so low and thin, that in many places one might have run over them and a strong hand might have thrust them down, they being in effect paper or pasteboard walls." Warwick had lately received a request from Plymouth to move Parliament for money for their garrison; they having no defect to hinder them marching forth but of that and a governor. It was reported at Lyme on this same day that Weymouth was delivered up to Parliament, and carriages were observed to pass from that side towards Exeter. How far that report, or another that Prince Charles was lately at Weymouth, is true Warwick knows not; but he has renewed his command to the ships attending that Road to keep an eye specially upon all vessels that come from those parts. At the end of the siege, according to Vicars, there was scarcely a house in Lyme remaining undamaged, and hardly a room into which shot had not entered. During the last great fire in the town, two maids, carrying between them a vessel of water, had three of their hands shot off. One of them, he thinks, was probably that honest maid who spoke so christianly touching the loss of one of her hands. Everyone of the beleaguered deserved, as Warwick himself publicly professed, some evident badge of honour to remain to his posterity in memorial of this most famous siege. The besiegers, according to the same account, lost first to last two or three thousand soldiers at least; the town but six-score men at the most. The Royalists themselves confessed they had lost more men than before Exeter or Bristol.

Prince Maurice retired in haste towards Exeter with full 2500 Foot and 1800 Horse, after having thrown a garrison of 500 into Wareham and having burned Stidcombe, Frampton and other country houses, "with some loss of reputation, for having lain so long with such a strength before so vile and untenable a place without reducing it." No doubt the coming of Warwick had rendered Maurice's attempt upon this "little vile fishing town, defended by a small dry ditch" and the valour of its inhabitants, too great an undertaking for a general of his slender capacity. On 28 May the King had written to his nephew from Oxford: "As soon as you shall have finished what can be done upon Lyme, or shall plainly see that it is not to be taken; we desire you to draw with all your forces to Bristol, to be there in a readiness to meet with or come to us, as there shall be occasion; whereof we shall send you notice." The framework of Lyme Vicarage de-

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stroyed in the siege, was rebuilt at a cost of £12. No baptisms, marriages, or burials are registered during Maurice's investment of the town. The anniversary of their deliverance from Sennacherib, with whom the Prince was compared, was afterwards observed by the inhabitants as a day of public thanksgiving; and a stipend was paid by the corporation for the preaching of a sermon. The Royalists are supposed to have interred their dead near Colway.[1]

After the siege was raised Parliament ordered letters of thanks to be sent to Warwick, the town, and the governor, a gratuity of £2000 to the town, clothes to the soldiers, and £150 to Ceeley. There was also to be conferred upon Lyme the £1000 a year out of Lord Poulett's estate. On 17 June Messrs. Prideaux and Rose, Members for Lyme Regis, were ordered to prepare a letter to represent the good acceptance of the faithful services of that town; in order that the ministers in and about London and Westminster, and the parishes within the bills of Mortality, do on the next Lord's Day take notice of the great blessing of God in preserving the town of Lyme, and raising the siege. The Lieutenant of the Tower was bidden to give notice of this order to the Lord Mayor and desire him that notice might likewise be given thereof to the several parishes within the bills of Mortality; that 26 dozen pair of shoes were to be bestowed upon Poole and Lyme; and that £2000 of the first £4000 raised in Dorset were to be employed in the service and for the advantage of Lyme. On 19 June it was further ordered that a collection should be made in all the parish churches and all other chapels within the bills of Mortality for the relief of the poor ruined people of Lyme. After the failure of Maurice's prolonged attack upon the place Lord Poulett also retreated to Exeter, not without considerable losses by the way in skirmishes with Waller's forces. A quarrel with Prince Maurice, who seems to have caned him and refused satisfaction, led to their separation. Poulett was appointed commissioner of Exeter; where he was taken prisoner on the surrender of the City on 13 April 1646. He was brought to London in extreme ill-health; was permitted, on Fairfax's intercession, to reside in his own house at Chiswick; and was eventually allowed the benefit of the Exeter Articles. He thus escaped with the payment of a fine of £2742, £1500 by way of compensation to Lady Drake for the loss of her house,

1. Clarendon VIII, 60, 89n. Whitelocke, 92. Roberts, 97, 162. Hutchins, II, 58.

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and the settlement of a perpetual annuity of £200 upon the town of Lyme Regis. He died on 20 March 1649.[1]

On 30 June 1643, a month after Waller had retired from before Worcester, we are told the ordinary sort of women to the number of 400 a day joined in companies and began with spades, shovels and mattocks to level the fortifications left by Essex; "and throwing down ditches, that by their own industry and free service in imitation of the citizens of London they within one week perfected the levelling of the same. This was done the rather that some of them were killed in the siege; and also to ease the soldiers." The heroism of the Lyme women, who are said to have carried ammunition to the soldiers disguised in male attire, is celebrated in a strange production entitled "Joanereidos, or Feminine Valor discovered in Western Women at the Siege of Lyme," by James Strong and published in 1645. This consists of above 200 lines of halting verse; together with many burlesque pieces addressed to the author by other hands. From these we learn that he was son of a tailor at Chardstock; had spent a year or two at Wadham College; held the living of Bettescombe; and afterwards that of Ilminster. One set of verses to the author is signed 'Tobie Trundle' and runs as follows:

"The Roman Capitoll by Geese was kept,
They wake't, poore foules, when the dull Souldiers slept.
Alas! who now keepes Lime? poore femall Cattell
Who wake all night, labour all day in Battell,
Geese, as a man may call them, who doe hisse
Against the opposers of our Countries blisse.
And by their seasonable noyse discover
Our Foes, when they the Workes are climing over.
And shall such Acts as these forgotten die
Unrecommended to posteritie?
No, whilst I have a Muse that can afford
One verse, their names shall stand upon Record.
Nor shall the cankered teeth of envious Time
Devoure the storie of besiegéd Lime."[2]

1. Vicars' God's Arke, 255-6. Roberts' 98 citing 'Commons' Journals.' D.N.B., XLVI, 230, Hutchins, II, 54 to 59.

2. It is to be hoped that the two following entries under 1644 in the Lyme Town Accompt Book do not refer to heroines of the siege: Paid 2 soldiers to attend whipping of a woman 2s. 6d. Paid to whipping four women 4s.

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CHAPTER VIII.

March of Lord Essex in Dorset and recovery of Weymouth.

(June to October, 1644.)

N 18 May, 1644, Reading was dismantled, and, on the following day, Essex and Waller met for consultation in the town which had just been abandoned by Charles. The old forces of Lord Essex were now increased by four regiments of trained bands from the city of London, less than 10,000 Horse and Foot in all: Waller's, largely recruited from London, Kent, and Sussex, were little inferior to the other's in numbers, and in reputation greater. There was no lack of courtesy displayed on either side; but it did not augur well for the harmonious coöperation of the two generals when it was arranged between them that the two armies should operate separately. On 25 May Abingdon was abandoned. The next day it was occupied by Essex; while Waller pushed on in the direction of Wantage to gain, if possible, a passage over the Thames above Oxford and so to bar Charles from the West. The king's hold upon the west was already loosening. On 24 May Malmesbury had surrendered to Massey; and on 26 May, the day on which Essex entered Abingdon, Charles despatched Hopton to Bristol in order that he might prevent at least the great western port from falling into the hands of Parliament. Rupert, meanwhile, was only just starting for the relief of York. On 27 May a Council of War met at Oxford, which recommended that, if Essex and Waller combined to attack the royal headquarters, the King should post himself in such a position as to keep the communications of that city open—at least on one side. Should they separate, the royal army was strong enough to fall upon each of them alternately with every prospect of success. This plan marks a change in the King's strategy corresponding with the change in his military position which resulted from the entrance of

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the Scots. In the campaign of 1643 he had hoped to outflank and crush the enemy by the weight of superior numbers. In 1644 he knew his forces to be numerically inferior; and fell back upon the idea of compensating for that inferiority by rapidity of movement from his central position at Oxford. On 28 May Essex crossed the Thames at Sandford, and took up his quarters at Islip; leaving Waller to operate independently on the Berkshire side. For three days Essex strove vainly to seize the bridges over the Cherwell at Gosford and Enslow. On 2 June, the Dutch Ambassadors waited upon him to urge the opening of direct negotiations with Charles; but Essex, ever loyal to his employers, told them bluntly that if they wished to treat they must apply elsewhere. The same day Waller forced a passage over the river at Newbridge, some miles above Oxford. Charles himself, who was that evening at Woodstock, was in imminent peril of being captured. To the timid counsels of those who suggested a surrender on conditions the King made the spirited reply recorded by Clarendon; "I may be found in the hands of the Earl of Essex, but I shall be dead first." In haste the King withdrew to Oxford; but there it was impossible to remain. On the morning, therefore, of 3 June by a feigned attack on Abingdon he drew Waller to its defence; and then, turning sharply back to Oxford, he rode out as soon as it was dark at the head of some 3000 Horse and 2500 Foot. On the afternoon of 4 June the King was at Burford; and a second night march brought him to Bourton-on-the-Water. There had been some idea of making for Bristol, but on his arrival at Evesham Charles learnt that Tewkesbury had surrendered to Massey; that Lord Denbigh, who for some months had been holding his own at the head of a small force in Shropshire and Staffordshire, was advancing southwards; and that Essex and Waller were on the march. Anxious at all hazards to avoid a battle the King pushed on to Worcester; where he took up his quarters on 6 June. The Parliament forces, being now two days' march behind the King, called at Stow-on-the-Wold a Council of War of all the chief officers of both armies. Here it was resolved that Waller, having lesser ordnance and lighter men, should join with Massey and pursue Charles; and Essex, having the greater ordnance and heavier carriage, should follow the other design of relieving Lyme and reducing the West. "How acceptable," comments Walker "this was to Waller may easily be judged, he being thereby deprived of his hopes and left to pursue a weary enemy." Charles had intended to make a stand at Worcester; but on 9 June Sudely Castle surrendered to Waller; and on 12 June orders were

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given for a retreat to Bewdley. If only his enemies had been under a single commander it would have been almost impossible for the King to have escaped destruction.[1]

Essex, who altogether underestimated the King's resources, fancied, that, if after relieving Lyme, he pushed on into the West he would not only occupy a province which Waller had long regarded as his own; but would, by cutting off one main source of the royal supplies, do more to bring the war to an end than if he had defeated Charles in a pitched battle. With slow and settled marches, therefore, he got into Dorset about 11 June without any opposition; and by the way increased rather than diminished his forces: "endeavouring," says Walker, "by a counterfeit civility to draw the people to his party—and to speak truth of him and his army, they were not guilty of those barbarous and ungentlemanlike qualities which most of Waller's army are possessed withal." To the members of the Committee of both Kingdoms the announcement of the impending division of the armies had come as an unpleasant surprise. They had intended that Essex should employ the bulk of his army in besieging Oxford; and in their letter of 12 June directed him, after despatching a force sufficient to relieve Lyme, to hasten back towards Oxford with the remainder of his army. The Peers stood by Essex, but were treated with contempt by the Committee. This letter reached him at Blandford on 14 June, but he refused to obey their instructions. After his departure, the townsmen of Blandford—whom Essex had treated with great consideration—apprehended a messenger of his coming that way and sent him prisoner to the royalist garrison at Wareham. Moreover a party of 200 Dorset Horse, sent thither from Waller, coming to quarter at Blandford were in danger of being betrayed by the townsmen had they not received timely notice of the enemy's approach; by which means they all escaped except twelve who were taken and carried to Wareham. In revenge for this treachery Major Francis Sydenham, Captain George Starr, M.P. for Shaftesbury, and other commanders came to Blandford; seized upon the Bailiff (Augustine Drake) and the chief commanders; and permitted their soldiers to plunder the town. Essex proceeded on his march to relieve Lyme; sending forward a party of Horse under Sir William Balfour who, finding "the Morris was done and danced away," wheeled about and faced Weymouth. At Dorchester divers gentlemen came in to Essex, including Henry Lord Beauchamp, Hertford's son. On 16 June at

1. **Walker**, 8 to 12, 21, 26.

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1 a.m. he writes from the county town to Derby House that although he conceives what benefit soever received, through him and his army, would be but little valued, yet naught shall cause him to neglect his duty: wherefore he acquaints them with the fact that Lyme is relieved. On 11 June, as he was marching to Amesbury, hearing that the enemy was in possession of Salisbury, he sent the general and lieutenant-general of his Horse thither, which put them into such a fright that they never stayed until they came to Blandford. Thence the Lieutenant-general and Commissary-general of Horse followed them with 1000 Horse but 400 only were engaged against 1500 of the Royalists; who fled in precipitation to Dorchester, the inhabitants of which being well-affected to Parliament kept them out; so they fled to Sherborne. He doubts not, if he receives no hindrance from above, of quickly reducing these parts to the Parliament service. They must know by now, from where Waller is, that notwithstanding their directions to him both Lyme would have been lost and an army raised for the King in those parts before he would have come for the relief of the one or the prevention of the other. As for Essex's sending a party of Horse for the relief of Lyme; whoever gave them that information was in great error, it being an impossible thing to have been done.[1]

On Sunday 16 June, four burgesses came to Essex from Weymouth and Melcombe Regis to treat touching the surrender of those towns. But, their conditions being high, upon denial thereof they condescended to yield upon quarter; and to have leave for the officers to march out with horses, swords and pistols, the common soldiers with sticks, and that no tax should be imposed by Essex for delinquency. Accordingly next day at 2 p.m. the Royalists marched out to the number of about four hundred; and forthwith proclamation was made that everyone should bring in, upon pain of death, to the Court-of-Guard and Town Hall before sunset what arms and what ammunition he had. On 18 June to hasten the business a narrow search for arms was made throughout the town; whereby many were found and brought in to the magazine. On the following day, by Essex's invitation, the like care was taken by Martin Pindar, W. Herbert, and Captain John Potter in discovery of what was in the ships for store and provisions: whence some quantities of gunpowder and arms were obtained. On the same day that the Royalists had evacuated the twin-towns Warwick had arrived in Portland Road. A letter received by Essex signified the

1. Perfect Diurnall, No. 50. Whitelocke, 91, 95.

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reassembling of the enemy near Lyme, which is looked upon by the inhabitants as in a worse condition than before owing to the withdrawal of the seamen and some of the garrison. Maurice, Hopton, and others are now attempting an Association in Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Dorset and compel many country people to join them; which, if not suddenly prevented, may defeat those great advantages which invite Essex's marching with his whole army into the centre of their Association; and may beget a necessary alteration not only in the state of Lyme but in the general temper of the people thereabouts. But the fear of that will, in all probability, be dissolved by the approach of a good army. Warwick, writing on 19 June to Derby House, suggests the appointment by Parliament of several Committees in several parts of this county, and from time to time in the remainder, for settling, improving, and further securing of them for Parliament; being more considerable in respect of some disaffected gentry in the west, especially in Dorset, few of them having yet attended Lord Essex since his coming hither. The reason for their backwardness apparently being jealousy and the rumour that his army is presently to return; which is a dangerous situation and should be remedied. Being now possessed of Weymouth, Essex rode towards Sandesfoot-Castle—half-a-mile from the town and opposite Portland Castle—which being summoned, after three hours, surrendered. This castle had been built by Henry VIII in 1539 in the form of a parallelogram one hundred feet long by fifty wide, with an octagonal building of one hundred feet each way at the southern end. Since the Restoration it has been neglected and a large portion of the cliff, upon which it stands, has fallen into the sea.[1] Colonel William Ashburnham, Royalist governor of Weymouth and captain-general of the county, although he had neglected to finish the fortifications at Weymouth, had nevertheless taken the precaution, before the surrender, of throwing a considerable strength into Portland Castle with the necessary provisions. Then, having despatched the greater part of the powder, arms, and ammunition in the Weymouth magazine to Maurice; he himself retired to Portland Castle. This he held for many months until relieved. Herein the Colonel did naught but in

1. The portion of the remains to the north appears to have been the Governor's apartment; while fronting south was the gun platform, as the embrasure shows. This platform would also flank its east and west sides, which were also pierced for big guns; while almost level with the ground was the barbican with two tiers of loopholes for small arms. Memorials of Old Dorset, 168.

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obedience to orders; and, although in the opinion of many it had lain heavy upon him, yet at his own desire he had a public hearing before the King and Council. There he so fully stated the matter of fact and the impossibility of keeping Weymouth should an enemy attack it; together with his reasons for retiring to Portland and how he disposed of the arms and ammunition; that in the opinion of all present he was fully cleared from any crime or neglect. In spite of Ashburnham's removal of arms and ammunition, Essex, Warwick and Balfour appear to have taken in Weymouth 100 pieces of ordnance, great and small, 2000 muskets, 1000 swords, 150 cases of pistols, 200 barrels of powder, and about 60 sail of all sorts in the harbour. Colonel William Sydenham was made Governor and immediately began new fortifications upon the north-east point. On 18 June Essex authorizes him to levy any reasonable sum or sums of money in Dorset for the maintenance of the garrison of Weymouth and Melcombe and for fortifying the same, many of the works being out of repair; and for the necessary maintenance of the Foot and one troop of 80 Horse in that garrison. He is from time to time to render the Lord-General an account thereof. On 11 June Essex orders Sydenham to deliver such goods in the garrison of Weymouth as belong to Sir Anthony Cooper to his brother Captain George Cooper to be conveyed to Hurst Castle. And later in the same month Essex, in a letter to Sydenham, after stating that he has sent him commissions for Horse and dragoons and also for raising money for the repair of works and fortifications, declares he will not willingly take away the regiment in Weymouth until Sydenham can spare it; but that he is so called upon for help to so many places that were his army as big again as it is he should employ them all and therefore he doubts not the governor will do what he can to spare the regiment very shortly. Warwick had sent word to Essex that as the latter moved by land so he would sail by sea; and thus assist the army in clearing the western counties; and that, for this purpose, he designed the *James* as admiral, under Captain Richard Blithe, of 875 tons, with 50 guns and 260 men; the *Constant-Reformation* under Captain William Batten, afterwards admiral, of 740 tons with 40 guns and 250 men; and the *Expedition* under Captain Joseph Jordan, afterwards vice-admiral, of 301 tons with 18 guns and 100 men with some lesser ships. Probably on 17 or 18 June Essex wrote to the two Houses: "If after all my sad consultations, faithful endeavours, and, by God's blessing, happy success, you shall call me back as one that is not fit to be trusted any further in a business of such high concernment,

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I will come and sit in Parliament as not knowing any military employment worthy of my presence in any associated county, which is wholly committed to the care and trust of some inferior commander." The Committee's mode of dealing with the difficulty, indeed, was as fatal as that of their aggrieved general. Although Essex, Manchester, Cromwell, and Waller were all members of the Committee of both Kingdoms, it was seldom that any of them were able to take part in its deliberations. Its acting members were civilians; and civilians are necessarily incapable of wisely directing the movements of armies. Their own instructions to Essex had been vague and uncertain, and are often signed by William Fiennes, first Viscount Saye and Sele, and by John Maitland, afterwards first Duke of Lauderdale. In distrust of their general they had divided his authority amongst officers nominally under his command, whilst they did not venture to remove him from his post, inefficient as he was, because he had a large following among the officers; and because he was regarded with affection by that numerous body in both Houses which hoped against hope that he would one day declare himself on the side of peace. On 25 June the Commons gave way before persistence of their General, and directed that Lord Essex should be informed that he was at liberty to pursue his westward march.[1]

Maurice, upon raising the siege of Lyme, had thrown 500 men into Wareham; and this town, together with Bridgwater and Portland Castle, was summoned by Essex to surrender. About this time 800 men were gathered in Somerset having being pressed by Hopton ostensibly for resisting the French, who, when they found this merely a subterfuge, for the most part deserted and joined Essex. About 21 June, Parliament published an ordinance, founded on the procedure of the States of the Netherlands, whereby a weekly payment of £200 out of the excise money was to be provided for the support and sustenance of sick and maimed soldiers; and for the relief of the wives and children of such as had been slain in the Parliament's service. On Thursday, the day before, Essex had appointed Martin Pindar, W. Herbert and Captain John Potter to go to Dorchester with his chaplain Francis Cheynell; where, waiting upon Sergeant-Major-General Philip Skippon, they required the Mayor (John Bushrode) to issue the Lord-General's warrants for train, horses and money—formerly

1. Vicars' 'God's Arke,' 257-9. Walker, 27. Rushworth, 683. C.S.P., 251, 271. Hutchins' II, 424. Egerton, MS. 2126, ff. 11, 12, 13. Gardiner I, 358. Warwick's presence in Portland Road in June 1644 frustrated the original plans for the Queen's escape.

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collected for the King but not paid in—and also ordered the five neighbouring Hundreds to appear next day. On Friday, 21 June, therefore, they went again into Dorchester with Hugh Peters, the minister, who made an excellent speech to the people; setting before them the miseries of the war and declaring that God now offered them an opportunity of freeing themselves from barbarous intruders, and thereby of giving a quick and happy period to these intestine troubles. They, by holding up their hands, unanimously expressed themselves favourers of Parliament. In like manner Essex made an elegant speech to about 300 countrymen who came to Weymouth to be entertained as soldiers, which ended with a general applause of those who heard it. On 21 June also Wareham was ineffectually summoned and the garrison, sallying out, were beaten in again with the loss of ten men slain or taken prisoners. This summons being the fourth day after the possession of Weymouth by the Parliament troops gave the garrison opportunity to victual and prepare for a siege, which undoubtedly would have been prevented by a speedier attempt upon the town; but it seems the Horse had suffered severely from too hard duty. This same day Essex wrote from Melcombe Regis to the Committee at Derby House giving them notice that on the morrow he intended to march towards Lyme to drive away the enemy from thence and see what impressions may be made in those parts; having taken all possible care for Weymouth by settling a trusty governor (Sydenham) in it and leaving him, until the country comes in, a whole regiment to defend it. If his soldiers are speedily supplied with money and himself with arms for such of the country as come in, he hopes the work may be worth the wages. Most of the arms taken in Weymouth he leaves with the governor for the service of the town; and many of his own being unfixed and broken persuades him to remind the Committee of that particular. Much of the ammunition, of which he has often expressed a want, found in Weymouth he is forced to leave there or send to Lyme. Next day Joseph Juxon, merchant of Bristol, writes from Weymouth to Benjamin Whitcombe, merchant of London, complaining that Dr. Isaac Dorislaus, Judge-Advocate of the army has sold the remainder of their goods to Colonel Harvey, Captain Batten and others at a very low rate; and the State is grossly abused. He is petitioning Essex for allowance for what he has disbursed, but the Lord-General is much engaged with other matters. A great part of their goods are either lost or plundered, but what remains of the wool will be sent to London where Juxon hopes Whitcombe will recover it. On 22 July

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at Okehampton, Abraham Webb, apothecary to Essex and the army, is examined concerning the sale of Segovia wool and other articles at Weymouth (about 20 June) by Colonel Harvey, Dr. Dorislaus, Major Mainwaring and others; and the dispute between them and Captain Potter and Mr. Herbert. On 5 August, Dorislaus denies the allegations that there was any practice to sell the wools at Weymouth at under rate. Notice was given of the sale to be in the Town Hall at 4 p.m.; but none offering to purchase, he caused them to be put up again next day when they were sold at £4 the lot to Major Mainwaring. When informed of this Lords Essex and Warwick declared the sale void; and, being put up again, the wool fetched £4 2s. od. per cwt.[1] On 23 June Warwick asks the Committee to grant Hugh Peters a hearing, who reported to Parliament on the raising of Lyme siege and kindred matters. On 24 June, Mountjoy Blunt, Earl of Newport, a prisoner came on board Warwick's ship at Weymouth, having been conveyed from Exmouth by Captain Hall in the *Antelope*. On 28 June, the Committee informs Essex that they are sending £20,000 by sea for his army; and next day they desire Captain John Browne, with all his Horse and as many dragoons as may make up the number of 70, to be in Southwark without fail the following night to convoy provisions for Essex's army as far as Arundel. On 1st July they desire Colonel Stapeley to convoy the same from Arundel to Portsmouth, where they are to be shipped. On the same day Warwick writes to say he has promised to let them know that the Governor of Weymouth, upon a more exact review of their magazine, has found only 30 barrels of powder for that garrison and Sandesfoot Castle, and very little match or bullet. Sydenham requests a speedy supply by reason of the consequence of the town. Next day Warwick reminds them that he had formerly advertized them of Essex's desire to have two demi-cannons and two culverins out of the ships under the Lord-Admiral's command for the siege of Exeter. Warwick, thereupon, bespoke carriages here at Weymouth, which after some days' expectance he finds unlikely to be procured—the authorites here wanting materials, hands, and some of the inhabitants affections

1. Dorislaus afterwards assisted in preparing and managing the charge of high treason preferred against Charles I. In May, 1649, he was despatched by the Council of State to his native land as special envoy to the States-General. His arrival at the Hague, where the exiled Charles II was staying, excited intense indignation among the banished royalists; and on 12 May he was assassinated by masked men. After the Restoration his body was one of those cast out of Westminster Abbey. Colonel Edmond Harvey, the Regicide, purchased and dwelt at Fulham Palace, the former and present abode of the Bishops of London.

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to perfect the work. He beseeches, therefore, the Committee to take this into consideration; and, if they think fit, to cause four carriages with spare wheels to be sent in a hoy from London, together with shot for pieces of that bore. If they should not think fit to send the pieces themselves from London he will furnish Essex with them from the ships. On 3 July, Essex informs them from Cullompton that the Queen has left Exeter, and bends apparently for Pendennis Castle; and Maurice has left Kenton and goes further towards Cornwall. He will stay, unless necessity compels him, some short time hereabouts. He finds great affection in the country to Parliament and inclination to free themselves from their Egyptian slavery; but great want of arms—besides the non-arrival of gentlemen from London. As yet but few of the gentlemen of power are here save Colonel Were, who is much beloved in the country. The same day Derby House write to Essex to advertize him that the money was sent on Monday last by a convoy of Kent towards Arundel; thence to go to Chichester and so to Portsmouth, to be shipped to him. That day shoes and other provisions were shipped in Town to go by sea. They desire him to send back the Northants Horse, if they may come with safety. On 4 July, the Committee of the Navy order that the officers of Ordnance deliver to John Seignior, formerly appointed by the Committee of Safety, for taking on board the ketch *Charles* ammunition, match, and bullet for the use of Essex's army these several quantities: 2 last of powder, 20 barrels of match, 12 barrels of musket-bullet; and 100 shot for each saker, minion, and falcon (5¼lbs., 3¼lbs., 2⅛lbs.) to be put on board the said ketch and transported to Weymouth for the use of Lord Warwick.[1]

On 5 July, Warwick, after discoursing with the governor and the engineer, gives his views to the Committee concerning the means to be adopted for making Weymouth defensible. A work is in construction on a peninsular near the town, which the Royalists began and Essex ordered should be finished. When completed it will command both town and haven. On the Weymouth side there is another hill (? Jordan Hill); where if a sconce be erected and 100 men be put into it, a line of communication drawn to Sandesfoot Castle and three small Bastions made about that Castle, all Weymouth side will be secured. Melcombe Regis, being severed from the main by a causey only, will be sufficiently secured by a work already raised on the beach if 100 men were to keep that garrison. The charge of perfecting the said work is

1. Vicars' 'God's Arke,' 259. C.S.P., 1644, 271, 262-301, 352, 368, 400.

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computed at £1200, and the number of men requisite for both about 500; to which if 200 Horse be added they will not only secure both towns, but also keep the county of Dorset thereabouts in awe. Their commands for the quickening hereof would be useful, as the work goes on slowly; and he proposes with the first wind to sail further westward, the better to assist ships plying there and for the prevention of all supplies going to or from the enemy's ports. Portland still holds out; but will shortly be reduced to straits for want of beer, salt, and other supplies. He will shortly send them a draught of the fortifications; and would meanwhile suggest they send orders to the Governor and officers of the garrison for the speeding of the works. Some who came here from Lyme report that Sir John Digby and other commanders were lately slain before Plymouth, the truth of which needs confirmation. On 8 July the Committee despatch the desired order to Sydenham for the completion of the fortifications, requesting him occasionally to certify them of the progress thereof. Three days later Warwick writes from Torbay saying that he had come thither the better to secure Dartmouth and Topsham. The money which had come for the army he had sent to Lyme, according to Essex's desire, and hopes it is already in safety at the army. On 5 July Essex writes to Sydenham that he hears Hopton has no considerable force, and that only two or three hundred of his Horse have been abroad lately. The Lord-General does not know how he can spare any Horse for Weymouth being so far away as he is at present. And he hears that the country comes in very well to Sydenham: for Colonel John Brewin's Quarter-Master reported a week since that there were come in "over 1000 Foot and that his Colonel had besides two Troops of Horse." He hears also that many of the Horse formerly under Sydenham's command are returned home, so that he hopes suddenly to receive his regiment again and the troop. As soon as they may be spared he desires to know, and will send a convoy for them. He is informed that Wareham men are not fixed in but break out and do much harm in the country, which he doubts not Sydenham will endeavour to prevent. After he had taken order for inquiry to be made what was done by Mrs. Frampton of Moreton "touching your father's release I heard from your brother that he is set at liberty—of which I am very glad." He desires the governor to take present order for the making of as much match in Weymouth garrison as possible for the use of the army. Ready money will be paid as soon as Essex has notice the same is in readiness. The next day Essex writes again to the effect that he under-

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stands some more of Sydenham's Horse are come to him, whereby he has as many as he has present need of for his garrison. Therefore he desires Sydenham to return Captain Robotham with his troop to the army where there is much use for them; and, if there is sufficient Foot in Weymouth, he desires the regiment of auxiliaries may be also sent. Upon notice of their coming Essex will send more Horse to meet Sydenham upon the way.[1]

Among the many places in Somerset held by the Royalists, Taunton was one. It was unfortified, and the garrison small; but it was the point upon which all the main roads of the county converged, it commanded the lines of communication, and had thus a peculiar strategic importance. Blake, who had been promoted after his brilliant defence of Lyme and given an independent command, in company with Sir Robert Pye, who had married a daughter of John Hampden, suddenly threw himself on Taunton on 8 July. It was held only by 80 men who made no opposition; and in Blake's hands the place "became a sharp thorn in the sides of all that populous country." Colonel Reeve, of Sir John Stawel's regiment, who had commanded the Castle for Stawel, and his soldiers had quarter to march away to Bridgewater—the King's next garrison town. In the Castle were taken one demi-culverin and ten smaller pieces of ordinance, four hogsheads of beef, a load of iron, much powder, two tons of match, a powder-mill, a great quantity of bullets, two loads of cheese, two hogsheads of oatmeal; much salt, wheat, meal and other provisions, with store of household stuff and rich moveables. Reeve, being court-martialled at Bristol for his slack defence of Taunton, was condemned to death but escaped to the Parliamentarians. On 10 July Essex writes to Derby House informing the Committee that Lord Robartes is still with three regiments of Foot and two of Horse at Barnstaple; that one regiment of Foot and one troop of Horse is at Weymouth; and that Sir Robert Pye, who with his great care and industry has reduced Taunton Castle, is there with three troops of Horse to secure Lieutenant-Colonel Blake in raising of Colonel Popham's regiment.[2]

Essex had sent a party to summon Wareham, but O'Brien the governor denied him; and the Lord-General, thinking it

1. C.S.P., 1644, 303 to 342; Add. MS., 29319, ff, 5, 7, 11. Sydenham's father was William Sydenham, senior, of Wynford Eagle; the brother mentioned was Captain Thomas, afterwards the celebrated physician, who had long been a captive in Exeter.

2 Rushworth, V, 685; Vicars' 'God's Arke,' 285; Walker, 41; Whitelocke, 95; Devereux, 72.

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too much loss of time to sit down before it, marched to Chard, where 4000 men joined him and Lord Robartes, and from thence to Tiverton. On Thursday, 11 July, Lieutenant Colonel O'Brien sent a party of 240 Horse and Foot from Wareham to Dorchester intent on plunder. But, pausing before the town from seven o'clock in the morning until two in the afternoon, they gave the inhabitants time to appeal to the garrisons of Abbotsbury and Weymouth for relief, and to gather themselves together to the number of 3000 men, women and children. When at last the Royalists advanced into the town they fired the Courts of Guard but were so bravely received by the inhabitants, both male and female, that, despite a furious charge, they were forced back out of Dorchester as far as Fordington. The women, it is recorded, "did now the second time behave themselves as gallantly as they did lately when they beat out the French by pelting them with stones; and defending themselves with their spits, and other such weapons." By this time, Colonel William Sydenham, Major Francis Sydenham, Captain George Starr, another Captain of Horse under Essex, Captains Alexander Culliford, Henry Culliford, Richard Yardley, George (?) Langford, and Robert Batten, had come in to the relief of the county town; and, having forced the marauders on their arrival at the turnpikes of Dorchester to fly, pursued them to the very walls of Wareham. Captain Thomas Sydenham who had long lain a prisoner in Exeter, behaved himself very gallantly in this action. The victorious party killed twelve of the aggressors; took sixty horses and 160 prisoners; and captured a waggon-load of booty. Dorchester confessed to the loss of but one man, who, having been taken prisoner by the Royalists, was slain by his captors to prevent his escaping on their flight to Wareham. The purpose of O'Brien's raid was "as is confessed by the Captain of the Irish, who was formerly employed by the Parliament in Ireland, and others—first to have summoned the town to pay £1000; or, upon refusal, to have plundered them, and afterwards to have fired their houses. They pressed divers waggons and carts to carry away the plunder, which were all taken, with three barrels of powder and some store of shot; and above 80 cattle, which they had plundered from the surrounding district, rescued." Eight of the prisoners taken "being Irish Rogues had such quarter given them as they gave the Protestants in Ireland, videlicit, they hanged them up presently," save one who was spared for acting as executioner. On 14 July Essex writes from Tiverton to Sydenham that he is glad to hear of the latter's good success; and hopes he will be so vigilant that, by

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having a care of Wareham, Weymouth may not be exposed. When he is before Wareham Essex desires him to send out his front continually that Hopton may not come upon him unawares. If the Irish, he has taken, prove to be absolute Irish he may cause them to be executed: for he would not have quarter allowed to those. He has sent Sydenham the commissions he desired for his regiment of Foot: that for the Horse is already returned by the last messenger. He desires also that Colonel Owen with his regiment and Captain Robotham with his troop may come to the army with all possible speed as may stand with the security of Weymouth. Woodhouse surrendered on 17 July to Sir Francis Doddington, who—being informed by Mr. Bacon, parson of the parish, that one of the prisoners had threatened to stick in his skirts, as he called it, for reading Common-Prayer—struck the man so many blows upon the head and with such force that he broke his skull and caused him to fall into a swoon. He had no sooner recovered from this than he was picked out to be one of the twelve whom Sir Francis had granted to Sir William St. Leger to be hanged in lieu of the seven Irishmen, who had been executed at Wareham by Colonel Sydenham, in pursuance of an order from Parliament to give them no quarter. These twelve, most of them clothiers, were hanged upon the same tree; and one of them breaking his halter desired what he had suffered might be accepted, or else that he might fight against any two for his life. Notwithstanding they caused him to be hanged up again; and had proceeded much farther, had not Hopton sent orders to put a stop to their butcheries.[1]

On 2 July the Fairfaxes, David Leslie, and Cromwell, won the great victory of Marston Moor, shattering the forces of Rupert and Newcastle; and on the 16th York surrendered. About 9 July Sergeant Francis, in a letter to his father, declared that Rupert had utterly defeated the Parliament forces, taken Leslie and the younger Fairfax prisoners with many cannon and other arms; and that Manchester was slain—whereupon bonfires were prematurely lighted at Oxford. On 14 July, however, Essex sent the information he had to the contrary—from Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven, and other commanders at the battle—to Sir John Berkeley and the rest of the Council of War at Exeter. He made this offer to the Royalists; that if their news proved true, he would pass his word of honour to deliver up Weymouth and Melcombe

1. Mercurius Civicus No. lx, 579, 580: advertised out of Dorset by Ellis Everard, Scoutmaster-general for the county. Vicars' 'God's Arke,' 258, 286. Add. MS., 29319, f. 13. Rushworth, 341. Walker, 41. C.S.P. 1644, 350. E. Ludlow's 'Memoirs,' 95.

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Regis into their hands; if they would engage, on their part, that should it be proved that Rupert had been routed on 2 July they would, in like manner, deliver Exeter into his hands for the use of Parliament. He did this unwilling to let this false report be spread in those parts; knowing they had no other way to keep up the courage of their party. To this Berkeley replied: "It is very possible I may be deceived in our intelligence; and, considering the practice of some, not impossible but your Lordship may be so. I am confident you have no intent to abuse the people: I am sure I have not. I still incline to believe our news, but not to that degree of difference there is between Exeter and Weymouth: however I shall receive assurance of either with most equal mind; and in the worst event shall never want the satisfaction of having discharged my Duty to my Country, with a Heart as clear from private Ends as any Man living." Essex on 15 July acknowledges the £20,000 sent by the Committee; and does not doubt of his army's giving a good account of its actions if continued pay is provided—otherwise the soldiers cannot be kept from plundering. He has been compelled to stay longer at Tiverton than he had intended. Were he to march further up into Devon, Hopton would be at liberty to raise forces in Somerset and Dorset; but if any of the Somersetshire gentlemen would come down here he is confident that county would quickly show its affection for Parliament. Whereas he was informed that, upon the relief of Lyme, there be 1000 or 1200 men ready to join this army, the regiments of Colonels Popham and Were did not number above 200 in all. He finds the counties generally willing, but their hindrance is lack of arms. On 17 July the Committee inform Essex that, although Waller's army is not in very great strength, yet they have appointed him to send a great party towards Dorchester for the better securing of those parts; to infest the enemy; hinder his recruits; and secure the parts about Basing. In their letter of the same date to Waller they say Sydenham has written to the Commons relating his success against the Wareham forces; and that he had hoped to have distressed that garrison had he not been prevented by 800 of Hopton's Horse. Dorset and the parts adjoining, which have been lately gained and are raising forces for Parliament, are like to be in worse condition than formerly, if they have not speedy aid. They therefore desire him forthwith to send a strong party of horse and dragoons to Dorchester, or any other place he considers of more advantage for these ends. On 21 July Waller acknowledges the receipt of the above at Abingdon. He is ready to obey their commands concerning Dorset;

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but, unless he is immediately supplied, he will be ruined; for the few Horse and Foot he has from Coventry are revoked, the Londoners will not stay; and, if those go, he will not have enough to make good his quarter. If Major-General Richard Browne were ordered to take up his quarters at Abingdon then Waller could leave his train of artillery with him; and with the train-horse mount the remainder of his Foot; clear Dorset and all those parts; and possibly do some further service according to the emergent occasions. On 22 July the Committee tell Waller they have appointed Browne to march with his forces to Abingdon as desired. They have ordered the forces of Warwickshire and Northants to stay with Waller; or, if already gone, speedily to return to Abingdon. They have sent to the City requesting that the forces under Sir James Harrington may remain where they are. Sir Arthur Hesilrige will inform him of the state of the West. They desire that the strong party of Horse and dragoons may speedily march thither as formerly directed. This letter was taken by Hesilrige. On the same day they order Colonel William Jephson, Lieutenant-Governor of Portsmouth,[1] to despatch at once to Weymouth 20 barrels of powder, with one ton of match and bullets proportionable. Sydenham has given them intimation of the King's march towards him and of his own want of gunpowder. About 28 July came news of certain exploits of the Lyme garrison. While Charles was marching into Devon, he passed by Chard in Somerset on his road to Honiton and Exeter. A regiment of the King's Horse under Lord Henry Percy, "that upstart Lord and rotten Runegado," quartered at Colyton, three miles from Lyme; and sending out a party in the evening faced Lyme and returned. That same night a return visit was made by about 120 Horse from Lyme under young Captain Hercules Pyne, Captain Herle, and Captain Edward Bragge who ere the Royalists had well digested their supper at Colyton, fell upon them and practically annihilated the regiment. The victors brought into Lyme about double the number of horses with which they had set out; besides 55 prisoners, including the Major, two or three Captains and some other officers; above 100 arms and some booty. The same party then visited Chard, twelve miles from Lyme; where Charles being scarcely got out of the town with his main body, they seized eleven horses all with rich saddles and furniture supposed to be of the King's own stable—which they brought to Lyme with

1. Son of Sir John Jephson of Froyle, Hants; junior M.P. for Stockbridge; appointed to Portsmouth under Lord Essex on 16 May, 1644.

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some prisoners. "About 30 and 31 July," says Vicars, "we hear of Essex's advance towards Plymouth, the Forces then under Apostate Greenvile being about 3000." On 5 August, to reward and encourage the valour of the inhabitants, it was ordered that there should be a garrison of 600 Foot and a troop of 100 Horse in Lyme Regis. Early in August Colonel Doddington, with a party of the King's forces, came to Dorchester but was repulsed by Major Francis Sydenham. On 9 August the Commissioners inform Essex that they have sent a party of 2000 Horse and dragoons from Waller into the west as far as Dorchester, which is all that could be done in the present state of his forces. The ordnance remains at Abingdon. On the same day they tell the Lyme garrison that, the whole of the King's strength being drawn together into the west not far from Lord Essex, the country there dares not appear for him. They therefore have ordered various reinforcements to be sent him; and require 300 Foot from Lyme, or more if they can be spared, to be made ready for that purpose. The Governor of Weymouth, the commanders at Dorchester and Captain Pyne are also exhorted to send what forces they can spare.[1]

On 3 August Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper had received a commission to command a brigade of Horse and Foot with the title of Field-Marshal-General. His first military service was in the taking of Wareham. In company with Colonels William Sydenham and William Jephson he proceeded to besiege that town with 1200 Horse and Foot; and they were afterwards joined by Lieutenant-General John Middleton with 1000 Horse. They made a fierce assault upon the town and gained the outworks on 10 August. The garrison then sent a drum for a parley; which being granted a respite for an answer was desired by the town until the next morning. This being refused, and only one hour being granted before the renewal of the attack, Wareham surrendered upon conditions. Lieutenant-Colonel Henry O'Brien the governor had recently received a letter from his brother in Ireland, in which Lord Inchiquin declared that his resolution was to stand firm for Parliament and to live and die in defence of their Cause; for the King's party had merely abused them all, and sought the certain subversion of the true Protestant Religion—both in England and Ireland. Inchiquin therefore desired him seriously to consider the same and speedily to surrender the town of Wareham to the use of Parliament. When this

1. C.S.P., 350 to 414. Vicars' 'God's Arke,' 296. Rushworth, 341. Whitelocke, 95, 97, 98.

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letter had been read to the garrison they were, for the most part, willing to surrender the town. But "some few Irish rebells were averse; upon whose obstinate deniall they were presently despatcht out of the way and cut off by the other Souldiers, in part in requitall of the Protestant blood which they and their barbarous and bloody brethren had shed in Ireland."

The terms of the rendition were as follows:—

(i) That officers and soldiers are to march away with colours flying, drums beating, bullet in mouth, and freely to enjoy arms, horses, bag and baggage;

(ii) That immediately after the rendition of the town the said officers and soldiers shall be maintained at the charge of King and Parliament, and a timely provision made for carrying them over to Ireland, they to receive one month's pay;

(iii) That the inhabitants of Wareham and such as have repaired thither are to be at liberty to enjoy and dispose of their estates according to the law of the land, paying contributions proportionable to the same as other places do under the obedience of Parliament;

(iv) That there shall be no plundering—all inhabitants who desire to depart shall be at liberty so to do with time to carry away their goods, and all prisoners on either side shall be released;

(v) And that such of the garrison, being Irish recusants, as are unwilling to go with the Governor into Ireland to fight against the Rebels shall have safe conduct to Bristol, or any part of the King's army, without arms.

The granting of these terms depended upon the condition that the town, ordnance, and ammunition were delivered to Middleton by 1 o'clock in the afternoon: they were signed by him, Colonel John FitzJames, M.P., the High Sheriff, Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien, the out-going governor, and Colonel John Bingham, M.P., Governor of Poole. It appears that Jephson, who had fought in Ireland and was acquainted with Inchiquin, was responsible for the clause offering service to the defeated garrison in that kingdom. About 500 took the Covenant as willing to serve Parliament in Munster. In a letter to Digby, written less than twenty days earlier, O'Brien declares that it much rejoices him and his officers to hear of the long-looked-for arrival of His Majesty and his army thereabouts. He wishes Digby to present his loyalty

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to His Sacred Majesty: his comfort is to make his service worthy of so gracious a sovereign; and his officers are ready to sacrifice their lives for the same. But they are much grieved at being deprived of the means of expressing their affections. O'Brien, finally, acknowledges his obligations to Digby "in regard your noble Favours reflect not only upon my brother but upon myself." On 14 August the House of Commons approved of the terms of surrender; and resolved that £1200, borrowed from the Commissioners of Excise, should be sent to Jephson for the service of the troops under O'Brien, the whole of whose forces are to be sent forthwith into Ireland. Waller was ordered to write to Middleton approving the service done at Wareham and regarding his return to the army; and Jephson, on his petition, was ordered a further sum of £1000 deducted out of the arrears for pay due to him. Cooper had attended, by order of the Dorset Committee and Council of War, at the bar of the House to relate the taking of the town; and on this day, upon the recommendation of Bingham, FitzJames, and Sydenham, he was added by vote of both Houses to the Committee for governing the army in Dorset; and his case referred to the Committee for Sequestration, sitting at Goldsmiths' Hall, to consider upon what terms his estates should be restored to him. In a few days the Committee reported by recommending he should be permitted to compound by a payment of £500; and the House immediately adopted the report. This fine was never paid and was discharged by Cromwell in 1657. On 7 September, 1644, the 500 Irish from Wareham are to be billeted by Jephson at Hayling Island. They are to receive the £1200 already ordered; and 300 old Muskets then in the public magazine under the charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Roe. Ships are to be chartered to carry them back to Ireland. They expressed themselves ready to assist in the taking of Basing House.[1]

In 1643 Lord Inchiquin (who, upon the death of his father-in-law Sir William St. Leger, Lord President of Munster, had become the legal governor of that province) found no difficulty in sending over what forces he chose for the King's service, but what arose from scarcity of provisions and want of money to supply officers—£350 being all he could raise for the latter purpose. The sea was open; and before the middle of October he had shipped off Sir Charles Vavasour—who had been released upon the Cessation of arms for a year concluded with

1. Rushworth, 697; Tanner, Vol. LXI, 43, 45, 48; Walker, 46; Vicars' Burning Bush, 5: Christie, I, 59, 60, App. XXIX; Jl. H.C., III, 589; Perfect Diurnall, no. 55; Portland MSS., I. 182. Tract, Wareham.

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the Confederation on 15 September—and Sir John, afterwards second Lord Poulett, with their regiments for Bristol. Sir William St. Leger and Colonel Nicholas Mynne followed them with two others in November; and Richard Boyle Lord Dungarvan, afterwards first Earl of Burlington and second of Cork, was so zealous of signalizing himself in his prince's service that he applied to the King for orders that his regiment might be one of those appointed to serve him in England, which were readily granted. Inchiquin had been Vice-President of Munster in the lifetime of his father-in-law; and, upon the latter's death, had all the forces of that province put under his command. The civil government was soon after vested in him; but not with the title or commission of President, which he much desired. His unsettled mind and vast ambition were much chagrined. He had done great services; and, upon the Cessation, had sent over considerable forces to the King's assistance. He himself followed, and waited upon Charles at Oxford early in February 1644; not questioning but that his merits and services would easily procure him the grant of the Presidency of Munster. He was certainly the fittest person for it; and he had the recommendation of James Butler Marquess of Ormonde, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. But Jerome Weston second Earl of Portland, who had married Lady Frances Stuart sister to James Duke of Richmond and Lennox, had obtained the royal promise and also a fiat under the privy signet for passing a patent for constituting him President. Not only was Inchiquin absolutely refused the office, but even the reversion of it. It was proposed that all the forces he had sent over from Munster should be welded into one body, of which he was to be the general and serve the King in England. This would have satisfied him; but, Charles not being able to assign him any county for the subsistence of those forces nor to unite them without weakening Hopton and other commanders, the scheme came to nothing. Inchiquin therefore returned to Ireland profoundly discontented, but undetermined which side to take. But the Parliament were masters of the sea, and the only people who could help the Protestants of Munster. In July he and his officers urged Charles, in a formal address, to make peace with his Parliament; and at the same time conjured the two Houses to furnish supplies for prosecuting the war against the Irish rebels. His defection in August was a serious blow to the King; but he was received with open arms by Parliament, who made him President of Munster—where he continued to act without reference to Portland or Ormonde. But the large and immediate supplies

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promised by his new masters being not forthcoming with that expedition or in that abundance he expected, he as easily repented his engagement with them as he had hastily made it in the height of his discontent. But he was now engaged too far to retreat: the Parliament's shipping filled all the ports under his command; and his officers in general eagerly swallowed the Covenant—according to the example set them by Sir W. Fenton and other commanders in Youghal. But Inchiquin openly expressed dislike of that proceeding and declared he would not take it until the Cessation expired. To engage his forces in the same measure he intended to take himself, he caused an oath to be administered to the soldiers whereby they obliged themselves to endeavour the extirpation of Popery; to carry on the war against the Irish rebels, notwithstanding any command, proclamation, or agreement to the contrary; and to submit to no peace or conditions with them without the consent and allowance of the King and Parliament of England.[1]

On 12 August the Derby House Committee send letters to Weymouth, Lyme, Dorchester, Captain Pyne and Captain John Fry of Iwerne Minster desiring that, Wareham before this it is hoped being in the power of Parliament, such forces as they can respectively spare may march westward as they shall receive orders from Middleton. Meanwhile Essex, who had been completely out-manœuvred by Charles at Lostwithiel in Cornwall, vainly appealed to the Committee for a reinforcement of 4000 men. "Since the days of Nicias," says Professor S. R. Gardiner, "no general at the same time so devoted, so incompetent, and so self-satisfied, had been placed at the head of an army. In the eyes of Essex everything that went wrong was solely the fault of others." Familiarly known among his men as "Old Robin"; he is described by Thomas Carlyle as "the slow-going, inarticulate, indignant, somewhat elephantine man." All the Committee could do in the present emergency was to send Middleton, with a party of 2000 of Waller's Horse and dragoons, into Dorset and Somerset to hang about the King's rear and to hinder supplies from reaching him. In Somerset he heard of great magazines of all provisions, made for the supply of the royal army, which were sent every day by strong convoys to Exeter—there to await further orders. To surprise these provisions Middleton sent Major Carr, on 14 August, with 500 Horse who fell upon the carriages for Bridgewater at North Petherton, a village two miles from that town; and would very likely have mastered them, had not Sir

1. Carte, III, 35, 117, 125. Walker, 47. Clarendon, VIII, 1.

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Francis Doddington with a troop of Horse, which Berkeley had sent to convoy the provisions under the command of Major Killigrew, and some Foot of the garrison come to their relief. After a sharp skirmish, in which two or three of the royal officers, including Killigrew, were slain, Doddington totally routed his assailants; killed at least thirty; wounded many; pursued them two or three miles, taking several prisoners, Major Carr among them; and regained the provisions. This defeat put a stop to Middleton's sudden march into the west and caused him to retreat to Sherborne; retarding him so long, indeed, that by 29 August he had got no further than Tiverton. The fate of Lord Essex was also sealed by this mishap. On 21 August Middleton writes from Ilchester to Waller: "The forces I am to have from Lyme are to be with me at Chard; the London Regiment at Weymouth, I think, will be with us in a day or two hence; our pistols and saddles are landed at Weymouth. I have given orders to Commissary Fox to bring them to my quarters at Chard. Having received intelligence of some new levies near Bristol, I commanded Captain Fincher, quarter-master-general, with a party of 300 Horse and 100 dragoons that way; he came very opportunely about the time they were to march to their rendezvous, killed only five in the place, dispersed and took the rest prisoners: I hope the levy is marred." He then gives a list of those taken at Farrington. On 23 August the Committee thanks him for the good service he has done both at Wareham and against Sir Francis Doddington, and elsewhere. On 29 August they write to Sydenham saying they have communicated his letter of eight days earlier to the Committee of the West. The result arrived at is that he is to finish the fort upon the neck of land at Weymouth, for the effecting of which the County Committee are to provide money and see it victualled for three months and 300 men; while the Committee of the West are to send him a good quantity of ammunition. Sydenham is to remove from Weymouth, or secure, such as he conceives are disaffected to Parliament, who by their stay may endanger the safety of the town.[1]

The last move in the game between Charles and Essex was played, and the King had won. On 1 September Essex escaped by boat to Plymouth, leaving Skippon in command.

1. Walker, 65. 69, 80, 81. Clarendon VIII, 114, 117. Hutchins, IV, 94. Bulstrode, 112. C.S.P., 424 to 461. Egerton, f. 15. Tract, Weymouth I. Among the prisoners taken at Farrington was Captain John Blunt, a Papist, "who killed a Minister not long since most cruelly." Middleton adds "I intend to send over all the prisoners to Lyme. I think Captain Blunt deserves to be hanged."

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On the morning of the following day the Parliament infantry laid down their arms on the understanding that the men should not fight against the King until they had reached Southampton or Portsmouth. Charles, on his part, was to supply them with a guard to conduct them safely through the western counties. At the outset of this march the inhabitants of Lostwithiel seeing, or pretending to see, that some of the soldiers were carrying away their arms contrary to the agreement fell upon them and subjected them to much contumely and ill-treatment. The defeated Foot, nearly 6000 in number, were convoyed according to the articles to Poole and Southampton by a party of Horse commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Adrian Scroope. On the march many perished: they daily lost 300 men; so that on their arrival at Poole they were reduced to 1000, and those in no very good condition. Most of the officers, by that time, were gone to London. Marching through an enemy's country, with the army of royal Horse marching near them towards Oxford and the King's infantry behind them, they could scarcely induce the country people to sell them provisions. They found the same also in Dorset, "the country People being usually for the strongest party, and the King's affairs at that time running very smoothly." Meanwhile Essex's Horse under Sir William Balfour, who had broken out from Lostwithiel on the last day of August and ridden through the Royalist lines unmolested, having arrived at Plymouth retreated on 4 September to Crediton—hotly pursued by the Royalists. Next day, a Thursday, one part of them made their escape towards Lyme; the other went towards Barnstaple and joined with Middleton. That day Goring lay at Crediton; Berkeley at Tiverton. That night both Middleton's and Essex's Horse, believing themselves to be overpowered, prepared for escape; which they presently made over Exmoor and so by Dunster to Taunton—not staying at any place till they came there. Their Horse was extremely weakened, and the King's much harassed by this pursuit. On the 6th Waller informed Derby House, from Farnham, that he has sent orders to the Sussex forces and 400 men from the Isle of Wight to ship themselves to Poole or nearest landing-place for Salisbury his next rendezvous, as convenient for joining the Dorset forces at Ilminster. He is very glad Mr. Trenchard, Chairman of the Committee of Accounts (1643), came down to be eye witness of his condition. In the House blame for the recent disaster was thrown, not on Essex, but on Middleton who had failed to carry succour to him in time; and on the same day, the 7th, Waller was ordered to march to Dorchester. Next day Waller writes from

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Wootton Bassett to the Committee. He has given orders for his train to march as far as he himself can; and to the Sussex and Isle of Wight forces to meet him by sea at Weymouth. He has with him in all 2000 Foot, 800 Horse, and 150 dragoons. He learns that Essex's Horse are totally dispersed after their breaking through; and that his own Horse, serving under Essex, are surrounded by Maurice and the greater part of the royal Horse. He purposes not to lose one minute on his march; but conceives the enemy's Horse can easily gain the plains ere he can possibly reach Dorchester. On the same day the Committee desire Colonel Beale to repair to Weymouth and, landing his men, give the best assistance he can for some short time until 1000 men, whom they have appointed, arrive there. He shall be paid for his demurrage and have satisfaction for his service. On 10 September Waller informs them he is at Salisbury with his Horse; that the new Kentish Regiment is so tired they have taken up their quarters at Wallop in Hampshire; and that the Isle of Wight and Sussex men have gone into Sussex, and to Lyme. On the same day the Committee inform Lord Essex that the Committee of the West have sent down to Weymouth or Lyme, besides those they have appointed for Lyme and Plymouth, 2100 muskets, 120 barrels of powder with other ammunition and accoutrements. On the 12th Waller and Hesilrige inform the Committee that Essex's Horse lie about Dorchester; Middleton's about Sherborne, at least ten miles distant. One of them is for Poole with the Foot to encourage those sea towns: the other for Blandford, to attempt the gathering of the Dorset and Wiltshire Horse into a body; but the two will not be long asunder. Next day the Committee point out to Waller the danger impending over Plymouth, many of that garrison having been drawn out by Essex. They desire him to provide 600 Foot to secure the town, who may be shipped from Weymouth. They understand the force at Lyme is but small, and that some of their commanders desert them; so that the place would be in some danger were an enemy to come before it. They therefore recommend the securing of it to Waller's care; and that arms and ammunition may be speedily despatched thither by way of Weymouth. On 14 September Waller informs them from Blandford that he proposes on the morrow to visit Poole and Wareham; throw in men and ammunition to secure them; and do the same for Weymouth and Lyme. The enemy is at Tiverton. On the same day Waller and Hesilrige report that at Blandford they see as yet none of the Country Horse. At Poole they found the garrison not victualled for forty eight hours. The Committee had

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resolved to have quitted Wareham. Weymouth is not in a very ill condition: Lyme is. Colonel William Strode is with them; but they are altogether unable to send 500 men to Plymouth. Those few raised by Strode and the Sheriff are scattered; and those companies of theirs drawn out of Lyme, who were with Strode, have left both him and the garrison. All the thousands they heard of when at Derby House are now but one troop of Horse which Strode puts at 100. Lyme being likely to endure the first shock they hope to ship to-day Colonel Anthony Weldon's regiment, under 300 in all, to secure that place; and this day the rest of their Foot will be at Wareham; where they intend to be to-night, and leave there as many Foot as may defend it. They look upon it as a place of great consequence: neither can the works be slighted. On the morrow they purpose to be at Weymouth. They wil leave at Poole the train of artillery with about 80 firelocks; because of their want of ordnance. On 15 September Waller informs them from Poole that he has put into the town his train of artillery with the attendant firelocks; and has ordered the bringing in of provisions; but the Committee are slow. This morning he marches to Wareham to see that place secured; from thence to Weymouth; and so by sea to Lyme —in each of which he will leave some forces. He was prevented by a contrary wind yesterday from putting the old Kentish Regiment into Lyme; but to-day he marches with them by land to Weymouth, together with the new Kentish; and purposes from thence to send the old to Lyme, and the new—700 strong—to Plymouth. He was promised five or six hundred Horse out of this county, but not one troop has yet appeared; and Colonel Ludlow's regiment is diverted from him. Not one horse has come to him, either out of Wiltshire or Dorset, to mount a musketeer; so if the King advances all Waller can do will be to retire before he be forced to run. On 17 September the Governors of Wareham, Poole, and Weymouth are bidden from London to prepare themselves and state their requirements. Next day Waller and Hesilrige inform Derby House from Weymouth that Colonel John Birch has gone to Plymouth—if the siege be raised to return to Weymouth. They have sent about 300 men to Lyme. The stay of the governor so long in London will be at the hazard of the town. If he be not coming down, let him be sent with all speed. The governor of Weymouth deserves encouragement; and the town requires so much fortification there is much to do. The Citadel is almost completed. All Waller's Foot are disposed for keeping these garrisons. On the following day from Blandford they state that yesterday they came

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from Weymouth. The garrison there is about 300, but the works unfinished; wherefore they left 300 Foot to assist them and they need more. They are now returning to Wareham; and what they can do shall be done towards the preservation of the sea-towns. On the same day the Committee inform Essex that they conceive Waller with 700 Horse is about Lyme. He had besides 2100 Foot; of which 700, they hope, are gone to Plymouth and most of the others are in garrison at Lyme, Weymouth, Poole, and Wareham, who will be ready at any time to be drawn out. On 21 September Waller writes from Shaftesbury that he has done what he can to secure Lyme, Weymouth and Poole; and has sent 700 men to Plymouth. Into Wareham he has put between four and five hundred men, and the same block up Corfe Castle. But it is impossible to finish the works at Wareham in time, if the enemy advance that way. He has given orders that persons from the adjacent country are to be called in to work thereon; and yesterday he went thither, but found nothing done. On the same day the Committee inform him that the governor of Lyme some days since left Town to go to his charge.[1]

Meanwhile the King's army, in spite of its success at Lostwithiel, was not in much better condition than Manchester's forces had been after Marston Moor. It had already been weakened by the loss of the detachment left behind with Grenville to block up Plymouth; and its numbers were now still further reduced by the necessity of sending detachments to block up Lyme and Taunton. The blockade of Taunton was at first committed to Doddington; but immediately afterwards to Colonel Edmund Wyndham, governor of Bridgewater, assisted by Sir Edward Rodney, with his regiment of Foot, Colonel Francis Wyndham, governor of Dunster Castle, John Coventry, and others. Sir Richard Cholmley with his regiment, lately that of Lord Poulett his father-in-law, was appointed to lie at Axminster, to be assisted by and receive orders from Sir John Berkeley, for the reduction of Lyme. Charles, who lay at Chard from 23 to 30 September principally to ease and recruit his Foot, despatched Sir Edward Waldegrave with his regiment of Horse to quarter at Bridport; and 100 Foot to seize Chideock House and so assist in blocking up Lyme until Berkeley should relieve them. An attempt was made, on 28 September, by a party of Sydenham's Horse to surprise Waldegrave at Bridport; but, getting between them and their base, he attacked them at Portisham, slew some; and took 40 Horse and a cornet. On this same day there was an order put

1. C.S.P., 476 to 526. Add MS. 29319, ff. 13, 15, 17.

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forth for the delivery to Captains Skutt and Harding of eight pieces of ordnance; 4 for the use of Poole, and 4 for Brownsea Castle. Waller was at this time stationed at Shaftesbury with the strong body of Horse which had been under Middleton's command; but he had no money, and his infantry was disposed among the garrisons of the coast-towns. One of his Majors, he said, had been "fain to borrow sixpence to pay for the shoeing of his horse." "We are," he wrote, "a gallant forlorn hope." If Manchester arrived speedily all might yet be well; but this was just what Manchester refused to do. On 24 September, Quartermaster-General John Dalbier had written to Lord Essex from 'Burgett' that the enemy at Chard esteem themselves 10,000 men, Horse and Foot: they have 20 pieces of ordnance, but very few carriages or waggons. They give out they are about to besiege Lyme; and yet have sent 300 men to plunder Axminster, which makes him believe the contrary. The country people say they intend to march over Blackdown, which is unlikely, unless they intend to cross into Wales from Minehead. Essex should make all haste possible to get his Foot armed in order that he may take a convenient post before the enemy be too near. As most of our officers are absent, things will not be carried as they ought. If they march over Blackdown it is their best way either to Taunton or Bridgewater; and should the King go to Bridgewater then he is for Bristol or Oxford. On Monday 30 September, Charles set out from Chard with an army consisting of 3500 of his own Foot, about 2000 of Maurice's, and nearly 4000 Horse of both armies. He dined that day at Lord Poulett's house at Hinton St. George and quartered at South Perrott in Dorset; where Rupert, who had been about a month at Bristol, came to him. The King lay that night in the Manor House, belonging to Gregory Gibbes; the main body being six miles off at Evershot. Here the design was approved that the 2000 Horse under Sir Marmaduke Langdale and about 2000 Foot under General Charles Gerard, afterwards Earl of Macclesfield, should be united in one body and march out of Monmouthshire into Gloucestershire; and from thence either join the King, or divert the Parliamentarians from uniting to oppose his march. On Tuesday 1 October, Charles quartered at Maiden-Newton, staying at the Rectory with the Rev. Matthew Osborne, Fellow of Wadham College, and dined in the field. The general rendezvous was on Newton Down; the main body lying at Kencombe. Here the King heard that on the previous night a party of Horse of Sir Robert Howard's regiment had beaten up a quarter of Waller's Horse at Whitchurch, and taken a Captain and about 20 prisoners. From thence next

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day the Royalists marched to Sherborne, abandoning their original intention of occupying Dorchester. There Charles remained until the 8th lying at Lord Bristol's seat; the troop being at Leweston, the house of Mrs. FitzJames mother of the Parliamentarian High Sheriff of Dorset. At Sherborne the King's Council sought to raise forces to secure Dorset, and to quicken the levies of men and money in Somerset. To perform the first the King made Sir Lewis Dyve Sergeant-Major-General of the county of Dorset; and left him, with his own regiment of 150 old soldiers and a regiment of about 200 Horse and 50 Foot of Colonel James Strangways, to command in chief there. His forces were to be raised to 500 Horse, 100 dragoons, and 1500 Foot; which the county gentry engaged themselves to do in a very short while. Some of the principal commanders in Somerset came to the King at Sherborne and presented a petition concerning peace. Under the date 3 October Mercurius Aulicus states that lately in and about Shaftesbury 600 Swedes, Germans, French, and Walloons under Balfour and Middleton much oppressed the country; and raised on some 10s., 40s., or £3 a day for their maintenance. Some were fined £300, some £1000; and if the money were not presently paid, they were plundered and made prisoners. All the fat cattle were driven into Lyme, Poole, and Wareham; but the King's approach drove these forces away. Dalbier, with Essex's Horse, was early in October quartered about Blandford. About this time John Ashburnham writes to Rupert: "on Wednesday morning (2 October?) at 3 o'clock the Rebels marched (in no little disorder) from Shaftesbury towards Salisbury; where they are now with the gross of their army expecting Manchester . . . . we took into consideration the relief of Portland, and that Lord Cleveland with his brigade and Sir Edward Waldegrave's should speedily march thither. One come from Oxford says Manchester's forces are at Newbury, but very inconsiderable." Charles, finding he could not so well relieve Portland from Sherborne as from Blandford and urged by Goring to strike a blow whilst his foes were still divided, broke up from Sherborne on Tuesday 8 October; and lay that night in Lord Cork's house at Stalbridge. Next night Maurice's army lay at Sturminster Newton: the King's regiment of Horse Guards at Durweston. On Thursday 10 October the rendezvous was upon Durweston Down; and the Court at Bryanston, the house of Mrs. Rogers, widow of Richard Rogers, M.P. Waller, meanwhile, had fallen back before Charles. From Blandford Portland Castle was relieved. For this purpose there were drawn out of the army 500 Horse under the command of Strafford's kinsman

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Sir Thomas Wentworth, first Earl of Cleveland; 600 Foot under Sir Bernard Astley, son of Sir Jacob, with three cannon; and to these were to be added Waldegrave's Horse from Bridport, and the hundred Foot left at Chideock. Cleveland and Astley marched from Blandford on Saturday 12 October, and quartered at Dorchester. From thence next day they came near the Island; got provisions ready to put into the Castle; and early on Monday morning, the 14th, completed the work. They sufficiently furnished the place with all manner of provisions for some months; raised the siege; clothed and paid the soldiers; brought Colonel William Ashburnham away with them; and left Sir Walter Hastings as governor of the Castle. On the 11th two troops came into the King from Waller, saying he was but 1500 strong and six miles beyond Salisbury near Amesbury. They were entertained by Lord Bernard Stuart, who found them quarters; but the next night they deserted. Whilst Charles lay at Sherborne that professional turncoat Sir John Urry who had a pass to go oversea made use of it to rejoin the Parliament. On the day that Portland was regained, Charles marched on foot before his Foot from Bryanston; and with his whole army marched that night over the downs to Cranborne, where he lay in the Manor House belonging to the Earl of Salisbury. Lord Bernard Stuart spent that night at Woodlands, the seat of the Hon. Henry Hastings. On Tuesday 15 October—a wet, cold, and windy day—the King marched to Salisbury; and Waller took up his quarters at Andover. On 21 October the Dorset Standing Committee write from Poole to Sydenham with regard to taking the field against the King, as suggested by Sydenham. But ever since Charles marched from Blandford his movements have been so slow that it has not been easy to determine whether he would advance or retreat. They have therefore this day sent one of their members to Lord Essex, whose return they expect on Wednesday, and will not fail to advertize Sydenham, by an express, what time they advance to put themselves in a marching posture. On 29 October they order the Governor of Weymouth to exchange John Dan for Mr. Giles Stoodley, of Broadwinsor, taken prisoner in Melbury by Colonel Strangways. Sir Lewis Dyve has agreed to the exchange.[1]

About 16 October the governor of Poole had attacked 100 Horse of the Queen's regiment; killed 16; and taken 40 prisoners with 2 colours between Poole and Blandford—losing

1. Walker, 88 to 99, 104. Hutchins I, 12, III, 10. Portland MS. I, 185. Add. MS., 18981 f. 277; 29319, ff, 19, 21. Symonds, 97 to 129. Clarendon VIII, 148.

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but one man and a few wounded. On 24 October the Dorset Standing Committee complain of the outrages committed upon various inhabitants of the county by the French Papists of the Queen's regiment; and on the 31st intelligence came from Dorchester that one hundred Horse of the same regiment had been taken by the garrison of Weymouth. The country people had assisted that garrison in the capture, being induced thereto "by the great insolencies and cruelties" the Royalists had committed amongst them. By the same post it was reported that Sir A. A. Cooper, with 1500 Horse and Foot from the neighbouring garrisons, had taken the field against Sir Lewis Dyve, who was endeavouring to fortify certain places in those parts. In a skirmish with Dyve's forces at this time Cooper wounded his Lieutenant-Colonel; took 100 horses; 40 prisoners; over 100 arms; and routed and put to flight 400 Horse and Foot. A little before 25 October Sir Richard Cholmley, brother to Sir Hugh of Scarborough "that disloyall apostate Runnegado," hovering about Colyton, Axminster, Beaminster and other places on the confines of Dorset, with two or three hundred Horse, had driven away many cattle from the country people. Whereupon Colonel Ceeley drew out a party from Lyme; fell upon the plunderers; took 56 of them prisoners with their horses, arms, and spoil; and drove off the rest—Cholmley himself being wounded in the shoulder. Among the prisoners were two Captains and ten other officers, who were all carried into Lyme: the plundered cattle were restored to their owners. About a month later, 15 November, the Lyme garrison attacked the Royalists at Axminster as they were fortifying the town. At the second charge the Parliament troops routed their opponents; slaying Major Walker "a desperate and wicked Cavalier," two Captains and two Lieutenants; and mortally wounding Sir Richard Cholmley. They took four pieces of ordnance; many arms and prisoners—driving the rest into the church; and released 50 gentlemen, taken prisoners by the Royalists from their houses. Soon after this during a storm a ship of Topsham was driven into Lyme, and seized upon. The goods it contained—mostly linen cloth valued at many thousands of pounds—being the property of certain rich Royalists of Exeter and Topsham, were confiscated by Parliament, who ordered a portion of them to be employed for the use and service of Lyme and the rest of the western parts. Two or three days later the Lyme garrison accompanied by Major Sydenham, again fell upon Axminster and burned down the town save the Church still held by the Royalists; took two Lieutenants and 50 other officers and soldiers prisoners;

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160 muskets; 10 halberts; 3 barrels of powder; one Cornet colour; 2 Foot colours; and 5 drums. Two Cavalier commanders were mortally wounded—Major Hinkley and another; and Colonel Sir Robert Brett, Bt., dangerously wounded. Next day the Lyme garrison attempted unsuccessfully to take Chideock House. On the last day of October the Derby House Committee had ordered 50 barrels of powder with ball proportionable to be sent into Dorset. A week or two later the Dorset Standing Committee write from Poole that, whereas the Foot formerly quartered at Dorchester are marched thence by their command to join the forces already in the field, they approve of Colonel Sydenham sending 100 Foot and a troop of Horse to quarter there with a hundred muskets for arming the townsmen. And they order Sydenham to take care that those forces do their utmost, in pursuance of former warrants, to hinder contributions to the enemy; and that names be sent the Committee of sure persons thereabouts fit to be assessed, or of such Royalists as may yield money—so that they may send orders to seize on them. And also they order that all such cattle as are or may be seized upon be delivered to their long deputed Commissary; so that an account may be taken of them, and they not disposed of without an order from the Committee. It is further desired that Sydenham will question the Collectors, appointed by them in those parts to gather in sequestered rents of papists and delinquents; and that he will so far assist them as occasion may require. The Committee, probably about 12 days later, writing from Wareham request their 'Noble Colonel' Sydenham to send them 20 saddles with their furniture and 20 cases of pistols and their holsters from the county store.[1]

Colonel John Were relates how that, after the relief of Lyme, he had urged Lord Essex to despatch 1500 Horse and dragoons after Maurice to complete his discomfiture; but was denied. The reason given was "that the Horse were completely worn out"; but he afterwards understood that the difference that had fallen out between Essex and Waller had prevented his suggestion from being entertained. The inhabitants of East Devon having supplicated Were, their countryman, to protect them against the exactions of the Prince, he with Blake's assistance managed to move Essex and the army from Dorchester to Bridport. There he advised

1. Tract, Dorset 3, 8. Perfect Diurnall, No. 66. Vicars' 'Burning Bush,' 55, 62, 70. Add. MS. 29319, ff, 23, 24. Whitelocke, 109, 114, 115. C.S.P. (1644-5). Tract, Lyme Regis 4: "Had we 500 Horse we should clear all the country. Enemy has since quitted Axminster Church and Mount House. Sickness ceased in Lyme; but men without pay and in miserable condition."

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the Lord-General speedily to follow Maurice; whereupon Essex resolved to march towards Chard, and despatched Lord Robartes and Were to settle the business at Lyme. But the unstable Essex soon changed his mind and lay that night at Crewkerne; when Robartes hastened to him and persuaded him to march next day to Chard. Were then commanded his regiment of 100 Musketeers to march from Lyme to Waycraft House, four miles from the army nearer the enemy; and sent to request a party of Horse from Lord Essex. He was allowed 4 troops of Horse; and with his combined Horse and Foot Were then marched to Axminster, and from thence to Wellington. From Wellington he threw out two troops of Horse, who beat the enemy and drove him from Halberton and Tiverton. If he had done as much with two troops, Were pathetically asks, what might he not have done with 1500 Horse? But he gathered from his Major, William Butler, that Essex had said that had Were accomplished his object with 1500, it would have been evident that the 2000, originally offered by Parliament, would have done even more and been sufficient for the entire work; and this Essex had strenuously denied. Were then rejoined the army at Blackdown; whence they marched to Cullompton and Tiverton—he having orders to quarter at Halberton. Had there been a speedy advance he considers the army would have beaten Maurice and Grenville; and would have returned soon enough to have beaten the King also. After this they marched to Crediton, Bowe, Tavistock; into Cornwall to Bodmin; and so to Lostwithiel. Were was charged, like his comrade Butler, with having betrayed his post at Lostwithiel to the enemy—thus occasioning the defeat of the Parliament's army in that place on 1 September, 1644. Mercurius Aulicus writes: "In the evening one whole Regiment of their Foot (being Colonel Were's) . . . ran from Field to Field, with their cannon and colours, only at the appearance of eight of H.M.'s Horse."

On 3 September Essex writes from Plymouth to Derby House: "In the town Colonel Were's men . . . he was to guard a passage at a gentleman's house (Mr. Trevill's) not two musket shot from the Major-General's (Skippon's) regiment and an old Castle lay over it which they quitted on the first appearance of the enemy. On the right side of the river that comes from Fowey was my regiment—the enemy pressed hard upon them. Were's men (or rather Sheep) flung down their arms and ran away." The Committee ordered an enquiry into Essex's report, as it was rumoured there was disaffection among the officers, and that Were, whose regiment was the first to quit its post, was the main cause of the

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disaster; "and tho' the Colonel pretended to be taken prisoner 'twas suggested that he suffered himself so to be, and went willingly to the King's forces . . . And some time after Colonel Were having got his liberty came up to the Parliament and stood upon his justification who was secured." The feeling against the Colonel was evidently a strong one; and Essex was probably not sorry to find a scapegoat upon whom to vent some of the ill-humour and disappointment engendered by his own incompetence. On 11 September the Lord-General writes from Portsmouth to the Committee: "Col. Were who was at Lyme—the Devon Colonel—hath played the Judas and is revolted." And on 15 October from the same place: "For my recruiting out of the Western Men they are very few—the Renegado Were having as I hear but 40 left of his regiment." But, nevertheless, Were was too valuable to be at once thrown aside; and was not without powerful friends. On 18 September Waller and Hesilrige write to the Committee from Weymouth: "We have sent about 300 men to Lyme; the stay of that Governor (Co. Were)[1] so long at London will be the hazard of the town. If he be not coming down let him be sent with all speed," and on the 21st the Committee notify Waller that the said Governor left Town some days since to go to his charge. But on his arrival at Southampton on his way to London, Were was arrested by Essex's orders and imprisoned. On 12 October the Committee write to Essex: "We send enclosed the order of the Commons for sending up Col. Were," and again on 26 October: "We have once before by order of the House written for Col. Were to be sent up hither and . . . we therefore desire you if he be at Portsmouth to send him immediately in safe custody." He was finally sent up from Portsmouth by Essex under arrest; and was still in mid-August, 1645, confined in the Compter at Southwark. He was then removed to another prison; and granted subsistence money from the arrears of pay due to him. On 30 September, 1645, Sir Henry Tichborne and Colonel Were are released from the Tower on exchange. His regiment probably assisted at the capture of the Tiverton works in 1645, and certainly formed portion of the garrison of Exeter after its capitulation in the same year. He died in 1658 and is buried in Halberton Church. In his 'Apologie' of 1644 Were answers the various accusations made against him.

(i) He was accused of having suffered the bridge to be taken by the royal forces; otherwise they had never

1. But according to Were's own account he seems not to have been in London between the affair at Lostwithiel and his being brought up to Town as a prisoner. Probably Ceeley was the Governor despatched to Lyme.

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entered Cornwall. To this he answers that when Charles entered Cornwall the Parliament army was almost twenty miles away; and he himself then by command was at Lostwithiel.

(ii) It was stated that he had the keeping of a bridge near the house of Lord Robartes.

He says he sent by order a party of dragoons thither, and kept it until by order they were drawn off—as Captain Sheeres and other Captains can testify.

(iii) He was accused of having lost a Castle, near Lostwithiel, of which he was put in command.

He answers that it is true a party of men were sent out of his regiment, without his consent, thither by Pullen and Wood—two cashiered captains formerly under his command—but by what order they were sent thither, or how discharged of that command he knows not. He believes no general officer will say he gave him the charge of that place, there being but eighteen men in it—no fit command for a Colonel.

(iv) He was accused of having quitted his post at Castledore, having been stationed there by Major-General Skippon.

He replies that it is true he marched thither in the rear of the Lord-General's regiment, with one part of five of his regiment; and there continued until Essex's regiment fell back and routed Were's. He then did his uttermost to preserve the Ordnance; brought them into a lane near by; and placed as many men as he could make stand in the most advantageous position possible. This Were says he did of himself when the Colonel of the other regiment had withdrawn.

(v) He was accused of having spoken words that did not tend to the honour of Lord Essex.

He confesses he has spoken in some passion that which might have been well left unsaid. He confesses his indiscretion openly and hopes that it is not of such a nature as to extinguish all former merit.

(vi) He was accused of having carried over his regiment to the King.

He is content to suffer to the uttermost if proof be made that he carried one man, or advised any so to do, or was himself with the King. This accusation no doubt arose from the fact that, after the Lostwithiel disaster, he was lured deceitfully into the Royal Quarters by Major Balfour; who had formerly been

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his own Major but had revolted to the enemy. After various adventures Were escaped to Blake at Taunton.

(vii) He was accused by being with Colonel Berkeley; and of not having desired him to demand him upon the Articles.

He acknowledges he met Sir John Berkeley, Governor of Exeter, at Tiverton. But had he acquainted him and desired Berkeley to have demanded him upon the Articles Were believes he would have never met him again: "for they that cared not to break Articles upon no pretence, what would they have done to me having some colour for it? It would have certainly endangered my life."

Major William Butler, whom Were accuses of having countenanced the two cashiered Captains Pullen and Wood, was committed to the Tower on the same charge as Were of having betrayed his post at Lostwithiel. He had only just been exchanged after his capture at Hemyock to take part in Essex's Cornish march, and was suspected of Royalist tendencies. Were in his Petition begs that he may be publicly heard by Parliament; that his witnesses may be sent for; that he may be brought face to face with his accuser, Lord Cleveland; that he may have his accusation in writing, and time to make his answer; and that, since he went on his own charges and his estate is lost in Parliament service, he may have some maintenance until his trial. His Relation and Petition were read in the House on 8 November, 1644, and at the same time at least one witness on his behalf, Colonel John Stent, was examined.[1]

1. Rushworth III. ii. 710. Symonds' 66, 67. C.S.P., 104. Ibid. Addenda (1625-49) 667. Devon N. & Q., 153-74.

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CHAPTER IX.

The Struggle at Weymouth and Melcombe Regis.

(October 1644 to June 1645).

N the first week of November, 1644, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper took by storm the Cavalier garrison at Abbotsbury, the house of Sir John Strangways. Marching with his brigade from Dorchester to Abbotsbury, where Colonel James Strangways and his regiment held the house and adjoining church, Cooper sent a summons to the place by a trumpeter as night fell. To him they returned a slighting answer, and hung out their bloody flag. Immediately the assailants drew out a party of musketeers, with which Major Edward Baynton in person stormed the church—into which they had put thirteen men. This was taken and its defenders made prisoners without the loss of one man to the attacking party. Then the Cavaliers were summoned, in writing, a second time to yield on fair quarter; or else to expect no mercy, if they forced Cooper to storm them. But, they being so gallant that they would admit of no treaty, the Parliamentarians prepared themselves to storm the house. For over six hours the contest raged with great fury on both sides. The besiegers were forced to burn down an outgate to a court before they could get to the house, and then their men rushing in through the fire reached the hall-porch; where with furze-faggots they set fire to it and plied the windows so hard with small shot that the Royalists durst not appear in the lower rooms. Meanwhile one of Cooper's guns played on the other side of the house; and the gunners with fire-balls, grenadoes, and scaling-ladders endeavoured to fire the second-storey. But, that not taking effect, they were forced to wrench open the windows with iron bars and, pouring in faggots of burning furze, set the whole house ablaze. It now being impossible to quench the flames the besieged cried for quarter. So far the assailants had only

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lost three men with some few wounded; but Cooper, resolved to strike terror into other Royalists garrisons, commanded no quarter should be granted: "which," he adds, "the soldiers with a great deal of alacrity would have performed but that Colonel and Major Sydenham, riding to the other side of the house, gave them quarter." The victorious soldiers immediately ran into the house, intent on plunder, and would not be drawn out again by any of their commanders; although they were told the enemy's magazine of four or five barrels of powder was near the fire and, if they stayed, would prove their ruin. The threatened catastrophe was not slow in coming; for the gunpowder taking fire, blew up all the plunderers in the house—between 30 and 40 in number—and lifted 80, who were in the court, a yard from the ground; but hurt only two of the latter. Mr. William Derby was of the number, but not hurt. Cooper says: "We had hurt and killed by the enemy not fifteen, but I fear four times that number will not satisfy for the last mischance." Captain Heathcock, Kennett Lieutenant to Major Putt, and Mr. Cooper "who did extreme bravely" were slain by the explosion. Lieutenant Hill, who went a volunteer and was sent in to get out the soldiers, was blown up with the rest; but, as he had been rescued from under the *debris*, it was hoped his life might be saved. Captain Gorge "a very gallant young gentleman, is hurt in the head with a freestone from the church tower and shot through the ankle, but we hope will live." The house was burned down to the ground and could not be saved. The prisoners taken were Colonel James Strangways, Major Coles, three Captains, 100 Foot and 30 Horse—being all Strangways' regiment except those who were slain, and some three who made good their escape. Cooper, who bore himself with great bravery in this action, says that all of Waller's officers who were present "behaved themselves extreme gallantly." He was especially obliged to Lieutenant-Colonel Oxford, who had joined the expedition at Cooper's entreaty, though without command. Colonel Brune, Captains George Starr and Woodward, and Mr. Thomas Crompton, Committee Man, all rendered excellent service. The men were so worn out by duty and the effects of the explosion that Sir Anthony was obliged to retire to Dorchester to refresh them. He complains that Colonel Sydenham has yet afforded them no ammunition; although all his men are supplied by Cooper. Sydenham makes up his regiment either of Horse or Foot; and has withdrawn one more company on the day of writing. Cooper has given him orders that all the prisoners who are officers are to be sent to the Parliamentary

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Committee for Dorset, He desires them to consent to no exchange for any of them until Captain James Haynes be exchanged. Haynes was long a prisoner in Portland Castle; and so faithful to Parliament that though much pressed by his captors to join their party, he would not. He arrived in London on 3 December having escaped from durance through the assistance of a servant of the Governor, who deserted the Castle and the Royalists at the same time.[1]

The second battle of Newbury had been fought on 27 October, 1644. On 11 November Waller writes to Derby House that, besides the obedience he owes to their commands, he has a particular inclination to do service for those parts and is extremely sensible of the sad condition of Taunton; but humbly craves leave to signify the truth without offence. Continual duty and service have extremely weakened his troops; insomuch as, if they deduct 1000 Horse from them, the remainder will be so small that he cannot with any countenance stay with them. Besides, they are in such want that there is the necessity for an instant supply: those former little payments for a fortnight in three or four months being utterly insufficient to recruit them with necessaries; and their discontent being increased by seeing other forces paid in greater proportion than they are. For the present relief of Taunton he suggests that Colonel Edmund Ludlow's and John FitzJames's regiments, with 200 Horse of his own under Commissary-General Jonas Vandrusques, be sent down to join with and command the Dorset Horse. Waller will send Major-General James Holborn down to draw out the Foot of the several garrisons and to command in chief; with which strength he makes no question Taunton will be relieved and the King's levies in those parts broken. His desire is that his commission be settled anew by both Houses according to full latitude thereof over Dorset, Wilts, Somerset, Gloucestershire, Devon, and Cornwall, with full power to grant commissions and command garrisons—as was granted to Lieutenant-General Middleton when he marched into the west—and to have authority to press in order to recruit his Foot. Without such a full power he will not be in a capacity to serve them; and for want of it he has been exposed to many affronts—particularly from Major Dennett of Colonel Ludlow's regiment whom Waller had formerly preferred. The like disobedience he had met with in the Dorset troops, where he could never draw above one small regiment of Colonel FitzJames's and

1. Christie's, I, 62-7. Vicars' Burning Bush, 67. Gardiner's II, 97. Perfect Diurnall, No. 71.

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one troop of Captain Starr's into the field when the King's whole army advanced upon him, and they then had fifteen troops in that county. There is now a new regiment of Horse under Major Strahan, who would very willingly have come to him, but that the Committee of the West particularly prohibited him. Waller cannot but wonder at it. His Horse have been in constant service since the first battle of Newbury (20 September, 1643), both winter and summer. After the business of Alton and Arundel in the winter and the battle of Cheriton in the spring the House of Commons were pleased to promise £10,000 towards recruiting his Horse; but he never received a penny. He has at least 500 men on foot and many unserviceable horse. Three days later Waller writes again from Newbury to the Committee stating that he is under a persecution from the perpetual clamour in the west concerning the distressed condition of Taunton; for relief whereof he is ready to send down a party of 500 Horse under Holborn. But he has thought fit, ere his departure, to despatch Holborn to them with the request for a fortnight's pay for those poor Foot Waller had left in Dorset, which will be a great encouragement. He is confident this gallant gentleman will give them a very good account of those western parts; and be a means to divide the royal forces if he be forthwith dismissed. The same day Lord Manchester is desired by the Committee to have an especial care for providing for Holborn's relief should the King send forces upon his rear. On the 20th they send word to Waller by Holborn that £800 is ready for the Dorset Foot, and that they will send money speedily for Waller's other forces. They hope he will despatch Holborn into the west, where he is much needed, as soon as the present service Waller is about will permit.[1]

The map of England on 23 November, 1644, shows the rapidly dwindling territory still in the King's possession. Wales was his save Pembrokeshire, the towns of Montgomery and Cardigan, and a small piece of Carmarthenshire. Two-thirds of Shropshire, all Herefordshire and Monmouthshire, most of Worcestershire, half Gloucestershire, nearly all Oxfordshire and Wiltshire save Malmesbury, a piece of Buckinghamshire, half Berkshire save Abingdon, a third of Hampshire, half Dorset, all Somerset save Taunton, Devon save Plymouth, and the whole of Cornwall, were in his hands. Besides this western Kingdom he had some fourteen garrisons which still flew the royal banner in the Parliament's domain. Meanwhile the Standing Committee of Dorset drew up the

1. C.S.P. (1644-5).

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following orders to be observed by the Commissaries of the several garrisons of the county:

(1) That no money be received or paid out for the use of the garrison but by the deputed Commissary for the payment of soldiers and other disbursements of the said garrison;

(2) That he keep a perfect list of all Horse and Foot belonging thereto;

(3) That he deliver a copy of the said list monthly to the Commissary General of Dorset, together with his account;

(4) That such monies as he shall receive for the use of the garrison be issued and paid out by warrant from the Governor under his hand on the Standing Committee and not otherwise;

(5) That the deputed Commissary for victuals for the said garrison do keep a perfect account of all cattle sent and other provisions brought in to the garrison, and of the day and month and of whom received, and cause the cattle to be appraised at their true value;

(6) That he give a note of receipt to every one of whom he shall receive such cattle, and of their number, qualities, and the day they were received;

(7) That all such victuals as are in his custody be delivered to the soldiers of the garrison and to no other save by especial order from the governor;

(8) That all cattle that shall be brought in not fit for slaughter, and all hides, salt, and tallow shall be sold, and the money received thereby be paid the Commissary for the use of the garrison;

(9) That two honest men be appointment to appraise all such provisions brought in for use of the garrison;

(10) That a public slaughter-house or houses be appointed;

(11) That for the release of such cattle as are not fit to be killed and are restored to their owners no money be taken without an order from the Governor, an account thereof to be given to the Standing Committee;

(12) That the governor be desired to appoint a careful officer to receive all hay-carts and see the contents bestowed to the best advantage.[1]

1. Add. MS., 26319, f. 26.

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Soon after the affair at Abbotsbury Cooper marched to Sturminster, but the Royalist garrison under Colonel Radford evacuated the Castle on his approach. Thence he marched to Shaftesbury and forced the garrison of Cavaliers to quit. The Standing Committee, writing from Poole, had sent him £20 for his soldiers of which they had had to borrow £10. They reminded him that he was "now in a convenient quarter to raise money on malignants; therefore we desire you to make use of the opportunity to the best advantage." The following memoranda were probably written a little before this time by Cooper for Governor Bingham of Poole:—

(1) That, if they cannot immediately send us a supply of Horse, orders be forthwith sent for the withdrawal of the Sussex Foot and the rest be disposed into their several garrisons; the keeping them together in a body devours that provision which should be sent into the garrisons and destroys the country—besides the few Horse we have, not above 100, are wholly taken up with providing for them;

(2) That if a considerable party of Horse, sufficient to relieve Taunton, cannot be sent us presently we desire that some few may be spared, with which added to those we have already we shall be able to victual our garrisons and subsist in the county; however we shall be better able to subsist without than with the Sussex Foot;

(3) That under 1000 Horse it will be now difficult to relieve Taunton, the enemy having received the addition of 100 Horse lately from the King's army under Colonel Cooke; so that with those Horse that lie near Salisbury they are able to march 1500 Horse and dragoons;

(4) That the enemy being resolved to fortify round the skirts of Somerset, as Sherborne, Caundle Stourton, Shaftesbury, to make it a safe quarter for his retreat and to drive all the parts of Dorset and Wilts into their quarters; being resolved both their Horse and Foot shall, if forced to retire, live on the skirts of these two counties—quaere, whether it will not be necessary for us to garrison Hooke House,[1] near Beaminster, and, if we cannot force them from Shaftesbury or Sherborne, to garrison in some other

1. A sequestered property of the Marquess of Winchester burned down in 1647.

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strong houses near those places by which their incursions may be restrained;

(5) The enemy being possessed of Ivychurch and Langford Houses[1] from which they make perpetual inroads into the eastern part of our country (county), and bring the northern part of Wiltshire into contribution to them—quaere, whether we should not garrison Falston House,[1] by which we are sure to cut them off from troubling this county; besides we shall gain the contribution of a considerable part of Wiltshire;

(6) Quaere, whether it be not absolutely necessary to pluck down the town of Wareham, it being impossible for us to victual; if Waller ever draw away his Foot the town will be left naked and exposed to the pleasure of the enemy, who will certainly possess it unless it can be made no town; and there can be no argument against demolishing it, it being extremely mean built and the inhabitants almost all dreadful malignants; besides the keeping it will certainly destroy more honest men than the destroying it will undo knaves;

(7) A few Foot in Lullworth with a troop of Horse will keep Corfe far better than Wareham; and the lesser number of Foot we keep the more Horse and dragoons we shall be able to maintain, with which the business of this county must be done;

(8) If they are unwilling to destroy Wareham it may be left for a Horse-quarter, with the direction that when forced to quit they set it on fire;

(9) That the Horse of the county be all reduced into one regiment; and two troops be allowed the governors of Poole and Weymouth—the Weymouth troop to be commanded by Major Sydenham—otherwise it will be impossible to keep them together, or in any command;

(10) That the Committee name whom they will have to be Colonel of their Horse; and that they will assign how many troops he will allow in the regiment, and whose troops these shall be; and that they will send to the Lord-General for a commission for the Colonel;

1. All three Houses were near Salisbury: Langford, now Longford Castle, then belonged to Lord Gorges; Falston was garrisoned for Parliament in 1645 with Major William Ludlow as governor.

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(11) That there be 20 Musketeers in every troop, and a full troop of dragoons at least in the regiment.

When Holborn moved through Dorset, on his way to Taunton, Cooper was put in charge of the contingent drawn from the garrisons on the Dorset coast to accompany the expedition. Edmund Ludlow joined them with 200 Horse from Wiltshire. On 14 December, 1644, the relieving force reached Taunton, so gallantly defended by Blake; and, having scattered the besiegers before them, threw in the necessary supplies. So completely does Cooper seem to have taken the upper hand that it was by him, and not by Holborn that the despatch, announcing the success of the enterprise, was written; and in a diary composed two years later he audaciously claims for himself the title of Commander-in-chief of the expedition. Conscious of great abilities and endued with vast ambition Sir Anthony was at no time in his life prone to hide his light under a bushel. In his despatch of 15 December, to Lord Essex, from Orchard Portman, Cooper states that the night before they brought all their carriages safe to Taunton with their Horse. They found the Castle in no great want of victual, only of powder and salt. The town began to be in great distress; and it was almost a miracle to the relieving force that the besieged should attempt to keep the town—their works being for the most part but pales and hedges, and no line about the town. The enemy twice endeavoured to force it, but were repulsed; and since they have only kept them in by a quartering round about the town at a mile or two's distance. Nevertheless, the townsmen made daily sallies and got in a store of provisions, without which it would have been impossible for them to have maintained so many unnecessary people. The enemy on Friday last quitted their garrisons in Wellington, Wycraft, Shute, and Colcombe Houses.[1] The last two they have burned, and, he hears, have quitted Chideock House; whether it be out of fear or to make a body capable of encountering the relieving party, the Parliamentarians cannot as yet understand—but Dyve's coming up with his Horse to the Bridgwater forces argues the latter. However, the Parliament forces are in a very good condition if the Royalists receive no assistance from the royal army; which is most to be feared, this county being of so great import to the enemy that it will be worth their engaging their whole army. And this may prove a successful

1. Wellington was Colonel Popham's house burned by Royalists in 1645; for Wycraft or Wyrwail, Christie suggests Worthele near Plymouth; Colcombe, near Colyton, belonged to Sir John Pole the owner of Shute, near Axminster.

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design to them if the Parliamentarians have not a considerable strength, ready on all motions of the enemy, to advance to their assistance. The House of Commons resolved, after the reading of Cooper's letter to Essex, on 24 December, that the Committee of both Kingdoms should be urged to send speedily a strong reinforcement to Taunton; and Waller and Oliver Cromwell are ordered into the west at the end of February, 1645, for the relief of Taunton. On 18 December, Colonel Robert Butler, Governor of Wareham, writes from before Corfe to Cooper at Wimborne asking for money. The three Foot of Colonel Raynesborough's are immediately to be drawn off for Abingdon: the men are loth to leave the siege if they may have money and provisions. To-morrow they expect pay. Butler has sent to Poole and Weymouth for men and ammunition. A little money now will be worth a great deal hereafter. He prays for money, money; and that will take Corfe Castle, which is in no strong condition. In 1643 and 1644 Lullworth Castle was garrisoned by Parliament as some check upon Corfe. Captain Thomas Hughes was governor whose receipts, undated, out of the hundred of Winfrith and liberties of Bindon and Owre Moygne, being the profits of sequestered lands, amounted to £3854 4s. o¼d., and his disbursements to £2518 13s. o½d. The iron bars of the windows, the leaden water-pipes, and great part of the wainscot were sold or carried away when the garrison was broken up. From the governor's accounts it appears that three tons of lead were sold hence, and two more delivered for the use of the garrisons of Weymouth and Poole and for the siege of Corfe Castle—besides what was spent at Lullworth. Woolbridge House, in East Stoke parish at no great distance, a seat of the Turbervilles, one of whom had originally garrisoned Lullworth for the King, is mentioned as a garrison in 1644. On 26 November, 1646, Hughes is ordered to deliver to Richard Bury, the County Treasurer, at Dorchester for the use of the State, three puncheons of strong waters and one hogshead of white wine, which had been cast up at Lullworth from wrecks.[1]

During the last quarter of 1644, neither Dyve nor Sydenham had been inactive. Dyve (who was related to several Royalist families in Dorset, being half-brother of George Lord Digby and husband of Howarda—daughter of Sir John Strangways and widow of Edward Rogers of Bryanston), went from

1. Christie I, 67 to 74 and Appendix II, xxx. Portland MSS. I, 197. Gardiner II, 97, 98. Hutchins I, 375, 422. C.C.C., 1447. P. C.A.M., 983. Minute Books, 82 to 487.

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Sherborne in November to dislodge a party from Poole who had posted themselves at Blandford. Returning to Sherborne he marched from thence to Dorchester a week later; where, understanding that four troops of Parliament Horse lay near, he intended to beat up their quarters but was betrayed by the townsmen, who had sent for assistance two hours before. However, he charged them with a small party of Horse, and they fled instantly. The next day, a little before the 21st, Sir Lewis retired to Sherborne, having increased his strength by his march—besides horses, arms and prisoners taken from the enemy. Before the end of this same month Dyve, being again at Dorchester with 200 Horse and dragoons, sent a party to face Poole; upon the sight of whom Colonel Sydenham prepared to oppose them. But after "a daring show and bravado" they marched back to Dorchester. Sydenham, however, determined not to be balked, and impatient "of the empty flourishes of a vaporous Enemy," that same night drew out a party of 50 or 60 Horse double-pistolled, and himself led them to Dorchester. Arrived there he fell upon the Royalists in their quarters; charged the out-guards; beat the whole regiment through the town; and, at the second charge, crying out "Give the Dragoons no quarter," beat them back again. Some of the Royalists had already fallen or fled when Sydenham recognized Major Williams[1] at the head of those of the enemy's troops who had reformed. Sydenham, who accused Williams of having murdered his mother—Mary daughter of Sir John Jeffery of Catherston, turning to his men exhorted them to stick closely to him; for said he "I will now avenge my Mother's innocent blood, or die in this place." Charging for the third time Sydenham slew Williams, who fell down under his horse's feet; and the rest of the Royalist Horse and dragoons, flying out of the town, made their escape. Dyve himself and some others of note were sorely wounded; and Sydenham returned victoriously to Poole with his prisoners.[2]

Sir Richard Bulstrode relates in his 'Memoirs' how, during the winter of 1644, George Lord Goring quartered at Bruton in Somerset at Sir Charles Berkeley's—a great enclosed country where villages were thick and forage abundant. Waller then quartered at Salisbury; where villages were thin, standing only in the valleys and at some distance from one

1. Was he John Williams of Plumber, third son of Sir John Williams of Herringston? Hutchins, II, 524.

2. Mercurius Aulicus, quoted in Harvey. Vicars' Burning Bush, 72, 73. Perfect Diurnall no. 71, wherein Dyve's party is made to face Lyme.

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another. Goring, making the most of his advantages, sent out parties almost every night to beat up the enemy's quarters, and took many prisoners and colours. Waller sent a letter to Goring by a trumpeter, concerning exchange of prisoners, who was sent back with the answer that if Waller had authority and could nominate two officers of quality to meet two Cavalier officers of like quality, at any convenient place between both armies, they should be empowered to exchange all prisoners on both sides of equal quality from Land's End to Portsmouth. These terms Waller willingly accepted and accordingly named Colonel Ennis, his Adjutant-General, and Major Butler, Major to Waller's own regiment, and desired Shaftesbury might be the place of meeting. To this Goring consented and sent a pass by the same trumpeter for the persons named; and at the same time nominated Richard Bulstrode and Sir Bernard Gascoigne, Major to his own regiment, as his Commissioners. A pass was accordingly sent by Waller for Goring's representatives and a time appointed for the meeting at Shaftesbury; where they stayed fifteen days. Waller sent them a great present of wine, which came from London—believing they could have none such elsewhere. The Royalist Commissioners then appointed all their prisoners to be brought to Wareham, whither Gascoigne went; while the Parliament Commissioners appointed theirs to be brought to Christchurch, Hants, where they were received by Butler. Colonel Ennis returned to Salisbury, and Bulstrode to Bruton to give Goring an account of what had been done.[1]

In January, 1645, Colonel Ralph Weldon, son of Sir Anthony Weldon of Swanscombe, Kent, was ordered to remain with his regiment at Weymouth. At the beginning of February, 1645, Portland was still held by a small Cavalier garrison under Sir Walter Hastings; and Sir Lewis Dyve was in command of the other Royalists troops in Dorset. Weymouth and Melcombe Regis were occupied by Parliament troops under Colonel William Sydenham as Governor and commandant. These two adjacent towns had been taken from the Royalists in June 1644, by a force under Lord Essex; and since that date the Weymouth garrison had thoroughly fortified the place. It now possessed two strong forts: one in the direction of Portland; the other, the Chapel Fort, placed on a height commanding the town and port. So called from being erected on the site of a chapel dedicated to St.

1. Bulstrode, 120. Gascoigne's real name was Bernardo Guasconi of Florence.

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Nicholas this Fort stood on a hill to the south of the town, which it overlooked as well as an arm of the sea forming the port. Owing to its commanding position, it having been approached by an ascent of 70 steps, the Parliament troops converted the Chapel and surrounding hill into a sort of citadel or principal fort of Weymouth and Melcombe. Both parties at various times used the chapel as a battery or bulwark. Finally in March 1659, an order was made for "playninge of" the site: Holy Trinity School stands there now. The two towns had been incorporated into one municipal body in Elizabeth's reign. Melcombe Regis, originally a hamlet of Radipole, lay opposite to Weymouth on the north and surrounded on all sides but the north by sea; but connected with the sister-town by a draw-bridge, which allowed vessels and small craft to pass up the estuary. A wall of Weymouth, anciently a hamlet of Wyke Regis, is mentioned in 1582; and of Melcombe in 1650. Several other forts existed: one, a battery at the end of a stone-pier, at the entrance to the port on the Melcombe side; a square stone fort, the Blockhouse Fort, on the east side of Melcombe; and one on the north side of Weymouth known as the Cotton Fort.[1] Very little was done round Melcombe as regards general defensive works; the forts and garrison of Weymouth being regarded as sufficient protection against its capture.

Such was the posture of affairs when suddenly on Sunday 9 February, at midnight, while the Parliament forces were reposing under a sense of complete security, some Royalist troops under Sir Lewis Dyve, with a portion of the Portland garrison, managed to reach the Weymouth forts without being noticed; and, before any alarm could be given, had disarmed the sentries and gained entrance into the works. They entered the North Fort from the sea—there being no Parliament ships in the Road; the Chapel Fort by land. During the resistance that followed many were wounded; and among the slain was Major Francis Sydenham, the Governor's brother. Some of the Parliament's soldiers were made prisoners; but the greater number escaped into the town, and moved the same night into the lower town of Melcombe Regis. They accomplished their retreat without opposition from the Royalists; who were either engaged in securing possession of the forts, or did not

1. Probably none of these were in the nature of permanent fortifications, except the Blockhouse, which stood near the east end of Blockhouse Lane. The New Fort, or Jetty Fort, was erected at the entrance of the harbour, at the end of the old pier, and was dismantled in 1661. Then there was Dock Fort, under the hill, west of the Jetty Pier, Chapel Fort, and a small fort called the Nothe Fort. Memorials of Old Dorset, 168.

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consider interference necessary from regarding Melcombe as incapable of resisting attack—should the need afterwards occur of making one. Colonel Sydenham, however, was fully determined to retrieve the discreditable capture by surprise of Chapel Fort. Wherefore, having caused the drawbridge to be raised, he at once set to work to place the town in a state of defence; and in a few days had surrounded Melcombe with earthworks sufficient to enable it to resist an attack. The Weymouth forts fired upon the lower town in order to drive the Parliament forces out of it, but their shot appear to have done only a small amount of damage. On 11 February, Waller had written to Derby House that the enemy have sent out from Salisbury warrants for the bringing in of carriages upon pain of death, which is a clear implication they intend to march; and he guesses it will be westward, in regard he hears Major-General Holborn has engaged Dyve's forces. It will be of very great consequence to despatch forces to their present relief, with a strength answerable to so great a work. He is now labouring to get his Foot to march, but knows not how far he will prevail. He hears nothing yet of the Ailesbury regiment; neither is Colonel Herbert Morley's Foot yet come to him. The commissioners can give the Committee an account of how far he falls short in the number of his Horse. If all Lord Essex's Foot might be drawn out of Reading and a course taken to secure that place in their absence, he will—by God's assistance—be enabled to be master of the field; and go through with that work in the west, which he looks upon as the greatest service in the field that now lies before the Committee: whereas if, through the weakness of this party, he should receive any blow it would be very dangerous to both east and west. Waller had been at once ordered to relieve Weymouth: but, though he would gladly have obeyed, his cavalry, which had formerly served under Essex, broke out into open mutiny, on 14 February, at Leatherhead. They cried: "We will rather go under any the Lord-General shall appoint than with Sir William Waller—with all the money in England." When this mishap was known at Westminster it was also known that the Royal Commissioners at Uxbridge had presented a scheme of Church Reform which, in spite of its intrinsic merits, was hateful alike to the Presbyterians of both nations. This scheme united for a time both the Peace-party and the War-party. Both alike declared for war which, as the Leatherhead Mutiny gave evidence, would be impossible to carry on with a disorganized army. The Lords at once gave away; and on 15 February, they passed the New Model Ordinance as it had last come from the Commons

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without any further difficulty. On 14 February, the Royalists fired red-hot slags into Melcombe; and succeeded in setting fire to the thatched roof of a house. Some of the Parliament troops, in retaliation, contrived to get into Weymouth and set several houses alight there; and then the Royalists gave up the use of such projectiles. While the contest was in progress the Parliament force in Melcombe had gained several accessions to its strength. A vessel from Poole brought 80 men; and, shortly afterwards, Captain William Batten, Vice-Admiral of the Parliament Fleet, anchoring in the roadstead with the *James* and another man-of-war, landed a reinforcement of 200. A detachment of 100 cavalry, also, under the Lieutenant-Colonel James Haynes came by land. The Cavaliers in Weymouth were also joined by additional troops. George, Lord Goring, whom we have seen in the previous December as the King's Lieutenant-General in Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, arrived in mid-Dorset from Salisbury with his full strength of Horse, Foot, dragoons and artillery—consisting of above 3000 Horse and 1500 Foot, besides what he found in those parts. Leaving the main body of his troops at Dorchester, Goring sent a detachment to add to the force in Weymouth.

On Sunday morning, 23 February, Goring, being joined by Sir Thomas Austin's and Cleveland's Horse with some Foot, drew down in a body and faced Sydenham. The same night they began to cast up a work about a furlong from the town, out of which they were beaten on Monday morning, losing some of their men and all their working tools. Sydenham was compelled to fire the ships, which the enemy had on the Weymouth side; and not only burned several ships but part of the town also, which could not be avoided. On 24 February, James Chaloner, the Regicide, writes to his kinsman, Ferdinando, second Lord Fairfax; "ye loss of Weymouth, a port meet to let in ye French (who are of opinion together with a party of Irish who are permitted to land and are allowed quarter in Brittanie will invade us this summer), if from Mellcombe Regis, situate on ye other banke of the river, we cannot prevent it." A few days after the arrival of Goring's troops, on Tuesday, 25 February, as a small party of mounted men were escorting a convoy of provisions into the town they were attacked by the Parliament troops in force and, after a short fight, were compelled to retire. On this a considerable body of infantry marched out of Weymouth to assist the retreating cavalry and regain the stores. Meanwhile the governor of Melcombe, hearing of the movement of the Royalist's infantry, thought a good oppor-

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tunity was afforded him of trying to recover Chapel Fort, which dominated the town of Weymouth. Hastily crossing the draw-bridge with a body of troops Sydenham made a sally upon the outworks of the Chapel Fort before the Cavaliers discovered his approach. A panic ensued among the few men left in the fort and, after a few shots had been exchanged, they—probably in ignorance of the number of troops opposed to them—yielded and cried for quarter. The attacking force gained complete possession of the Fort and its garrison of 60; besides a Lieutenant-Colonel, a Major, three Captains, three Lieutenants, and 100 common soldiers, with a store of provisions. The unexpected nature of this attack and the astonishment caused by it are sufficiently apparent from its effects upon Richard Wiseman who, at the time, was attending to some wounded men in a house just below the work. The loss of Chapel Fort, retaken by a surprise on the sixteenth day after they had gained possession of it, was a great blow to the Royalists; and the first step which led to their having to abandon the place altogether. On the news being conveyed to Goring at Dorchester, he determined to make a night attack upon Melcombe with his whole force. Two letters, written by Dyve from Dorchester, on the following day, to Sir John Berkeley at Tiverton, and to John Digby, Earl of Bristol, respectively, show the aspect of affairs as it appeared to the Royalists. These letters were intercepted by Lyme garrison, and subsequently published by order of the House of Commons. Dyve presumes Berkeley will have already heard of the disaster to the Church Fort, as he calls it, from Colonel Froude; but the two principal forts, where their ammunition and provisions are stored, still remain in Royalist hands. Goring is determined to go through with the business, being confident of Berkeley's speedy assistance in a work of such infinite importance to His Majesty's service. In case Waller should draw this way, which is improbable, his strength united with Goring's will be far superior to Waller's: for Kenelm Digby came this night to Sherborne from Oxford who assured Dyve that both Essex's and Manchester's forces have actually left Waller; and his army is utterly broken. When this place, then, is taken, which cannot be a work of many days, the West will not only be secured, but Goring will also have an opportunity of advancing into the Associated Counties, which are now left naked. Moreover, 2000 Horse from Oxford and Devizes are ordered to attend Waller's motions. Dyve repeats the substance of his letter to Berkeley in that addressed to Lord Bristol. But he beseeches his stepfather to persuade Sir Richard Grenville to hasten the sending

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of 1500 Foot and 2000 Horse at least towards him to make good Devon against the forces about Taunton; "and near at hand to join with us, if there be occasion; and he shall want no Horse from us he may have need of. The business is of that importance that little less than the Crown depends upon it; so we are confident he will not be wanting to us in this extremity."[1]

Goring's assault upon Melcombe was to be made upon several points, including the Chapel Fort, simultaneously. He took the greatest precautions against any intelligence of the contemplated attack being communicated to the Parliamentary governor; but, despite all his care, Sydenham received news of it from a prisoner who managed to escape from the Royalists after obtaining knowledge of the intended movement. This man arrived in Melcombe on Wednesday, the day preceding that of the enemy's march from Dorchester; so Sydenham had sufficient time for making his arrangements for a strenuous resistance. The night happened to be light and clear and, between one and two o'clock on the morning of Friday, 28 February, Goring's troops were perceived to be approaching. Their chief assault was directed against the works on the west side of the town and, as a feint, the beleaguered forces retired from them without making much resistance. The townsmen let in many of the Royalists through their back-doors; and so the enemy came in at their backs, and caused the garrison to retreat somewhat. But Sydenham and Batten, who with his sailors assisted the garrison, encouraging their men drove the Cavaliers back again into Weymouth with the loss of at least 250 men slain or drowned. The Parliament forces stood still upon guard, but the enemy came not again. The Royalists had, at first, thought they had an easy victory before them; but after a short time they discovered their error. They found barricades erected, and guns so disposed as to impede their progress; while so many of their men were falling wounded that, after about two hours hard fighting, they felt compelled to abandon their attempt to take the town. They retreated, next morning about 10 o'clock, to Wyke Regis guarding their rear with their Horse; and leaving behind them their colours in the Fort, all the ordnance they had captured with two pieces besides, some barrels of powder, a great store of arms,

1. Moule's Old Dorset 203. Tract, Weymouth and Melcombe Regis 2. Portland MSS. I, 208. Hist. MS. Append. 435. Dorchester Records (1908) 525. Under July, 1646, it is stated that the stock of the Hospital—Brewhouse (an experiment in combined municipal trading and philanthropy) was almost quite destroyed in the late wars. Goring's company at one time wasted 230 quarters of malt, and over £1000 were lost in bad debts.

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ammunition, victuals, and other booty; and taking nothing away with them but some plunder of the town. After remaining at Wyke a short time to succour the wounded they retired altogether to Dorchester—Goring eventually moving towards Taunton. Thus within a period of about eighteen days, during which time there was much severe fighting and the Parliamentarians had put off neither their arms nor their clothes, Weymouth was taken by surprise and again lost by surprise. At the same time, through the activity and ability of Colonel Sydenham, the siege carried on against Melcombe by the Royalists while in possession of Weymouth, ended in failure. Weymouth and Melcombe Regis remained in the hands of Parliament from the date of these events until the end of the Civil War. By an ordinance of Parliament, dated 5 March, £2000 were ordered to be paid to the officers, soldiers, and seamen of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis for their services in defence of the works protecting the united towns. The besieged were 900 men to 4000 Cavaliers, were encouraged by little or no help of relief, and were surrounded by treacherous townsmen. Of the last above 40 had conspired to seize upon the fort Sydenham possessed; and, by procuring false keys, to let out all the prisoners, and also let in the Royalists at their back-doors. But, the plot of the false keys being timely discovered, many of the conspirators were apprehended and imprisoned; some were slain in the fight; some wounded, imprisoned, and eventually hanged. Only 10 of the garrison were slain. In the first week of March a ship, carrying 28 pieces of ordnance and a great store of arms and ammunition, came into Weymouth from Rouen supposing the town still to be in possession of the Royalists; and was seized on for the use of Parliament. And three or four hours after the enemy had quitted the outworks of Weymouth a ship of that port called the *Endeavour*, carrying in her 12 pieces of ordnance and with a cargo of salt and other commodities belonging to certain Royalists of those parts, lay close under Portland Castle. But having, it appeared, many "honest seamen" on board—suddenly they cut her cables and swiftly came off to Captain Batten; although the Castle had made at least seven or eight shots at her. Wednesday 12 March was kept by both Houses as a solemn Day of Thanksgiving in Christchurch, London—Richard Vines and John Arrowsmith being appointed to preach.

As soon as Sydenham took possession of his recovered garrison he proceeded to take vengeance on those persons who had assisted the Royalists in making entry. The examinations taken before his Council of War are printed in a tract entitled

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"The last Speeches and Confession of Captain John Cade and John Mils, Constable: who were hanged at Weymouth for endeavouring to betray that garrison to the enemie, etc., 27 March, 1645." It appears that Fabian Hodder suggested the scheme to Dyve. Townsmen favourable to the royal cause were to let Dyve and the Portland men into Melcombe; the prisoners were to be released from the Marshalsea, the Major of the regiment slain, and the mainguard seized. The surprise of Melcombe was prevented, owing to the alarm being received at Weymouth first. Plotters were to swear by the Holy Trinity not to betray the design. A handkerchief tied round the arm was the sign used by the Portland men, and the word was "Crabchurch." On Sunday, 9 February, order was given at Portland Church that all islanders and soldiers were to appear at the Castle by 5 o'clock with arms. A party was chosen and sent along the beach, whom John Dry, a tanner, conducted to Chapel Fort. Another party sent by water was met at the Pier by Walter Bond, a fisherman, and led to North Point. Nicholas Chappell heard the enemy say that the gunners were consenting to the plot; that John Fildiew was to come on Melcombe side with sixty men and be let into the town; and that the number of men brought over for the surprisal of the Forts was to be 120 with whom the townsmen were to join. A party of the plotters had observed what they could of the surprise by the Royalists from Newhouse—Mr. Alexander Keynes' Dairyhouse at Radipole. Two men from Upwey had long staves; one man a Welsh hook; Fildiew a pistol; but all the rest only sticks. Cade and Mills were hanged; an Irish rebel hanged himself to avoid execution; Thomas Samwayes was reprieved at the foot of the gallows and sent back to prison; Walter Bond was reprieved and remained in prison; divers of the conspirators were slain; Fabian Hodder and others were imprisoned in Poole and other places, awaiting trial; and some had managed to escape from Weymouth and Melcombe.[1]

To this tract is prefixed "an insolent and bould letter sent by Sir Lewis Dyve" to Colonel Sydenham, which reads as follows:—

FOR MASTER SYDENHAM AT WAYMOUTH.

Sir—In your last civill letter, which your trumpetter brought me, you charge me with treacherie, and Fabian

1. Harvey, 91-4. On 25 September, 1646, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Coker (High-Sheriff, M.P. Dorset, Committee Man, and at that time Governor of Weymouth) is ordered "to expel John Fildiew and John Cade, dangerous malignants, out of the town of Weymouth and Melcombe." Minute Books, 9. Tract, Weymouth and Melcombe Regis 4. Hutchins II, 425.

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Hodder and his wife for intelligencers and traitors. Look but upon your own heart, and there you shall finde that character cleerly written, wherewith you falsely and injuriously accuse other men. The desire I had to preserve their innocencie from your barbarous inhumanity, was for that I knew their approved loyalty to their Sovereigne was a crime sufficient to make them expect the worst of ills, from a traytor's hand. But do your will, and heape vengeance on your owne head, by shedding more innocent blood. Paty shall die, deservedly by the law of armes; for having quitted the King's service, wherein he was entertained, and turning rebell. And whereas you threaten others of a higher orbe shall follow him, know this, that were all my children under the power of your cruelty, I would not be diverted from justice to save their lives. And, for conclusion, be best assured that, if you put to death these innocent persons, I will vindicate this blood to the utmost of that power wherewith God shall enable me, upon you and yours, without ever giving quarter to any one who hath relation to you, which shall faithfully be performed by him that professeth himself your enemie.

LEWIS DYVE.

Sherborne, the 12 of March, 1644(5).

To this "malapert paper" Sydenham returned this "modest but souldier-like answer":—

"FOR SIR LEWIS DYVE THESE, AT SHERBORNE LODGE.

You call my last letter civill, and yet seem to be somewhat angry at it; which I should admire, had I not lately given you sufficient cause, for I must confesse ingenuously, had I livery and seizon of your Castle, I should not be so soon dislodged without some indignation, especially if an army of mine own party (viz. Goring's) stood by and lookt upon it. You desire me to look upon my own heart; which I have done, and find written there, in the fairest characters, a true desire of advancing God's honour, maintaining the King's just power, and contending for the privileges of the Parliament at Westminster, and the liberty of the subject; which when I find you soe maliciously opposing and despitefully stiling treason and rebellion, I am induced to think this age hath produced unparaleld monsters, which are (without slander) *pestes humani generis*, for traytor I may not call you, which cannot possibly be guiltie of such a sin in the opinion of

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Aulicus, the only author which (it seems by your language) you are verst in.

You are very tender of shedding innocent blood, and therefore Patie must die; but good Sir Lewis, for what crime? He served, you say, on your side; I have heard 'twas (as you do) only as a scribe; and hath since turned rebel, because he would not tamely stand still whiles you were plundering him. *Heu nefas infandum!* for this, right or wrong, the poor man must suffer, (and setting honesty aside) you will be just for certain. May it please your Worship to be merciful too, if not to him, yet to me and mine (when we fall into your hands); till when your last experience might remember you that I am as far from fearing, as my present condition is far from needing your quarter, which I hope I shall have an opportunitie to dispute further of with you; whom, to any man in England, I shall answer in this quarrell. In the mean, know that I intend to make a halter of your letter to hang Hodder with; whose crime is the first contrivance of that treachery, which you after (tho', blessed be God! but simply) acted to the losse of what you lately valued worth a Crowne. Patie you may hang, but will not be able to bury; which may occasion a great mortality amongst you. And therefore be advised to forbear, by him, to whom proclaiming yourself a professed enemy, you have invited me as professedly to subscribe myself,

Yours,

W. SYDENHAM.[1]

25 March, 1644(5).

Richard Wiseman, the first of the really great surgeons who lifted the surgical profession from its state of subordination to the physicians, was present with the royal army at the suprise of the Weymouth Forts on 9 February, 1645. He remained there during the siege; and must have narrowly escaped being made prisoner, or wounded, at the time of the recapture of Chapel Fort by Sydenham. It is uncertain whether he had been with the garrison in Portland, or whether he came to Weymouth from Goring. Writing of the treatment of gun-shot wounds attended with hæmorrhage he says, "a great hæmorrhage happening to a Souldier at the Surprise of Weymouth by the garrison of Portland, by a shot through the heel, I endeavoured the stopping the blood by astringents,

1. In 1648, Lieutenant-Colonel Barrett Lacy is ordered to take that part of the old Barque, the *Mary* of Weymouth, and her tackling which belongs to Alderman Fabian Hodder, a delinquent. Minute Books, 380-433.

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bandages &c. But after all I was put to the use of the actuall cautery, which I did apply successfully." From this it seems probable Wiseman had been with the troops holding Portland Castle. Certain other references made by him to this period seem to indicate that at the time of fighting at Weymouth he was one of the surgeons of a battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Ballard; for all the wounded whose cases he describes at this time belonged to that regiment. He refers to the military operations against Melcombe when the Cavaliers made unsuccessful attempts to drive the Parliament forces out of the town. He says, "at the siege of Melcombe-Regis, a Foot-souldier of Lt.-Col. Ballard's by the grazing of a Cannon-Shot, had a great part of his forehead carried off, and the Skull fractured into many pieces, and some of it driven with the Hairy Scalp into the Brain. The man fell down as dead, but after a while moved; and an hour or two after, his Fellow-Souldiers seeing him endeavour to rise, fetcht me to him. I pulled out the pieces of bones and lacerated Flesh from amongst the brain, in which they were intangled, and drest him up with soft folded Linen dipt in a Cephalick Balsam, and with Emplaster and Bandage bound him up, supposing I should never dress him any more. Yet he lived 17 days; and the 15th day walkt from that great Corner-fort over against Portland to the Bridge which separates Weymouth from Melcombe-Regis, onely led by the hand of some one of his Fellow-souldiers. The second day after he fell into a spasmus and died, howling like a Dog; as most of those do who have been so wounded." After the failure of Goring's night-attack upon Melcombe Wiseman seems to have accompanied the troops under his direct command into Somerset and Cornwall. Wiseman was the only surgeon who continuously attended Prince Charles from the west of England to Scilly, and afterwards to Jersey, France, Holland, and Scotland. Taken prisoner at Worcester, on 3 September 1651, he was marched to Chester and kept in captivity for many weeks. Early in 1655 he was rearrested on a charge of assisting Read, one of his patients, to escape from the Tower; and in March he was sent a prisoner to Lambeth Palace. After the Restoration he was principal surgeon to the King, and Master of the Barber-Surgeons; and died in in 1676. He married Mary, granddaughter of Sir Thomas Mauleverer the Regicide.[1]

1. Longmore 44, 205, etc. Tract, Weymouth and Melcombe Regis 3. (Peter Ince was afterwards Lecturer at Shaftesbury and Minister at Donhead St. Mary, Wilts.) Mercurius Aulicus, p. 1398. Kingdome's Weekly for 11 March. Perfect Diurnall, no. 84. D.N.B. lxii, 247. Thurloe iii, 408.

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About this time great numbers of Clubmen in Worcestershire and Dorset got into a posture of defence; and refused to serve the King according to his Proclamation. On 3 March the parish register of Godmanston, between Dorchester and Cerne Abbas, records the burial of soldiers slain on 29 February. It was felt at Westminster that Oliver Cromwell was the only man capable of allaying the storm; and the rejection by the Lords of the Self-Denying Ordinance had made his services once more available. The necessary money and arms were quickly found; and Cromwell was ordered to place himself at the head of the cavalry which had formerly been his own, and with them attach himself to Waller's army. On 5 March Waller, with Colonel Cromwell's Horse and Colonel Fiennes's regiment, about 5000 Horse and dragoons, marched into the west. During the winter there had been much talk of the formation of a Royalist Western Association, which was to comprise the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Dorset, to counterbalance the Eastern Association on the Parliamentary side. It would, however, be necessary—before the troops of the new Association could be utilized for general purposes—to render Plymouth, Lyme, and Taunton innocuous. Plymouth and Lyme could only be blockaded; but hopes were entertained among the Cavaliers that Taunton might even yet be reduced. To give encouragement to the new Association as well as to avert the danger of his falling into the hands of the enemy at the same time as the King, the young Prince of Wales was despatched on 5 March to hold his court at Bristol. He was accompanied by a body of councillors of whom Hyde, Capel, Hopton, and Colepeper were the most eminent. On 11 March Goring appeared before Taunton; where Blake had made every preparation to stand a second siege. As his supplies were inadequate for the maintenance of a large garrison, he dismissed Holborn and the force which had relieved him in December. Holborn contrived to make his way safely through the open country; and finally succeeded in joining Cromwell who was watching for an opportunity to succour Taunton. He caught up Cromwell apparently at Cerne Abbas who, upon the King's forces coming within three miles, took the field; but they retired upon his being joined by Colonel Norton's and Coke's regiments. This was about 27 March. On 11 March a Wiltshire party on the way to join Goring had been surprised by Cromwell and Waller near Devizes: "of 400 Horse," wrote Waller to Lenthall, "there escaped not 30." There was constant manœuvring on both sides, and occasional skirmishes. Whenever Goring suffered loss

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he discreetly avoided mentioning it in his despatches. Waller indeed had brought off Holborn safely; but it was idle to deny that he had abandoned not only Somerset, but Dorset as well. Meanwhile the country people, weary of the plundering and exactions of both parties, had risen in Herefordshire, Shropshire, and Worcestershire. In Dorset 4000 of these Clubmen threatened, in their turn, to plunder all who did not join with them "to extirpate the Cavaliers;" and the Parliamentary Governor of Wareham sent some Horse to join with them. "To add to our misery," says Bulstrode, "Clubmen in Dorset and Somerset began to rise, and sent complaints to the Prince of Wales of the great Oppressions and Disorders committed by our Army. These the Prince promised to reform and went to General Goring about it, setting forth the great danger the Country was in, etc. But the General having no money to give the Army connived at the Licence they took; and, at the same time, to show his Popularity sided in many things with the Clubmen, which in the end did us as much mischief as the power of the Rebels." On 14 March, Holborn, Vandruske, and FitzJames, fell upon Goring near Crewkerne; slaying 300, and taking 300 prisoners. Next day Waller and Cromwell beat up Goring's quarters, who fled to Exeter. On 17 March it was reported in London that Waller was within two days march of joining with Holborn who, by the addition of the well-affected, was said to number 4000; and that Goring had retreated further west to join with Grenville. Waller writes to the Speaker, on 27 March, that his duty and marches have been extreme; so his is a tired company, and obliged to make some stay. He presumes Cromwell is to-day joined with Holborn; for he was last night at Bridport. Waller hopes Goring is drawing down after him towards Mere; and, leaving Grenville with his and Berkeley's forces about Chard, may afford the Parliament forces some good opportunity. He has sent express with all speed after Cromwell to know where and how they may join; and will apprehend the first opportunity of doing so. He cannot but advertize Lenthall that, since coming hither, he has observed a great smoke of discontent rising among the officers. The ground of this is the extremity of want among them in an insupportable measure. On the same day John, Lord Colepeper, writes from Bristol to Goring. He has to-day received Goring's letter of yesterday from Shaftesbury by Sir Thomas Hooper; wherein he resolves to join with the enemy to decide the business of the west, if he rest but a day and a half near the Royalists, which the Prince of Wales fully consents unto; and intends to continue the course agreed upon concerning

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Taunton, if the opportunity of an encounter does not prevent him. It is left to Goring to decide the fittest place to fight in, should Waller march towards him before he has settled his quarters before Taunton; as also the fittest place to quarter the Horse in, which stay behind. On the following day Colepeper writes again to Goring at Shaftesbury. The business of the West is like to come to a quick issue, and the Prince's Council hope a good one. Goring's rapid march to the West with all his forces, whereby probably he on one side and Grenville on the other, or both joined, may take advantage to finish the work with Cromwell and Vandruske; before the Foot Waller looks for can be advanced to them. The affair of Taunton the Council conceives is not to be further thought upon until the decision of a battle gives it him without a siege; only when his army shall be about Ilchester, if Grenville is safe in a proper post and Cromwell with the Taunton forces and the new-landed men continue about Dorset, there may be an opportunity of surprising and burning the town in Goring's way to join with Grenville or with a party. The Prince refers the sole judgment to Goring. This use will be made of the proposition concerning Taunton; that thereby the victuals, provided by the Commanders at Bridgewater and Lamport, will be very seasonable for the supply of his army when he comes near those parts. If the forces of Taunton, Cromwell, and the Weymouth men shall march towards Wimborne to join with Waller, they will thereby give Grenville liberty to burn Taunton without resistance; and afterwards with all the western forces he may march towards Yeovil and Wincanton, where the worst that can happen will be a fair field with them on such ground as Goring may choose — the advantage of provisions in Somerset being his, and they nothing but hard eaten quarters left them. In an extract from a letter of the previous day sent to Colepeper by Dyve from Sherborne, Sir Lewis says he came that morning (27 March) from Grenville at Chard, who was all night in arms and retreats that same morning towards Exeter. The enemy on Tuesday last drew all the Horse and Foot to the number of 2000 out of Taunton, leaving behind them not above 200 or 300 at most in the Castle; and marched by night to Axminster where Cromwell is joined with them, being fourteen or fifteen hundred Horse more—stealing down by great marches by the seaside. There are besides 1500 Foot, to be added to them, who landed yesterday at Weymouth. So Grenville is like to be in a very hard condition and the West much endangered; unless speedy assistance be given him by Goring. The condition of Royalist affairs is much altered by the unexpected union of these forces.

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When about to send his last letter to Goring, Colepeper says he has just received the former's despatch of 27 March from Shaftesbury. Its enclosures—copies of letters intercepted by Sir William Ogle—have awakened the Council with apprehensions of designs upon Bristol, which was not over-secure before. They are also extremely troubled to hear the sad news of Goring's indisposition; yet hope this intelligence which will occasion sudden action, may be the best cordial for his recovery; and then they are sure there will be no need of the presence of any one of the Council at Bristol in the army. Order was taken for a ton of match to be at Lamport ready for Goring upon Sunday night. They had made hard shift to get it up and hope, within a week, a ton more will be ready to be sent from hence as he shall order. Mercurius Aulicus relates that, on 29 March, Cromwell lying at Dorchester with all his own Horse, and the united forces from Taunton, Poole, and Weymouth—4000 in all—Goring had notice of it, and advanced towards them with 1500 Horse—the rest of the royal army and cannon being ordered to follow, for securing the retreat. Eight hundred of the Parliament Horse disputed a pass upon a little river; but some of Goring's Horse facing them there, whilst others got in behind them, they presently quitted the pass and fled. Whereupon Goring chased them four miles; took many, with two colours of Horse and great store of carbines and pistols; and slew more. Their forces were so beaten and scattered that, of 4000 at first they durst not next morning draw out of the town against 1500 of Goring's Horse; although his other Horse, Foot, and Cannon were full six miles behind. Tradition says that Cromwell only escaped capture by climbing a tree in Came Park, the seat of Sir John Meller; and that Tupp's Corner in Fordington is so called in memory of the superhuman speed with which a Parliamentarian fled at that spot. Digby writes, on 29 March from Oxford to Goring that there they live in great ignorance of what he is doing. "Dear General of His Majesty's Horse, I have nothing to add but to conjure you to beware of debauches." He has sent to Sherborne for his horses and servants which must specially be at Oxford by the day he has appointed, or he will not know how to wait upon the King. If they need it, he prays Goring to afford them a convoy. On 1 April Colepeper writes to Goring from Bristol. This morning, immediately after receipt of Goring's letter from Newton, they were advertized by Sir Charles Berkeley from Bruton, that Waller was quartered last night at Shaftesbury, Cromwell at Sturminster, and some of their Horse at Wincanton. So that comparing this with advice mentioned in Goring's two last

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touching the Sussex Foot which has come up to Waller, their strength at Dorchester when he was near them, and their force since landed; the Council looks upon the enemy as joined in a body containing Waller's Horse and dragoons, Cromwell's Horse, the Sussex and new-landed Foot, and the Horse and Foot from Taunton. Thus joined, their design will probably be together to march towards the east of Somerset and there take advantage of Bath, or this city—in hopes of a party within it; or to fall upon Goring's quarters ere Grenville can come up—for the Council believes they cannot long subsist in their present quarters. In either case it is left to his consideration, whether Grenville may safely engage before Taunton by way of approach, which is like to take up ten days time to finish the work: whereas if Grenville only look at it in his passage towards Goring, and govern himself as he shall find cause without any such formal engagement; they will not despair that either by composition or force he may be master of the town. Also they will be well satisfied that Grenville may be so early with or near Goring as may prevent both other mischiefs; and, Goring having thus joined Grenville to him, they conceive it to be wished that the enemy would engage before any place of strength in these parts, or adventure among the fastnesses of Somerset so far from their base. On 2 April Digby writes to Rupert: "this good news only I must not withold from you, brought at this instant by one Colonel Coker who came from Sherborne but on Sunday last, that for certain the 1500 Foot said to be landed at Weymouth were all cast away and drowned." On 2 April, too, Colepeper congratulates Goring upon Sir John Digby's falling upon Waller's quarters at Cucklington, near Wincanton; with this opinion that this, and the former impression upon the enemy near Dorchester, will prove much more advantageous to Goring than the business at first sight will seem to import. It will not only give life to his own men and discourage theirs, but so scatter their lamely-pieced-up body that many of them will find occasion to scatter and visit friends among the enemy; especially when the fatigue of the duty and their short commons shall be their hourly remembrances. Upon discourse with Mr. Goring they find the enemy not nearly so strong as Lord Goring's former intelligence gave him out to be. Therefore Goring will think fit to consider the advice, offered from here yesterday, as superstructures upon that foundation. All that was thereby pointed at was such an united strength with him as might be suffered to chase Waller out of these parts, with the loss of some of his gay feathers; unless his courage would adventure upon the second part of Roundway-Downs (Waller's defeat in 1643). If upon

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the whole matter Goring finds his forces sufficiently strong for the whole work, it would be a pity to disorder his other design. But if an addition would make it a sure game; perhaps he will rather choose to defer the storm by way of approach than lose a happy opportunity over the only army the rebels have in the south. On 4 April Colepeper writes again that to-day the Prince has written to Grenville to use all possible diligence in the business of Taunton according to the orders sent him by Goring; and to give the Prince frequent advertisements of his progress therein, which shall be forwarded to Goring. Grenville must now be near the town. Waller's retreat is what was to be expected after Goring's energy, who must judge for himself how to follow up his advantage.[1]

On 21 April, the Governor of Lyme Regis writes to the Speaker as follows:—

Tanner MS. 60. f. 107.

Honnourable Sir,

I have experience of your care and faithfullnesse in releiving the distresses of those places and persons which are imployed in the State service, therefore at present doe addresse my humble peticion unto your Honnour, beseeching that it may be dewlye considered, and a tymely redresse vouchsafed erre an utter ruine come upon this guarrison. Sir our condicion is misserable not haveing any contribucion for our maintenance in Dorsett the guarrison of Chideock debarrs us of it in a greate parte, and whereas the Comittees of Somersett, Dorsett and Devon were by an Ordinance of Parliament to pay £900 per moneth, hitherto we have not received any, neither can wee expect it the Enemie having too much the possession of the three counties, soe that the Committees cannot raise any summes of money and could they I doubt whether this guarrison should receive releife from them, I most humbly request that as the guarrison of Taunton hath a particular division allotted for their maintenance soe it may be granted by an order or ordinance that the excize of this guarrison which will hardly repaire our works, and the division of Bridport, the division of Axminster in Devon, and the divisions of Chard and Crewkerne in Somersett, may be appropriated for the payment of the summe of 900 lib. per moneth to be collected by the

1. Whitelocke, 135, 136, 139. Perfect Diurnall, Nos. 84, 86. Hutchins II 345, IV, 16, 43. Bulstrode, 136. Sanford, 616, 618-22. P.O.P., says Fitz-James was slain near Crewkerne, but this is an error. Add. MS. 18982, f. 44. Clarendon MS. IX, 11, 12. Moule's Old Dorset, 200.

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Governour of the guarrison of Lyme, if he may be trusted with the payment of, as with the guarrison; by this meanes I shall have power to gett contribucion, which now is denyed, and had not the Lord in His mercifull providence sent in the Lyncloath, long erre this if not releaved by the right Honnorable the Committee for the safety of the West, wee should have byn inforced either to take the field or disband, and are at present soe streightned, that unlesse some speedie course be taken noe means or possibilitie to subsist the bearer hereof *Mr. John Salloway*, a godly minister, who hath byn in the guarrison before, in, and since the siege as lecturer in the guarrison, can more fully relate unto your Honnour our suffrings both from the Enemie and such as should be our friends, in my last unto your Honnour I wrote concerning an account sent which yet remaines in *Mr. Rosse's* possession, my earnest desire is, some honest judicious man or men may peruse it, and be appoynted for tyme to come monethly or as ought as thought fitt to receive it from me, and in that letter I gave notice of the beating upp of Axminster quarters and fireing the towne which had it not byn donne Tanton could not with that faciletie byn releived, nor this guarrison remained in the power of the Parliament, the mercie at that tyme vouchsafed by the greate Lord of Hoasts, challengeth from this guarrison soe from the country round about and the whole kingdome dewe returne of praise, for there fell the champion of the West, Sir Richard Cholmely a man more affected by the country than all the commanders the King had in these parts and very gallant in all his attempts, and with him destruccion came on the most pestilent guarrison they had in the West, at present U have presented by Mr. Salloway, Sir Richard Cholmely's collours, his second Captain collours and one standard with this motto: *Nos Rex hos Regis Imago*: then taken, and since that one other standard properly belonging to a Colonell of horse, with his owne coate of armes on it, taken at Burstocke by a partie of horse I sent when Goring came into these parts, where they took 26 horse likewise. If the Honnourable House of Commons be pleased but to deigne acceptance of the testimony of the poore and unworthie endeavoure of their most humble servant, made successfull by the divine power it will be a greater ingagement on him to make good his resolucion in the cheerefull sacrificing of himselfe in that service which is called unto both by God and man. Sir, I have in regard the Enemie sought by all

Salway, Minister of Whitechurch Canonicorum.

Richard Rose, M.P., Lyme.

November, 1644.

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meanes to reduce the country and by tyranny to bring them under there yoake endeavoured to reduce them into that obedience they and wee all owe unto the never sufficiently honnoured Parliament, and without an expresse order tendred the Covenant, the 19th of this present moneth there appeared at least 500 and tooke it cheerefully and reverently, confirming theire integritie by a country expression in kissing the Bible, are desireous to chuse commaunders, and some of them have peticion for armes, which I shall forbeare to furnish them with untill order from above, more are summoned to appeare 22 Aprilis; and I believe will come, by this meanes I doubt not but to raise 7 or 800 foote and that willing able men, who will be readie to march with Sir William Waller, who is much longed for and needed, Taunton and Wellington house being extreamly distressed, and without speedie releife likely to be surprized, of this I thought fitt to certifie you hoping that it will not be disliked, I cease farther to be tedious, humbly craving pardon, remaining,

Your most humble servant,

THO. CEELEY.

(Lyme) 21st Aprill, 1645.
(To Lenthall.)

Grenville, having at last arrived to besiege Taunton, was seriously wounded in an attack on Wellington House and forced to leave the field; but the Prince's Council disappointed Goring by conferring upon Sir John Berkeley the command over the besieging force. The opening of the second siege of Taunton was too serious a matter to be passed over lightly at Westminster. Fairfax was at once ordered to relieve the town with as many regiments of the New Model Army as he was able to muster. On 30 April the 'rebels' new brutish general,' as Charles described him in a letter to his Queen, set out from Windsor at the head of 11,000 men. On the evening of 2 May Fairfax met Cromwell at Newbury. Whilst Goring halted at Faringdon, Rupert and Maurice with 2000 Horse and Foot made their appearance at Burford. On 4 May Fairfax writes from Andover to Sydenham. He understands the Committee of the West have written to him to assist Fairfax with what forces he can spare. He therefore desires him to have in readiness what strength he can spare, as soon as orders are given; and if Sydenham and the governors of the other garrisons could conveniently meet him on his arrival in those parts he would be glad to confer with

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them. He desires Sydenham to do his best to give speedy notice to Taunton of Fairfax's coming to their relief; and to let him receive intelligence, with what speed he can, of the condition of the town; what strength is before it; and what other forces the enemy has in those parts. He intends (God willing) to be in Salisbury to-morrow night. The letters to Sydenham from a Star Chamber Committee of Lords and Commons and from Derby House to the same effect are dated 5 May. On 11 May Colepeper writes to the King from Bristol. He is commanded by Rupert to give an account of affairs thereabouts. The rebels under Fairfax are advanced as far as Puddletown, north-east of Dorchester, upon Thursday last; but Goring's quick march westward, it is conceived, made them change their plans and return back on Friday to Witchampton, east of Blandford. This the Council heard yesterday from Dyve. Goring's head-quarters this night are at Wells. Cromwell, Goring hears, is about Marlborough. Hopton and Sir John Berkeley are before Taunton with Goring's Foot, about 1200; besides 3000 others, Cornish, Devon, and Somerset men; and at least 2000 Horse, including Berkeley's and Dyve's. On Thursday morning, upon advice of Fairfax's advance to Blandford, they drew off their great pieces of ordnance to Bridgewater; and prepared everything else ready for their retreat to Langport and Bridgewater the next day, with the resolve in those fresh quarters to refresh themselves and await Goring's advance, of which then they had not heard one word. But before retreating they resolved, under favour of the guns flanking their line against three approaches, to venture a general assault; which that Thursday evening at 7 o'clock was performed accordingly, and the line with two works upon it gained without the loss of more than three men. But the rebels had made such barricades and intrenchments within the town that, with the help of some strong houses manned by them, they hindered the Royalists from getting much ground in the town. Therefore they fired such houses as were within their command which, the wind setting in the opposite direction, did no great hurt. Next morning at eleven o'clock they, having heard that Fairfax was not in a condition to march, returned to the assault of the town; burned a third of it; and took certain works and houses: yet at 6 p.m. the rebels continued in possession of the Castle, the Church, Maiden's Fort, and an intrenchment in the Market-Place. Thereupon the besiegers unanimously resolved to march away next day to refresh and gather up their dispersed men; and, upon new advice that Fairfax had certainly retreated in some disorder, they sent back for their

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three pieces of ordnance with the intention of making their last essay to-day. Troops cannot be raised in Dorset without the presence of a force sufficiently large to protect the levy against the rebel garrisons; and with such a force as 600 Horse and 1200 Foot quartered at Dorchester, the 800 men laid upon that county will be got together in a few days. So, if Fairfax does not break in upon them, the Prince will certainly have 9000 effective Foot well-armed and full 5000 Horse, including Goring's forces. Colepeper craves the King's orders and advice. Since writing this letter Goring has come hither; his army in very good heart; he himself extremely desirous to be in action again. There are 1500 Horse gone from Cromwell to Fairfax, who lies still about Blandford. On 16 May Sir Edward Nicholas writes from Oxford to Rupert that "Taunton is in part burned; the people obstinate and refuse quarter when taken."[1]

At this time Charles had possession in Dorset of Portland Castle and Island, Corfe and Sherborne Castles: Parliament had the port towns of Poole, Lyme, and Weymouth. Setting out from Windsor on the last day of April Fairfax had marched 12 miles to Reading; from thence, on May-day, four miles to Theale; on the next two nights eleven miles to Newbury; from Newbury to Andover, twelve miles, on 4 May; on 5 May fifteen miles to Salisbury; next day ten miles to Sixpenny Handley; and on 7 May seven miles to Blandford. On 8 May Fairfax covered the seven miles to Witchampton, having marched 78 miles in nine days with one day's halt, and the same day a party was sent westward to relieve distressed Taunton. This consisted of a brigade of four Foot regiments, those of Colonels Ralph Weldon, Richard Fortescue, Floyd, and Richard Ingoldsby (the Regicide and relative of Cromwell), commanded by Weldon as senior Colonel; to these six companies of Foot of the Chichester garrison joined themselves about Dorchester, and as many colours from Lyme after that—in all four or five thousand Foot; besides a body of eighteen hundred or two thousand Horse, consisting of the regiments of Colonels Richard Graves, Cook, Popham, FitzJames, and the Plymouth regiment. They proceeded without any stay until they came within a day's march of Taunton near enough to raise the siege, as it proved—rumour giving that brigade the repute of the whole army. This appeared by a letter from Colonel John Digby, who much lamented his unhappiness in being informed that Fairfax with his whole army was advanced from Blandford to the relief of

1. Egerton f. 17. Add. MS. 18982 f. 60 and MS. 29319 ff. 32, 34. C.S.P., 1644-5.

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Taunton; when it proved but a part, there being double that strength before the town—sufficient, in his opinion, to fight that brigade and make good the siege. Neither was this intelligence of his altogether without ground; for Fairfax with his whole army had advanced out of Blandford towards Dorchester, as if the whole had been for Taunton. But after some stay at the Rendezvous the general wheeled eastward, and threw out that brigade. The besiegers on its approach drew off from before that town in great disorder; leaving many arms behind them, and cutting down many trees to barricade the roads lest their rear should be fallen upon. Weldon therefore entered the town and raised the siege on 14 May. He found Taunton almost ruined by fire and the inhabitants nigh famished for want of food; and, after seeing to their needs, ordered the whole brigade to fall back to Chard. The same day Fairfaix was summoned back to besiege Oxford. Sprigge says Taunton siege had lasted 54 days; during which 200 were slain, 200 prisoners taken, 260 arms and 30 horses. On 20 May Goring completely failed on Sedgemoor either to keep Weldon and Graves at Taunton or to destroy them in the open country. On 24 May Edward Massey, governor of Gloucester, was made general of the Western Association—namely, of the Parliamentary forces of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire. On 23 June the Prince of Wales writes from Barnstaple to Goring, now in supreme command in the west. He sends herewith Sir Richard Grenville that, by his presence, the soldiers under his command may be more easily kept together. He has directed him to receive orders from Goring; and, if the last thinks it convenient he should make some quarter in Dorset, the Prince presumes Goring will assist him with such Horse and Foot as may be necessary. The Prince is of opinion that if Goring assigns Grenville those Foot, brought by him to Taunton, it will be the best means to draw together all those who have left their colours. He has likewise sent directions to the Committees of Cornwall and Devon to take a speedy and effectual course whereby both those who have forsaken their colours and those who are to be levied according to the agreement, may be immediately sent to Goring; that that great work may be finished before the rebels can draw away forces for their relief.[1]

1. Sprigge xii, 16 to 21, 332. Firth's 'Cromwell's Army' 108. Portland MSS. I, 230. "Lundy 23 de Juin Le Parlement á Plimouth, Weymouth, Poole, Lime, Wareham, Taunton et la ville renommée de Glocester dans le pais du couchant."—Le Mercure Anglais, no. 43.

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CHAPTER X.

Fairfax in Dorset—The Clubmen—Siege of Sherborne (July to August, 1645.)

ON 14 June 1645 Fairfax with Cromwell, Ireton, and Skippon had inflicted a great defeat upon the royal army at Naseby. Not the least of the royal misfortunes was the capture of the King's cabinet which revealed his intrigues with the Irish and others. Fairfax was again pressing on towards the west; and now announced to both Houses that he had made his choice. Of the two hostile armies he considered Goring's more dangerous than the King's. Taunton was, for the third time, straitened; and Massey's force, previously ordered to keep the country open around the town, had, since Goring's return to the west, been found quite inadequate to the task. Fairfax therefore resolved to make the relief of Taunton and the defeat of Goring his immediate care. It was for the House to devise a mode of keeping the King in check. Fortunately for the Houses, they had now the Scottish army to fall back upon. On 1 July, when not far from Salisbury, Fairfax found himself confronted by an unexpected obstacle. "Some officers and others of the army," says Sprigg, "who went out of the way through Salisbury, found the townsmen very peremptory, being confident of their own strength, by their association with other counties in their meetings of Clubmen, wearing white ribands in their hats (as it were in affront of the army) not sparing to declare themselves absolute neuters (or rather friends to the enemy); moreover news came this night that the Clubmen had risen upon some of Major-General Massey's forces: that his men had done some execution upon them, and that they with much confidence required reparation." The burthens of the war lay most heavily on the agricultural population. The Clubmen probably received their name from the Club or Association

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they formed the better to carry out their designs. They were not clothed in a military uniform, but distinguished themselves by wearing white cockades. "Oppression was their plea, neutrality their cry;" but neutrality was a crime in 1645. Early in March these symptoms of popular risings became accentuated both in Worcestershire and Shropshire; while in Herefordshire there was an actual rising. They displayed banners upon which was sometimes inscribed the distich:—

"If you offer to plunder, or take our cattle,
Rest assured we will give you battle."

Col. John Bingham, Governor of Poole on 1 March says "There are in our country near 1000 countrymen gotten into a body with guns and clubs to resist the French and Irish amongst the Cavaliers. We have sent 80 Horse to their desired aid."

The *Perfect Diurnall* for 4 March reports that the face of the west begins to change apace, and that there are great numbers of Clubmen in Worcestershire and Dorset "of the Country People (by Proclamation commanded to take arms for King against Parliament) that are gotten into a posture of defence, and refuse to serve his Majesty in that way: if all Counties would bethink themselves that are under command and power of King's Quarters, and do so likewise, and pursue it with resolution, the War would quickly be ended." Under 11 March Whitelock says: "Divers Clubmen were up in several Counties, and 4000 of them armed in Dorsetshire threatened to plunder all who did not join with them to extirpate the Cavaliers; the Governor of Wareham for the Parliament sent some Horse to join with them. In Worcestershire about 2000 of them were got together and put out a Declaration of their Intentions against the Popish Party, and to preserve the King's Rights and Privilege of Parliament." Under 13 March he adds: "The Worcestershire Clubmen increased, Prince Rupert sought to pacify them, but in vain; the Constables refused to bring in a List of their Names that assembled." In Herefordshire a storm arose mainly from the acts of certain Royalist soldiers—probably some of the Anglo-Irish whom Mynne had brought over to fight Massey. These, after Mynne's death, had become little better than banditti; and a body of peasants resisting their depredations led to an encounter between the Clubmen and some troops of Barnabas Scudamore, the governor of Hereford. The Clubmen appeared before Hereford; demanded redress of their wrongs; and, in default of such redress, threatened to take

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vengeance. Scudamore at first treated them and their grievances with contempt, but soon found the matter was serious. Massey, thinking the affair might be turned to the advantage of Parliament, marched from Gloucester to Ledbury to meet the Clubmen, only to find they disliked him quite as much as they disliked his opponents. Parliament was determined to put the Clubmen down at once, and sent peremptory orders that all plundering should forthwith cease. Scudamore, meanwhile, promised them redress of their grievances and they disbanded to their homes; not, however, before his troops had killed certain of them, and the ringleaders had been arrested and hanged. Rupert was likewise determined to put an end to the Clubmen and their organization. Based on the precedent of the Solemn League and Covenant he drew up a protestation, which he required all commanders, soldiers, gentry, citizens, and freeholders within the City and County of Worcester to make when tendered to them by the High Sheriff and Commissioners of the County; and ordered that a schedule of the names of those who refused to make it should be delivered to Sir William Bellenden, the Commissary-General. The oppressions of the Worcester garrison kept the spirit of resistance awake in that county; and on 1 November a great meeting of Clubmen, said to number 3000, was held on Bredon Hill. They declared for Parliament; demanded to be supplied with arms; and chose Sir Edward Dineley of Charlton as their leader. Early in December the royal brethren, Rupert and Maurice, with a slight escort were on their way from Worcester to Oxford. It was determined to intercept them; but Dinely and his Clubmen were no match for Rupert. The Princes and their escort charged; cut their way through the mob of peasants; and went on their journey without further interruption. In Somerset some five or six thousand Clubmen, most of them armed, had assembled on 2 June at Marshal's Elm; and that same night delivered a petition to the Prince of Wales at Wells. It was evident, declares Clarendon, that "though the avowed ground for their rising was the intolerable oppression, rapine, and violence exercised by the Lord Goring's Horse, that, in truth, they received encouragement from many gentlemen of the country." The next day at Bridgewater Prince Charles sympathized with their misfortunes but "straitly inhibited them to meet any more in that manner, except they first listed themselves in regiments, and chose gentlemen of the country to command them; to whom his highness offered to grant commissions to that purpose." But they continued their meetings and were encouraged so to do

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by Goring in spite of the Prince's letters and commands to the contrary: "so that," adds Clarendon, "they grew to be so powerful, that, as they kept provisions from the army and the garrisons, so, when he (Goring) moved from Taunton upon the coming down of Sir Thomas Fayrefax, they killed most of his soldiers, and did him more mischieve than all the power of the rebels (Parliamentarians)." About 20 June they attacked the works at Langport; and when Sir Francis Mackworth charged and dispersed them he was severely reprimanded by Goring for so doing.[1]

Under 3 July, Whitelock says:—"Between 4000 and 5000 Clubmen being up in Dorsetshire and Wilts carried themselves very tumultuously, and forced the Parliament's Quarters at Sturmister (Sturminster Newton); divers slain and wounded on both sides, and they took sixty Dragoon Horses and Arms from the Parliament's Forces, for Restitution whereof Colonel Massey sent a Trumpeter to them, and they promised to make Restitution the next day. Letters sent from both Houses to Sir Thomas Fairfax and Colonel Massey to inform the Clubmen of the Parliament's Intentions to relieve Taunton, and to require them to depart peaceably to their Habitations; and that they should not be questioned for their rising, otherwise to be taken as Contemners of the Parliament's Authority, and to be fallen upon as Enemies." It was on Wednesday, 2 July, 1645, that Fairfax and his army marched from Burchalk (Bower Chalk) to Blandford, twelve miles, and in their march took John Penruddock of Compton Chamberlayne and John Fussell of Blandford, two Captains of the Clubmen, who, being examined "and convinced of their error in causing such unlawful assemblies without authority," promised never to appear any more in that business; and thereupon were released. Next day the army marched from Blandford to Dorchester, twelve miles, it being a very hot day; where Colonel Sydenham, Governor of Weymouth, met the General and gave him information of the condition of those parts, and of the great danger arising from the Clubmen who would not suffer either contributions or victuals to be carried to the Parliament's garrisons. That night George Holles or Hawles of Upwimborne—brother of Thomas Hawles of Salisbury, who led the Wiltshire Clubmen—with some others of their leaders, including Richard Newman of Fifehead Magdalen, desired a passport from the General in order that they might present a petition to the King and Parliament. The petition was read and the matter

1. Whitelocke, 136, 140. Willis Bund, 149, 150-2, 172. Perfect Diurnall, no. 84. Clarendon IX, 49, 50, 51, 100.

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debated. "Their design" says Sprigg, "appeared to be desperately evil against the Parliament;" and Hawles "peremptory in his opinion, not to be convinced, affirming himself to be one of their leaders, and that it was fit the people should show their strength." They were promised they should have an answer in writing the next morning. They were so strong and confident in their power that it was considered prudent to be fair in demeanour towards them for a while; for in case "we should engage with Goring, and some of our men to be put to the rout, these Clubmen would be more cruel than the enemy, and knock our men on the heads as they should fly for safety." Some of them, indeed, did not scruple to say: "We know our own strength to be such, that we are able both against King and Parliament to defend ourselves, and to do more if need require." And in truth Fairfax and his advisers needed all their tact; for Charles was assured if this third party had so prevailed as to be in a condition to give laws to either side, it would have been no disadvantage to his affairs—many of them being raised indeed by commission from him, and "countenanced by a neutral party within ourselves." Moreover, this same day (Thursday, 3 July) intelligence came that the Clubmen had risen against the Lyme forces, who were engaged and many of them slain, the Governor's brother being taken—Colonel Thomas Ceeley himself "a stout man, hardly escaping."[1]

On the previous 25 May, 4000 farmers and yeomen from the counties of Wilts and Dorset had met at Gorehedge-Corner to consider the present posture of affairs; and to appoint an organized body of watchmen to seize plunderers, and to carry them for punishment to the nearest garrison of the party to which the offenders belonged. Their desires and resolutions together with the articles of their Covenant and certain directions for present behaviour, as there drawn up, were afterwards read at Badbury in Dorset, by Mr. Thomas Young, of Manston, a lawyer. On 24 June these "directions were agreed upon to be published and observed by all lovers of the County's peace" at the General Meeting at Sturminster Newton. On the same occasion petitions to the King and Parliament were drawn up, strenuously urging the making of a lasting peace between the two parties; or, if this were unhappily impossible, that, at least, the garrisons in Dorset might be reduced in number and handed over to the care of the petitioners.[2] The persons appointed to carry the Club-

1. Whitelocke, 154.

2. For "The Desires and Resolutions" of the Clubmen and their Petition to the King see Appendix II, Col. Butler's Letter and Mr. Willis's Queries.

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men's petition to Charles were Dr. Henry Gooch, sequestered Rector of Pulham, who married "the Manciple's daughter of Trinity, Cambridge"; Thomas Bravell or Bramwell, sequestered Rector of Compton Abbas; John Saint Lo; Peter Hoskins of Ibberton; Thomas Young of Manston, attorney-at-law, "more eloquent than honest"; and Robert Pawlett. Those appointed to carry the similar petition to Parliament were Melchisedec Waltham; Richard Hooke, sequestered Rector of Durweston; Thomas Trenchard; Robert Culliford of Encombe; George Hawles of Upwimborne; and Richard Newman of Fifehead Magdalen.

The Royal answer of 8 July from Ragland Castle to the Clubmen's Petition was altogether favourable. Charles declares that he fully agrees with them; that he desires a cessation of arms; and that the book of the Treaty of Uxbridge should be read to them in manifestation of his desire for peace.

Dyve admonished the Clubmen to send money to the royal party, if possible; and not give it to Parliament, who had so often robbed them. He bade them remember how Parliament had taxed them; burned several gentlemen's houses; banished the orthodox clergy; plundered the gentry and farmers; set an excise upon bread and meat; turned churches into stables; and abolished the Book of Common Prayer. "Remember," he says in conclusion, "how we and our ancestors have suffered more in three years than under twenty godly and pious kings and queens."

On Friday 4 July, Hawles received his answer in writing. Fairfax answered with admirable temper; saying that although the paper brought him, being not subscribed, could not challenge any response; yet he would reply as follows:—

(1) that he desired peace as much as they did themselves;

(2) that it appeared, however, from the King's letters taken at Naseby "that contracts are already made for the bringing of 10,000 French and 6000 Irish"[1]—how then could they ask him to agree to a cessation and to lose his hold on the port-towns at a time when a foreign invasion was expected?

(3) that it is propounded that liberty be given to all soldiers to disband and return home if they desire it; which may with equal justice be desired by all parts of the Kingdom, when the Parliament would be unable to manage the war before a peace was settled;

(4) that good discipline was all that he could promise them, and with that they must be content;

1. "The numbers appear to be inverted" S. R. Gardiner.

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(5) that on the publishing of his answer to their request, "all assembling the people to public rendezvous may be forborne, and that copies hereof may be dispersed to the several parishes, that the country may be acquainted therewith."

That night the army was allowed to continue its march without hindrance to Beaminster. The train and most of the Foot quartered on the top of a hill, some few in Beaminster town "a place of the pittifulest spectacle that man can behold, hardly a house left not consumed with fire; the town being fired by the enemy in five places at once, when Prince Maurice was there, by reason of a falling out between the French and Cornish."[1] A letter to Speaker Lenthall from a gentleman in Fairfax's army refers to the above matters. "The General advanced on Friday to Beaminster, twelve miles from Dorchester, his Horse into Crookhorne (Crewkerne), where we fell upon the Enemy, took a Lieutenant and divers others of Sir Robert Welche's troop being on their Rear. We sent another party between Sherborne and Somerton, and fell on their Van, and took some Prisoners there also. This so alarmed the Enemy that they broke down their bridges. There are 3 Regiments of Horse and 600 Dragoons in pursuit of them and to bring intelligence of their motion. Our poor Foot (being impatient of the relief of their friends at Taunton) marched 62 miles in 5 days; and offered at Dorchester, after twelve miles' march that day, to march all that night to relieve Taunton—hearing Goring was fallen on again. We expect friends from the town to come to us this day about noon; and then a general Council of War will be called . . .

One Holles (Hawles), the violent Ringleader of the Clubmen, came to Dorchester with four others from the Clubmen for leave to petition Parliament; he was most peremptory and insolent in his carriage, and but for his being sent as a messenger, he had been committed, as this man is the head of that giddy-head faction in Dorset, as his brother is for Wiltshire—fellows that delude the poor Countrymen; whom I hope we shall undeceive before we return and some stay we must make to salve that sore, for it is not yet half cured. The Clubmen fell upon Goodale, Colonel Pindar's Messenger, took his letters to the General from him, and his horse and arms. The Governor of Lyme fell upon them and killed eighty of them. They dared him to fight; the Governor is hurt and the Mayor (John Perrot) was unhorsed. This was on Thursday last (near Bridport. The Clubmen, who were led by an officer of the King and stiffened by soldiers lent by

1. Sprigg, 61 to 67. Whitelocke, 157. Rushworth V. 529. Tract Clubmen 2.

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Goring, had rudely torn Ceely letters and treated him with contumely). From Lady Strode's House, near Beaminster, 5 July Saturday, 5 in the morning.

The Messenger not being gone I thought fit to add that the Army is marched this day to Crookhorn where the General now is, and hath met with letters from Colonel Weldon of the liberty they now are in—many wounded and in great extremities especially for ammunition. A second and third Reserve of Horse and Dragoons have gone after the first party to fall upon the rear of the enemy. News is come they are near an engagement, the issue I know not. Lieutenant-General Cromwell is gone in person, to take care of the management of the pursuit; our Horse harassed out yet go after Enemy cheerfully. We hear nothing of the Treasure which will prove much to our prejudice; for now the soldiers will live on freequarter and discontent the Country. If ever an army deserved to be trusted with a fortnight's pay beforehand this doth; for they never press for money until they be extremely necessitated and in arrear.

"Crookhorn 5 July 1645, 2 in afternoon."

"Fairfax's march," says Gardiner, "like that of all the Parliamentary commanders, had been deflected more to the south than any route which a modern traveller would be likely to take, possibly in order to keep up his communications with the seaports of Weymouth and Lyme. He thus turned the defences on the line of the Yeo and Parret, the bridges over which rivers were entirely in Goring's hands." At Crewkerne he learned that his opponent had taken up his position on the north bank of these two rivers. Goring would thus be in communication with Charles, if the King should by any possibility be able to advance to his succour; whilst if compelled to retire by the road down the valley, guarded as it was by the fortifications of Langport and by a fort at Borough Bridge, he would have an easy way of retreat to the strongly guarded fortress of Bridgewater. In the meanwhile the Royalist position was easily guarded against an attack from the south. There was a bridge over the Parret at Langport below its junction with the Yeo; another at Long Sutton known as Load Bridge; and a third at Ilchester. All these were held by Goring—the whole line from Ilchester to Langport being about seven miles in length. Fairfax, then, was scarcely likely to succeed by a direct attack upon an army nearly equal in numbers to his own, and so strongly posted. He resolved therefore to outmanœuvre Goring rather than to storm his position. On the morning of Monday, 7 July, leaving a strong force near Ilchester and Load Bridge

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as if he intended to force his way across the river at one or other of these points, he despatched a strong body of Foot to seize Yeovil, higher up the stream; where the Royalists had contented themselves with breaking down the bridge without occupying the town. Making no attempt to throw himself upon any part of Fairfax's divided force, the unstable Goring at once gave up all hope of maintaining the line of the river. That same night, as soon as he heard that Yeovil bridge had been repaired, he evacuated Long Sutton and Ilchester—thus leaving two more bridges over the Yeo free for Fairfax to cross at his pleasure. Colonel Phillips, the Governor of Ilchester, on quitting that town left the works standing undemolished with the exception of the fortified Bridewell, which he set on fire; but the flames were quickly quenched by the inhabitants. Fairfax's army, however, quartering there on the night of 8 July found no provisions remaining. Goring could not resolve upon the only practicable policy left to him of throwing himself into Bridgewater to await relief. Leaving a considerable part of his force at Langport, he galloped off on the morning of the 8th with a large body of cavalry towards Taunton in the vain hope of surprising the town now that the garrison was thrown off its guard by the withdrawal of the besiegers. Fairfax, however, was too quick for him, and despatched Massey in pursuit. Massey overtook him the next morning by the side of a stream near Ilminster, where his men were bathing and disporting themselves. They were soon scattered with heavy loss; and Goring, himself wounded in the skirmish, fled back to Langport with such of his men as he could collect around him. This same day, Wednesday 9 July, Fairfax's army marched from Ilchester to Long Sutton, four miles. The preceding day Colonel Butler's regiment, commanded by Major Fincher, Quarter-Master-General of the Horse, had come up to the army, in their march from Berkeley Castle having done very good service. At Dorchester they had taken some of the Sherborne Horse. Fairfax discovered that Goring, by this time returned from his misadventure, had drawn up his army in a strong position, about a mile in advance of Langport, on a hill sloping down to Pisbury Bottom—a small marshy valley through which a little stream runs into the Yeo. There was some skirmishing in the evening, but it was not until the morning of Thursday 10 July that Fairfax advanced with his army to force the position. The lane along which Fairfax's Horse would have to pass, to avoid the marshy ground on either side, led across the little stream by a deep but narrow ford; while the hedges on the slope of the hill beyond were lined by Goring's

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musketeers. Yet, strong as the ground was, Fairfax had scarcely any choice but to fight; and he could not know that the conditions were more favourably to him than they appeared to be. For Goring had already sent off to Bridgewater his baggage and the whole of his artillery except two guns. The battle began by a brisk fire from the Parliamentary artillery, posted on the crest of the slope on the eastern side of the stream. Goring's two guns were soon silenced; and musketeers were then sent down to clear the hedges on either side of the ford. Then it was possible for cavalry to charge but only at every possible disadvantage. The ford was deep and narrow: the lane up the hill scarcely less narrow. On the open ground at the top Goring's cavalry were collected in apparently overwhelming numbers, ready to fall upon the thin line of horsemen as they straggled up the lane before they had time to form. Major Bethel was ordered to make the perilous attempt at the head of a small force of 350 men; and Major John Desborough with another small force was told off to second him. Bethel, on arriving at the end of the lane "with the forlorn hope of Horse," charged a body of the enemy's Horse more than thrice his number. Checked at first, Desborough soon arrived to his succour. Together they broke the regiments immediately opposed to them; while at the same time Fairfax's musketeers, stealing up amongst the hedges, poured a galling fire upon the enemy. The Royalists, Horse and Foot alike, thereupon turned and fled. Of their Horse some fled through Langport, setting fire to the town as they passed to cover their retreat. But Cromwell, charging through the burning street, fell upon them as they hurried across the bridge, where most of the fugitives were captured or slain. The larger part of the Cavalier army retreated by the northern bank of the Parret. Though they made a stand at Aller Drove, they durst not await an attack from their pursuers. Goring's Foot, entangled in the ditches of the moor, surrendered as the King's Foot had surrendered at Naseby. His army, as an instrument capable of waging war, ceased to exist; and on 11 July, scantily attended, he retired to Barnstaple—leaving Bridgewater, as he fondly imagined, in all points prepared to stand a siege.

Unless Bridgewater could be taken the battle of Langport had been fought in vain: for the line of the Yeo and the Parret could not be held without its possession. After the battle the victorious army marched five miles to Middlezoy on the way to Bridgewater. An hour before the battle began, Hawles the Clubman, had presented a petition to Fairfax; telling him in plain terms that unless he gave them better

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satisfaction than any he had yet given them, the Clubmen must take another course. Fairfax forthwith committed Hawles to the Marshal; but he made shift to get away as soon as he saw the day was lost. The next day the whole army was drawn up on Pensy Pound, two miles from Bridgewater. "The countrymen thereabouts, that had been vexed with the Cavaliers, hearing of the defeat given unto them and fearing to taste of their former cruelties, rose in great numbers (about 2000 according to Whitelock) and with their colours, clubs, and arms, appeared upon Knoll Hill, which being made known to the General, he with the Lieutenant-General (Cromwell) and other officers marched up to them, who seemingly received him with joy, and in token thereof gave him a volley of shot: whence, after some conference with them and their leaders who made a neutral speech, the General returned and the army that night went to quarter—the head-quarter that night being appointed at Chedsey (Chedzoy), within two miles of Bridgewater." The first step towards its capture had thus been taken: Fairfax proposing to the Clubmen that they should not supply Bridgewater; that he would pay for all provisions sent to the army; and would punish all plunderers. From Chedzoy the General wrote to his father, Lord Fairfax. "God's great goodness" he declares, "has been displayed in the defeat of General Goring's army; when 2000 prisoners were taken, two pieces of ordnance, many arms and colours both of Horse and Foot, but not many slain. (The journals of the day put the slain at 200; Rushworth at 300). His Horse, that got off is gone towards Cornwall; and some Foot to Bristol." The King had commanded Goring not to engage before he himself, with the Welsh forces, and Grenville with those out of the west, were joined with him; which altogether would have made a very great army. Besides, there were many thousands of Clubmen in Wilts and Dorset who were ready to declare themselves for the King, as soon as he had crossed the Severn: "so that we cannot consider this mercy less, all considered, than that of Naseby." On 13 July the small fortress of Borough Bridge surrendered to Okey. On 2 July, the Derby House Committee had informed Fairfax that the money ordered for his army was about to be sent to Portsmouth and from thence to Lyme. On 4 July, they direct Colonel John Fiennes to proceed from London to Reading in order to convoy the money, by way of Windsor, where he will meet with Colonels Sir Robert Pye and Nathaniel Rich who are to convoy it from London. The three are then to proceed to Portsmouth. On 7 July the Committee inform

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Fairfax that, upon Goring's withdrawal from before Taunton, they have ordered the staying of the money at Portsmouth, which previously they had intended to send on to Lyme, until they hear from him where to send it. They desire him to attend Goring's motions and hold constant correspondence with the Scottish army, then about Worcester. They commend to Fairfax Colonel John Fiennes' regiment which is convoying the money. It has been much weakened by long marches and the fight at Naseby Field, and they recommend him to recruit it. On the next day, they think that after all the money had better be sent on to Lyme; and having heard that Mr. Reade, employed by them with letters to Lyme, was on his return taken prisoner by some forces belonging to Sir Lewis Dyve and is now at Sherborne, they direct Fairfax to procure his release by exchange. On 13 July the Committee, writing to Mr. Francis Allen, state that they have heard Fairfax's army is in great want of match and gunpowder, being disappointed of some it expected to find at Lyme. Allen, is to see that six tons of match and 100 barrels of powder are instantly sent to Portsmouth and thence to Weymouth for the army. The Committee will take care this shall be paid for. On 16 July Speaker Lenthall issues the following warrant "to all Courts-of-guard, officers of Ports and Forts, etc., by virtue of several orders of the House of Commons. Permit the bearer Mary, Lady Bankes, with her two daughters and four servants quietly to pass either by coach or on horseback to London, they being willing to come in and compound according to the same orders. Provided that they do come in within ten days next after the date hereof. Provided also that upon their first coming to any of the forts or ports here, you bring them unto me to be forthwith sent into Haberdashers' Hall according to these orders, for which this shall be your warrant." In the parish register of Folke, near Sherborne, occur the following entries:—

1645. A souldier of the Parliament side, slaine in the Court of Folke House (then in the possession of the Chafin family), was buried the 22nd of July.

Another souldier, William Robertson, slaine at Alweston (in the same parish), of the Parliament side, was buried the 24th of July.[1]

In the early morning of Monday 21 July, the attack was made on the quarter of Bridgewater lying on the east of the Parret.

1. Bell, I, 235. Sprigg, 68-74. Gardiner's Civil War, II, 267-273. Whitelocke, 160. C.S.P., 1645-7. Hutchins IV, 183. Tract, Clubmen 3.

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The ditch was speedily crossed on portable bridges, and the wall scaled in the teeth of a stout resistance. The besiegers rushed for the drawbridge and let it down. The Parliamentary Horse poured in; and the conquest of the eastern suburb, or Eastover, was accomplished. Meanwhile the defenders of the western and more important part of the town still held out vigorously. They were resolved that, although Fairfax had gained the suburb, he should hold no more than its fortifications. Grenades and red-hot shot poured upon the roofs. By the morning of Tuesday 22 July, the place was, with the exception of three or four houses, reduced to ashes. Always averse from bloodshed Fairfax summoned the western town to surrender; and upon the rejection of his offer by the Governor, Sir Hugh Wyndham, he suspended his attack until the women and children had been sent out beyond the reach of danger. Then Fairfax's cannon began to play upon the town with grenades and slugs of hot iron. The frightened citizens allowed the Governor no peace until he consented to surrender; and at 8 o'clock on the morning of Wednesday 23 July, Fairfax was in possession of a fortress which the Royalists had believed capable of prolonged resistance, and to which they had looked to keep in check the New Model in the West until Charles had gathered sufficient strength to enable him to take the field once more in the Midlands. The terms of surrender granted by Fairfax on the Tuesday were:—

(1) to all their lives;

(2) to all the inhabitants their liberty and freedom from plunder;

(3) that neither officers nor men were to be plundered of the clothes they had upon them;

(4) that the gentlemen were to be disposed of as Parliament should appoint, and in the mean time to have civil usage;

(5) that six hostages were to be sent, and an answer in a quarter of an hour.

These six hostages included Sir Hugh Wyndham and Sir John Hele.

The material acquisitions of the victorious army were very great. About 1000 officers and soldiers, besides gentlemen and "malignant clergy," marched out as prisoners. There were taken in the town about 44 barrels of powder; 1500 arms; 44 pieces of ordnance; 4 cwt. of match; besides goods of great value, which had been carried for security into Bridgewater, seized by the Commissioners of Parliament and sold—and five shillings a man raised upon the sale, "to be bestowed as

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a reward upon the common soldiers for their good service in the storming of the place." Much more of the town was found standing and unburned than the besiegers had expected.[1] Colonel John Birch was made Governor. Fairfax was now in possession of a chain of fortresses from Lyme through Langport to Bridgewater, which, with the advanced post at Taunton, would enable him to hold in check the royal troops yet in the field in the western peninsula. He would thus be free to devote himself to service elsewhere, and to make it impossible for Charles again to hold up his head in England. On 24 July Fairfax writes from near Bridgewater to his father: "The King is expected this night in Bristowe (Bristol) if the news of the taking of Bridgewater stay him not. His greatest hopes now seemes to be in the Club men; and God's Providence is much seene in the timely taking of this towne. If the King had had time to hauve got owt his forces and these numerous Clubmen together we must have left it." Under 31 July Whitelock records "that many of the Welsh are quartered about Bristol, which Prince Rupert labours to fortify, and had several Meetings with the Clubmen of Wiltshire and Somersetshire, but could not prevail with them to take up arms and join with him." On 26 July Major Robert Harley writes from Bridgewater to his brother Colonel Edward Harley: "Since my last to you it has pleased God to give us Bridgwater and with little bloodshed. Colonel Massey has the command of the town and castle, and of three regiments of Foot and four of Horse besides his dragooners, which are to march eastwards towards Bath and Bristol. The general with his army marches into Cornwall, but as yet he lies near Crewkerne and marches no farther till his ammunition comes. In the meantime he intends to take Chidcock (Chideock) House near Lyme. If we march to Bath I hope I shall see you. Colonel Massey desires you to write to him what news you have in your parts." On 1 August an order was passed at the Committee of the West directing Colonels Martin Pyndar, Bennett, and Mr. John Serle to put into execution the following relative to the ordering and payment of regiments of Horse under Colonels Massey, Boscowen, Popham, and Fitz-James, and the regiments of Foot under Massey, Blake and Birch. They were to take into their charge £5000 sent down by Robert Starr to Sherborne for payment of the forces under Colonel Massey—with the exception of Colonel Birch's, provided for by the

1. A Commission was found in Bridgewater from Prince Charles to Mr. Philips, a gentleman of Somerset, to raise a regiment of Clubmen. Sir John Digby died in the town two days before the storm; Sir William Courtney shot in both thighs was conveyed out; and Sir Arthur Ashton was taken at sea.

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Committee of Kent. They are to see these forces mustered, and that the money is not wasted. They are to pay £500 to Colonel Edward Massey, Commander-in-Chief, for his own use; and the remainder of the £5000 with other monies from the county, by warrant under his hand. They are to assist in reducing the forces under Colonel Massey according to an establishment to be sent to the Commander-in-Chief. On 2 August, Colonel Martin Pyndar, Harcourt Leighton, and Thomas Herbert, Commissioners of Parliament residing in the army, inform the Speaker from Bridgewater that they have had much trouble in collecting and apportioning the spoil. Much had been carried off by the outgoing Garrison, who were let pass without rifling according to the articles of surrender. More the victorious soldiers had appropriated in spite of the Commissioners' endeavours; and certain goods, rescued from the ravages of fire and war, have had to be returned to their owners. The plate and hangings have been sent up to London; and they desire the treasurers may turn them into money and that the same may be "speedily returned to the army, to be joyned to other monies made of such goods as have proved lawfull prize and have been by us sould to that purpose, promised by the Generall, that every souldyer should have a share in it." Divers regiments "out of the establishment who pretendinge want of pay doe both take free quarter and plunder horses most unreasonably, not only to the dishonour of the Parliament, but alsoe to the evill example of all the rest of the army. A president whereof wee make bold to present you with, and cannot much except against where pay is not to be had, but wee find noe other soe carefull as this Generall to give tiquetts." Several regiments of Horse pretend the like want, as Colonel Popham's, Colonel Fitz-James's, Colonel Cooke's, and all Major-General Massey's forces, whose service they cannot but commend and whose payment they earnestly solicit: "that soe the reputation won by your paiment of your army and the conquest wee have made over the Clubmen by paiment of our quarters may not be blasted by soe inconsiderable a party whom we neither can pay nor punish, deliveringe it as your knowne judgment that thousands have layed downe theyr armes merely upon the alteration of the soldiers' carriage, which worketh upon them more than laws will. Yet wee humbly offer that it would much conduce to the perfectinge of the worke in hand, if wee might have your Declarations, Directory, the Cabinett of Letters, our instructions, and other thinges—fitt for the country to know—published in all places where wee march: the country hardly believinge you intend them either Liberty, Property, or Religion, especially since you

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take away the Common-Prayer-Booke (the Directory was enforced in place of the Prayer-Book in June-August 1645), which every soldyer doth practise to doe. Wee shall trouble you only with one thinge more; the hastening of your Committees of Sequestration and examination of the sufferances of the country: wee findinge the malignant rather to rule than to submit even in this garrison. And because they enjoy liberty and property they thinke the bitternesse of death to be over and make use of theyr tongues to the hearts' grief of the better part who have suffered by them."[1]

The Map of England at the fall of Bridgewater shows the rapidly dwindling territory yet in the power of the King. With the exception of Pembrokeshire and the eastern half of Montgomeryshire, Wales still owed Charles allegiance. The shires of Hereford and Monmouth; portions of Shropshire and Worcestershire with their county towns; the triangle from Berkeley Castle to Devizes and Wells including Bath and Bristol; all west of Taunton and Lyme with the exception of Plymouth and Saltash; and that island in the Parliamentary domain containing Banbury, Wallingford, and the royal headquarters at Oxford; were as yet in his possession. Besides these tracts of country he was nominally master of the isolated garrisons of Bolton Castle, Skipton, Lathom House, Sandal Castle, Chester, Beeston Castle, Hulme, Newark, Lichfield, Ashby de la Zouch, Donnington Castle, Basing House, Winchester, Langford House (now Longford Castle), Corfe and Sherborne Castles.

On Friday, 25 July, Fairfax called a Council of War to decide what should be the New Model's next move; whether to chase Goring farther west, or to stay in the more eastern parts to curb the Clubmen. The army lacked ammunition to march far westward, and it was finally resolved that they should first make it their business to reduce the Clubmen to better manners; and, to that end, take those garrisons that countenanced and encouraged them—such as Bath and Sherborne. Otherwise, the inclination of the General and his Council was to have advanced farther westward. The next day, therefore, the army marched ten miles to Martock; and resting there on the Sunday (Lord's Day), held a thanksgiving service for their success in the taking of Bridgewater. On Monday, 28 July, being a very hot day, they marched the

1. Append. to 9th Report Historic: MSS: Comm: Pt. II, 435. Sprigg, 74, 82. Whitelock, 164. Portland MSS. I, 138, 236. C. S. P. Domes: 1645-7. Gardiner, II, 273-4. Tract, Bridgewater 2. Broadsides of Victories of Essex and Fairfax (A. M. B.) MS. Letter from Col. Edmund Wyndham, Gov. of Bridgewater, of 14 Dec., 1644 to Rupert (*penes* A. M. B).

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fourteen miles to Wells. From thence Fairfax despatched a brigade of Horse and Foot under Colonel John Pickering "a little man but of a great courage," to Sherborne, "to face that garrison, and to view the same; and, if there were hopes to reduce it, to sit down before it in order to a siege." On Tuesday, 29 July, Colonel Nathaniel Rich, facing Bath with a party of Horse and dragoons which Fairfax had sent on from Wells, summoned the town but the Governor refused to surrender. Towards evening the dragoons under Colonel John Okey, afterwards a Regicide, drawn up near the bridge, "crept on their bellies over it to the gate, seized on the small end of the Royalists' muskets which they put through the loopholes of the gate, and cried to the enemy to take quarter." The garrison, which was a weak one and in disaccord with the citizens, upon the firing of the gate and capture of the bridge by Okey, surrendered. The common soldiers, to the number of about 140, were made prisoners; and the officers were allowed to march away to what garrison they pleased. There were captured in the town, the works and wall of which were strong and in good order, six pieces of ordnance, 400 arms, and twelve barrels of powder. It was yielded in good time; for Rupert was advanced with a party of 1500 Horse and Foot from Bristol, within four miles, to relieve the town; but, coming too late, retreated. On Friday, 1 August, the army marched from Wells twelve miles to Queen's Camel; but Fairfax himself rode with a few Horse four miles further to Sherborne, viewed the works and Castle, and quartered there that night, "at Mr. King's house a lawyer, who out of needless fear of our army betook himself to the Castle, where he was shot and has since died." At the end of July news had come that the garrison of Lyme Regis had taken Chideock, Lord Arundel's house, which lying within six miles of Lyme had caused the Parliamentarians much annoyance, and with it above 100 prisoners and their arms, thirty horses, three barrels of powder, and good store of other provisions and ammunition.[1]

The Declaration concerning the Clubmen's Petition and the King's answer to the same, after traversing the statements of both, adds: "There is much difference between one party of Clubmen and another; but the first grounds of raising them is from a jesuitical plot of the enemy under pretence of petitioning for peace—which all men desire—to get them to rise as one man against Parliament. The great ones amongst them did not let the people know what their design was; but intended, before Taunton was relieved, to have risen on the

1. Sprigg, 83-85. Vicars' 'Burning Bush,' 203. Tract, Bath.

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rear of our army; but, blessed be God, they were hindered. And now at last they had orders from the King to lie still until Sir Thomas Fairfax was marched to Exeter and then to rise; Rupert having promised to come with some thousands of Horse from Banbury to join with them in order to raise the siege of Sherborne, relieve those parts, and then to fall on Fairfax's rear. For this purpose divers of them sate in council at Shaftesbury."

Fairfax found great difficulty in keeping open his communications. In Somerset he had easily won over the Clubmen to his side; because it was impossible for the most ignorant peasant to suppose that he could attain to peace and order by giving his support to Goring. In Dorset, on the other hand, there was no royal army to plunder the homesteads of the people; and the garrisons, being commanded by the gentry of the county or by persons acting in their name, were not likely to commit outrages as long as the contributions for their support were duly paid. The Clubmen consequently here fell under the influence of the Royalist gentry and clergy; and looked upon a Parliamentarian invasion as their only source of trouble. As soon, therefore, as Fairfax crossed the border of the county the Clubmen swarmed around him, cutting off his supplies and threatening to starve him out. It was clearly impossible for any commander to tolerate proceedings of this kind. On Saturday 2 August news was received by Fairfax that the Clubmen of Dorset, Wilts, and Somerset were to meet on the following day at Shaftesbury to consult how best to interrupt or raise the siege of Sherborne Castle. On the very brow of Castle Hill at the western extremity of Shaftesbury is a small mound surrounded on the part that joins the town by a shallow trench, the area of which is about two acres. This was fortified by the Clubmen; but Colonel Charles Fleetwood, who had been immediately detached by Fairfax with about 1000 Horse, surrounded the town on the Sunday and captured over 50 of the ringleaders. These being brought as prisoners by a guard of Horse were immediately dismounted and disarmed and sent to prison at Sherborne; until leisure was afforded to examine them, and to consider how to dispose of them—which was done by a Committee chosen on purpose four or five days later. After the reduction of Sherborne Castle they were sent up to London with other prisoners. There names were: George Hawles of Upwimborne "a younger brother out of means, a kind of General with them;" Robert Holles (perhaps a kinsman of the last); John Saint Lo of Little Fontmel, Wilts, "a notable agent for the King;" Capt. John Carew or Carey

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"the great grand-juryman that lived at Everith;" Thomas Young of Manston in Blackmore, attorney-at-law and "of old a Star-Chamber clerk;" Dr. Henry Gooch, Rector of Pulham; Richard Jollife of West Stower "a younger brother and their Lieutenant-General;" Richard Burbidge "son to the attorney at Sturminster;" William Smith "sometime Under-Sheriff for Wilts;" Thomas Jervis, clothier of Shaftesbury; John Lovell of Somerset; John Eastwood of Dunhead, Wilts; Henry Goodwyn; Capt. Edward Davis; Francis Craddock of Blackmore; Capt. Richard Craddock merchant of Blandford; John Pope of Marnhull "of very good estate, but a notable malignant;" Thomas Rose "of Chisgrave, of a fair estate but malignant;" Peter Hoskins of Ibberton; Lawrence Hyde "a malignant priest, son of Mr. Hyde of Hatch;" Capt. Thomas Bennett of Pythouse and his brother John; Nicholas Bingham of Henstridge "a pity any of that family are malignants;" Francis Abbott, son to Jeremy Abbott of Horsington; William Filliol of Marnhull "of good estate but a very violent malignant;" Charles Studley of Langton by Blandford; John May of Melbury "a notable rogue;" John Phill of Lydlinch, grasier "who rose in hopes to recruit his grounds by plunder;" Samuel Forward, Curate to Dr. Edward Davenant, Vicar of Gillingham; William Laining "a young malignant priest that lived at Cerne;" Robert Rocke, Rector of Chettle, "a desperate malignant parson;" Edward Williams, Rector of St. Peter's and Holy Trinity, Shaftesbury, "a malignant priest;" Capt. William Blunt "a notable Cavalier;" and the following dangerous malignants—Henry Hayward, John Every, Edward Boone, Thomas Rolt, Robert Squire, Thomas Marwell, Richard Alborne, Charles Simms, Robert Gapitt, Thomas Brooke, John King, Edmund Clerk, Martin Marble, Thomas Bunn, William Sanders, John Corbet, Robert Fry, William Ford, Matthew Martin.

The following 'great malignants' among the Clubmen are mentioned as still at large after the engagement at Hambledon Hill:—Capt. George Moore of Wimborne; Capt. William Whiting of Spetisbury; Capt. Henry Burley of Beer Regis; George Sexton of Beer Regis, "a man of great estate but a desperate rogue and violent against Parliament and good men;" Robert Arnold of Cheselborne, "another desperate agent;" Rawleigh Radford "of Divelish (Dewlish) and more divelish malignant." In divers parts, however, the Clubmen "are firm for Parliament, and laugh at the folly of the rest."[1]

1. Grey 60. Portland MSS. I, 237. Sprigg 85-86. D.S.C., passim. Gardiner II, 305. Tract, Clubmen 2.

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This day ("Lord's day, 3 August") Sprigg says news came "that all the country of Wilts and Dorset and part of Somerset were up in arms and would have a rendezvous of 10,000 men at least, pretending they did it to fetch off their leaders; (but privately we understood it was to interrupt our siege, and to hinder provisions from coming to the leaguer;) giving out withal, that, Goring with his army was coming out of the west to raise the siege."

On Monday 4 August, Lieutenant-General Oliver Cromwell, having intelligence of some of the Clubmen's places of rendezvous for their several divisions, went forth out of Sherborne with 1000 dragoons (4 Regiments of Horse in tract) to meet with them. As he was marching towards Shaftesbury with his troops they discovered, about two miles westward of that town, some colours upon the top of a high hill—Dunkly or Duncliff Hill—which was wooded and almost inaccessible. A lieutenant with a small party was sent up to them, to know their meaning and to acquaint them that the Lieutenant-General of the army was there; whereupon their leader Richard Newman of Fifehead Magdalen, who in company with Hawles had waited upon Fairfax at Dorchester, came down from the top of the hill. He told Cromwell that the Clubmen in Dorset and Wilts, to the number of 10,000, were to meet about their men who were taken away at Shaftesbury; and that their intent was to secure themselves from plundering. Cromwell replied that although no account was due to them, yet he knew the men were taken away by Fairfax's authority to be tried judicially for raising a third party in the Kingdom; and if they were found guilty, they must suffer according to the nature of their offence; if innocent, he assured them that Fairfax would acquit them. Upon this they said that if the prisoners deserved punishment, they would have nothing to do with them; and so were quieted on that point. Cromwell, thereupon, further assured them that it was Fairfax's great care not to allow them to be plundered in any way; that they might defend themselves from violence and bring to the New Model army all such as did them any wrong, where the culprits would be punished with all severity. "Upon this," adds Cromwell himself, "very quietly and peaceably they marched away to their houses, being very well satisfied and contented." Marching on to Shaftesbury Cromwell learned that a great number of Clubmen were encamped about Hambledon Hill. He puts their number at nearly 2000; Vicars has 2500; and Sprigg doubles Cromwell's estimate. Hambledon or Hamildon Hill—a bold eminence, rising 480 feet, crowned by an ancient camp originally British with

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formidable earthworks, a double vallum and fosse and various entrenchments defending the approach—lies, some six miles south of Shaftesbury near the left bank of the Stour, chiefly in the parish of Child Ockford. On their arrival at the bottom of the hill the Parliamentarians met a man with a musket and asked him whither he was going. He replied, "To the Club Army." To their further enquiry what he meant to do, he asked what they had to do with that. Being required to lay down his arms, he said he would first lose his life; "but was not so good as his word, for though he cocked and presented his musket, he was prevented, disarmed, and wounded, but not killed." Cromwell sent up a lieutenant with a forlorn-hope of about 50 Horse; "who coming very civilly to them, they fired upon them; and ours desiring some of them to come to me, were refused with disdain." Thereupon one Mr. Lee, who upon the approach of the troops came to them from the Clubmen, was sent to them to certify the peaceableness of Cromwell's intentions; to desire them to submit to the power and protection of Parliament; and to lay down their arms. They refused to listen and fired at the troops. The Lieutenant-General, unwilling to shed blood, sent Lee a second time to let them know that, if they would lay down their arms, no wrong should be done them. They refused to consider this third message also; through the instigation "of their leaders" says Cromwell, "and especially two vile Ministers," "of Thomas Bravell, Rector of Compton Abbas," says Sprigg, "who told them they must stand to it now rather than lose their arms, and that he would pistol them that gave back." Thereupon order was given to Captain-Lieutenant Gladman of Fairfax's troop to draw up to them to be in readiness to charge; and, if upon his falling on, the infatuated Clubmen would lay down their arms to accept the latter and spare the former. But when he came near they refused his offer; let fly at him; killed two of his men and at least four horses; and wounded eight or nine troopers. The Clubmen shot from the bank of the old work; and kept with musket and other weapons the passage, which was no broader than for three Horse to march abreast. Upon this, Major John Desborough with the General's troop wheeled about, climbed the work; and fell upon their rear. They soon ran; the passage was open; and the Clubmen all dispersed and disarmed. Some were slain; many wounded; and the rest slid and tumbled down the steep hillside, to the hazard of their necks. The Tract puts the number of slain at 60; but Cromwell, says Desborough, "I believe killed not twelve of them, but cut very many, and put them all to flight." Sprigg

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records that 400 of them were confined in the Church at Shrawton (Shroton), where Cromwell quartered that night, of whom near 200 were wounded in the skirmish which lasted an hour. There were also taken twelve white colours, the motto on one of them being the distich "If you offer to plunder or take our cattle, Be assured we will bid you battle," and on others sentences from scripture; 600 arms; but no ordnance. Cromwell tells Fairfax in his despatch: "We have taken about 300; many of which are poor silly creatures, whom if you please to let me send home, they promise to be very dutiful for time to come, and 'will be hanged before they come out again.'" With the Clubmen in Shroton Church were imprisoned four Vicars and Curates, who were also taken upon the hill "but at no Divine Service I can assure you;" whereof John Talbot, Vicar of Milton Abbas was one, and Lawford, Curate (?) of Ockford "the worst" another. On the Parliament side Captain Pattison was mortally wounded with about twelve more. Cromwell informs Fairfax that "the ringleaders which we have, I intend to bring to you. They had taken divers of the Parliament soldiers prisoners (about 16 according to Sprigg, some of whom they had threatened to hang), besides Colonel Fiennes his men; and used them most barbarously; bragging, they hoped to see my Lord Hopton, and that he is to command them. They expected from Wilts great store; and gave out they meant to raise the siege at Sherborne, when *once* they were all met. We have gotten great store of their arms, and they carried few or none home." On the next day, Tuesday 5 August, the prisoners were formally examined, who freely confessed that Thomas Bravell, Rector of Compton Abbas, sent out the warrants; and that the intent was, as appeared by a warrant from John Rogers of Langton Long Blandford—first-cousin to Richard Rogers of Bryanston—gallantly to demand their countrymen; or to take so many prisoners as should release them by exchange, as the warrant ran. They further stated that they would have lain down their arms and submitted, had it not been for Bravell, White, and Lawford; and that they had sent to the Wiltshire Clubmen to come and join with them. After the examination Cromwell addressed them; gave them liberty to defend themselves against plundering; but, at the same time, sternly forbade any such armed gatherings in future. To this they not only agreed; but declared that if any of those, whose names were in the paper, were taken again opposing Parliament or in any such assembly, they deserved to be hanged. Thereupon, much to their satisfaction, they were dismissed; confessing that they had been

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misled by their leaders, who, by a pretence of saving their goods, had endangered both their goods and their lives. But the leaders, notwithstanding their assumed indifference to either party, were inclined to the Royalists: as appeared in Bravell's activity since he was at Court with their petition; and their calling those who refused to join with them 'Roundheads'—threatening no less than loss of goods and danger of loss of life to them. This suppression of the Clubmen was an unhappy necessity; for whereas the army could send out neither messengers nor parties before the encounter; afterwards a man might ride very quietly between Sherborne and Salisbury. The King's hand was apparent in the design; commissions signed by the Prince of Wales for raising regiments of Clubmen being discovered and sent up to Parliament. Moreover, Charles apparently relied much upon them should all other help fail him; and hoped to be able to set the design on foot in other parts of the Kingdom, even in the Associated Counties; and thus raise a third party who might in time destroy the Parliament, and bring back the King to his own again. The letters of the Clubmen, found among Dyve's papers on the fall of Sherborne Castle, declaring their intention of serving the King seem to point to this conclusion. On this same day, 4 August, Fairfax writes from Sherborne to his father in Queen Street, London, telling him that the necessity of staying in those parts until he receives recruits and ammunition makes him willing to attempt something on it. This policy is more considerable than that of forcing Goring into Cornwall; for the Clubmen of Wilts, Dorset, and Hampshire are like to be of dangerous consequence, if not prevented. He has taken thirteen or fourteen of their chief leaders; and Cromwell has gone to hinder their meeting. He regrets that money is so slowly sent: for nothing carries on his business with more advantage than keeping his soldiers from doing violence. He encloses Cromwell's account of the dispersion of the Clubmen.[1]

On the night of Tuesday 5 August, Cromwell with his party

1. Sprigg, 87-90. Whitelocke, 165. Bell, 246, Carlyle, 196. Hutchins, IV, 79, 80. Vicars's 'Burning Bush,' 252-4. Tract, Clubmen 5, gives following list of the Clubmen's losses at Hambledon Hill:—2500 routed, 300 prisoners, 12 slain and many wounded, 2000 arms of all sorts, all their Colours, Drums, and other baggage. Cromwell lost only 3 men, and some wounded. Among the leaders of the Clubmen are mentioned Robert Culleford, who had been in arms at the taking of Wareham by O'Brien and had sheltered in Corfe Castle in 1643; Israel Haines, who had been in garrison at Sherborne Castle and had ridden with Charles on his march into the west; and John Corne, who like William Ellis of Sturminster Marshall and Thomas Harding of Shapwick set forth a horse, drum, and colours as Captain for the Clubmen. C.C.A.M., 986, 1063.

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returned to Sherborne "a malicious mischievous Castle, like the owner," where they found Fairfax and the rest of his army very busy at the siege. That "inexpugnable and thrasonical person" Sir Lewis Dyve was the governor. A storm had been intended, but was upon second thoughts postponed; recruits coming so far below expectation both in time and number that it behoved the General to take more than ordinary care of his men; although, after all their tedious marches and sharp encounters, the army was practically as strong as ever it was. This day a party crept along the stone wall close to the Castle, and seized the haystack within a stone's throw of the garrison's works. On Wednesday 6 August, the Royalists—making a new work to plant cannon to beat the besiegers from the haystack — were beaten off the work and their ordnance dismounted. But the attacking party's "earnestness to draw our works very near betwixt the Lodge (the new Castle) and the Castle exposed us" to the garrison's fire; with the result that a Major and four Captains of Colonel Thomas Rainsborough's regiment were wounded, and one slain. Each soldier had his faggot ready, and all things were in a preparation to storm. Another summons was sent into the Castle to surrender; but Fairfax received the following answer:—

Sir,

I have received your second Sum'ones this daye for the surrenderinge this Castle of Sherborne into your hands for the use of the Kingdome. I shall endeavour to purchase a better opinion w^th^ you (before I leave it) then to deliver it upp uppon such easie termes. I keepe it for his Majestie my Soveraigne, unto whom this Kingdome belonges, and by the blessinge of the Almightie am resolved to give him such an accompt thereof, as becomes a Man of Honour to doe who is, Sir,

Your humble servaunt,

LEWIS DYVE.

Sherborne Castle, August 6^to.^ 1645.

On the receipt of this letter, the signature of which alone was in the Governor's handwriting, a Council of War was called. It was resolved thereat that as a whole-cannon was on the way from Portsmouth, and excellent miners were to be had from Mendip, they should proceed by approach and battery—being well informed that the ground on which the Castle stood was mineable. That evening one of Rainsborough's officers, Captain John Horsey, was shot dead by a birding-piece from

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one of the towers; and with Captain-Lieutenant Fleming[1] of the same regiment, who had been killed before, was next day given a military funeral in Sherborne Abbey Church—the burial place of Horsey's ancestors. He was the third son of Sir George Horsey of Clifton Maubank and Melcombe Horsey, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Freke of Shroton. Under Thursday 7 August, in the letter dated that day by Master Bowles, Fairfax's chaplain, to a friend in London occurs the following passage: "This day the Council of War hath given order that all possible diligence be used towards taking of this place before our recruits come up; and the General hath appointed a Commission to examine the leaders of the Clubmen, so some hope this Malignant County may in time be reduced and reformed; especially if some wise and honest men of these parts would come down and contribute their best towards the information and ordering of the people, who after their sufferings are more capable of good than heretofore. From Devon we hear Goring plays an uncertain game, and can scarce tell at a week's end whether he gains or loses, some coming and some running. We had been with them before now but for our recruits and some other necessaries; and that it was not thought safe to leave Clubmen and Sherborne Castle to perfect their design which was far advanced; bnt now, as we hope, not only shaken but broken." On Friday 8 August Fairfax, going to see the working of the mine,—as he did several times also on the two following days—and the making of the gallery, narrowly escaped being accidentally shot by his own men; who, shooting some deer in the park, killed one of their comrades and only just missed their General as he was passing by. The soldiers worked very zealously in the hot and hazardous service of making mines, galleries, and batteries; for which each man was rewarded twelve pence apiece for the day, and as much for the night. On Saturday 9th August, John Rushworth, Secretary to Fairfax and Commissioner of War, writes to Speaker Lenthall. The Clubmen are quiet since the affair at Hambledon Hill. The army still continues before Sherborne Castle which proves a difficult piece of work. They are undermining it as fast as may be, and making galleries; and by the time the ammunition comes to them—"which came yesterday by sea to Poole"—they will be in a good readiness to fit the mine for springing. They are now very close under the walls and make good their ground; notwithstanding the many sallies of the Royalists, and the throwing of stones upon the besiegers heads. The greatest

1. John Horsey's brother Ralph is also said to have been slain in the siege.

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hurt the garrison do is by two keepers of parks they have in the Castle who, with long fowling-pieces, take aim through the loop-holes in the wall—for the most part at commanders. Thus has perished Captain Horsey who, with Captain-Lieutenant Fleming, has had a military funeral in the Abbey Church. Major Done, Captains Crosse and Creamer, all of Rainsborough's regiment and as valiant men as any in the army, were wounded in this way; but not mortally it is hoped—(Done and Crosse eventually died of their hurts). Some of them were hurt in beating the besieged from a new battery they were making. The army's guns make no impression on the wall, which is 12 foot thick; but when the great cannon comes, it is believed it will break down their towers. The money is at Weymouth, and the Parliamentarians must stay before Sherborne until the army is mustered and paid, which will not be before Wednesday at the soonest; and the recruits of Foot come up, which are said to be within two days' march; and then, if the Castle is still untaken, a party must be left to reduce it, and the rest of the army marched into Devon; for the summer wastes and much work is to be done. But, when the army comes before Exeter, Rushworth wishes the materials and such things so long sent for to London "in order to seidges (sieges) may be more timouslie sent downe." Thomas Hammond, afterwards a Regicide, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance here "saith hee can acquitt himselfe by letter after letter, for great gunne shott, granadoes, great mortar pieces etc., but none is as yet come." This army, when before a place, should not stay an hour for materials. Rushworth desires the Speaker to move—for Fairfax above a month or five weeks since wrote to the same effect—that great care be taken to send down things fitting for sieges; *that* being likely to be the business at the end of this summer. Goring lies still and does nothing: within a few days they hope to rouse him. In a postcript Rushworth adds that the recruits are that night within seven miles of the leaguerer; and the guns and shot nine miles off. He has just come from the work. They are within ten yards and less of the Castle wall. The demi-cannon is just now planted on a new battery; and when the shot and whole-cannon arrive they will drive the garrison to a narrow compass. The besiegers have dismounted all the garrison's old ordnance; and beaten them from all the four towers. Their great resource is the throwing down of stones. He makes no doubt with God's blessing "wee shall have them every man." The news now is that the King is coming to Bristol; gathering all the strength he can so as to join with Goring with the Cornish to raise this siege. "I had rather

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thincke it will prove but a pretence to doe it. Yet the place as to his affaires, and supportinge of the three parties is more considerable than Bridgwater was to him other wayes." That night Colonels Sir Robert Pye and Thomas Sheffield, with their own regiments and 700 recruits, came in to the camp.[1]

On Sunday, 10 August, the great guns began to batter the wall between the two lesser towers; beat down one of them; and before six o'clock at night made a breach in the wall large enough for twelve men to enter abreast. The next day the whole-cannon with the long-expected pay for the army arrived at headquarters. Fairfax had intelligence that Massey's Horse, who were quartered near Taunton to intercept Goring's forces should they advance towards Sherborne, had fallen on some of Goring's Horse and taken several prisoners. On Tuesday, 12 August, the Mendip miners arrived, and were set to work. The garrison flung flaming faggots over those parts of the wall where the miners worked, and where a bridge was making over a little rivulet; which burned part of the bridge before they could be quenched, but it was repaired and put over that night. A message was sent to the Governor that he might send out Lady Dyve, or any other women, if he pleased. He acknowledged the favour, and seemed inclined to accept of it, but gave no positive answer—expressing his resolution to hold out to the last. On Wednesday, 13 August, the cannon and demi-cannon were planted on the new battery; where a chief gunner of the army was slain, and another gunner—Jenkins by name—was shot from the tower. The miners wrought within two yards of the wall; where rock appearing it was feared it would give more interruption than it did, but, proving a soft stone, it was easily bored through. Fairfax and Cromwell in person twice again this day inspected the works and mines. Next day, about 11 o'clock, the great guns began to play; and, before six, had made a breach in the middle of the wall sufficient for ten men to enter abreast; and had beaten down one of the towers, which much disheartened the garrison. The besiegers, while the cannon played hard upon the Castle, wanting shot fetched off the bullets from under the very walls; and had sixpence for every bullet. After the breach was made Fairfax sent a third summons to surrender, or to expect extremity. This demand "drave the Governor into a great passion (which is not hard to do), insomuch as he said, he would hang the drum." And when the drum, "delivering his message stoutly was as he thought saucy," Dyve told him "he must have more manners in his presence, and sent an answer to this

1. Sprigg, 91. Harvey, 91-4.

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purpose; that the language was so far differing from what he had formerly received that he could not believe that it came from the same hand, but said, that he would not lose his honour to save his life (it may be, comments Sprigg, as one says of him, because his cause and carriage had already lost it), if the last were, he should think it well bestowed in the service." Another of the army's gunners was shot by a fowling-piece. By this time the approaches were so near that the beleaguered Cavaliers had no use for their muskets and only threw down stones. The besiegers upon the guard, commanded by Colonel Richard Ingoldsby, afterwards a Regicide, gained the tower in the corner of the Castle: out of which the Parliament musketeers, playing into the Castle, "recompensed with a fatal shot" one of the garrison's chief marksmen; who had so often shot out of the tower with the birding-piece, "and killed our men." The mine not being ready to spring that night, it was resolved to put off the storm until the following day. The besiegers ventured so near the walls from the gallery that they pulled the wool out of the woolsacks that lay on the garrison's works; which caused the Royalists to set strong guards. Great fires were made in the Castle all night long to discover the approaches and mines. Next day the Governor, at two in the morning, sent out a drummer with this letter:—

> Sir—I must acknowledge the advantage you have of me, by being master of my walls; and, that you may not think me obstinate without reason, I have sent this drum unto you to let you know that if I may have such conditions from you as are fit for a soldier and a gentleman with honour to accept, I shall surrender this Castle into your hands; otherwise I shall esteem it a far greater happiness to bury my bones in it, and the same resolution have all those that are with me. And give me leave to add this, that your victory will be crowned with more honour by granting it than you will gain glory by the winning it with the loss of as much blood as it will cost.
>
> I am, your servant,
>
> L. Dyve.
>
> Sherborne Castle, 15 August, 1645.

To this Fairfax replied as follows:—

> Sir—I should have been as willing to gratify you with honourable Conditions as any man, having expressed so much Gallantry in the defending of yourself. But the advantage I now have of being possessed of the Breach,

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and some of the Towers, as it may with reason induce you to surrender the place; so it obligeth me in Honour to agree to no other Conditions than Quarter for your lives; which I should be glad you would accept of that so Effusion of that blood, which will inevitably follow upon a Refusall, might be prevented.

Sir, it is against my nature to threaten or insult over your Condition; but I must tell you (and I wish you have a heart to believe it) that, if you refuse this my offer, you and those with you must know I will hear of no Termes for the future.

Fairfax then in person viewed the Castle within from over the wall; gave orders for a storm; and that each soldier was to cut a fresh faggot: whereby, as at the storming of Bristol and Bridgewater, in two hours they had above 6000 faggots to fill the trenches with. These faggots when in position were to be covered with stones and rubbish. While this was doing, the besiegers gained one tower and recovered another from whence the Royalists had shot so many men. The victorious Parliamentarians proved as good marksmen as the besieged had done and harrassed the garrison from thence, slaying Dyve's secretary among others, and driving the Cavaliers from the guns which they had planted to oppose the entrance at the breach. The miners had by this time burrowed quite through the foundation of the wall; and the besiegers' Foot played so hard from the breach that the garrison were forced to quit the great court within the Castle. The attacking party coming forward with faggots and some of them, before their appointed time, leaping over the works; the besieged, being thereby discouraged, fled out of one work into another and so into the Castle; which the besiegers observing went all over. The bloody flag was pulled down, and they within hung out a white one and sent a drum to ask quarter; but, before he could get out and return, a great part of Fairfax's Foot were entered; and the besieged had thrown down their arms and cried for quarter, which was given—the soldiers being inclined rather to booty than revenge. But all were stripped; except the Governor and Lady Dyve, with some few more. The soldiers discovered plunder of great value, the taking of which in a disorderly manner could not then be prevented. And it was fortunate for the prisoners that the store of treasure within distracted the attention of and busied the soldiers: otherwise it would have been difficult to have got them quarter. At the first entrance of the besiegers some of the Royalists were slain, but none afterwards. "It were to be

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wished that the soldiers had that in money which they took in plunder; yet five shillings gotten in way of spoil from the Enemy gives them more content than twenty shillings by way of reward in an orderly manner; besides being not rewarded (ten shillings a man) according to promise, when Bridgewater was stormed, made them now more zealous to be their own Carvers." Not a man but obtained plunder; some two or three times over. The anonymous correspondent of the Speaker says his greatest care was to preserve writings, but he was glad "to take the soldiers' leavings and missed things there present of great concernment; yet some was got of the proceedings in Spain when the Earl of Bristol was there with the Prince." (This last clause refers, of course, to Charles I's abortive visit of 1623 to Madrid, in search of a wife). Fairfax intends to stay at Sherborne but one day to settle their peace; and then to move with the army, as it may be in his judgment and the opinion of the Council of War best for the public service. "I believe we shall go where we are not expected." The army is mustered and most of it paid; and, it is hoped, will give a good account of whatever it undertakes. This business of Sherborne has tried the skill and resolution of the soldiers more than anything that has yet fallen out; and indeed the Comptroller of the Ordnance, Captain Richard Deane, (afterwards Admiral and a Regicide), has been a diligent and active man in managing the approaches, bridges, mines, and galleries. "Once again, let me desire you to expedite all things fitting for Sieges with all the speed that may be; a day lost in it is of infinite disservice; above all, send mortar-pieces and granado shells fit for them: they are at Warwick, but sent for."

The reduction of Sherborne was of great importance; because of the influence it had upon the disaffected Clubmen of the surrounding country, who, having the countenance of this garrison, were so much the bolder in their demands and behaviour. The looting by the soldiers lasted all that day and most of the night, whose good conduct in the town of Sherborne during the siege of the Castle deserves commendation; when, notwithstanding the fact that about sixty townsmen, with families in the town, were in the Royalist garrison; yet not one of their houses was plundered. On Saturday, 16 August, being market-day, the soldiers with the booty they had acquired kept a great market with the country-people, who bought the goods of them; and all that day and the next was necessarily spent in ordering the disposal of the prisoners and in considering what to do with the Castle, which on 21 August, Parliament ordered to be slighted (demolished).

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This appears to have been completed in the following October; and out of the ruins were built the adjacent Castleton Church, part of the Lodge, the stables, and part of the garden walls. The capture of Sherborne gave to Fairfax the command of a shorter road to the west than that through Blandford and Dorchester. At the Council of War some had urged the importance of returning to the west before Goring could recover strength, but the majority were of opinion that Bristol must be taken first. The position of Bristol was of the very greatest importance; and, garrisoned as it was by more than 2000 men under Rupert, it might easily—if Charles saw fit to join his troops with those of his nephew, at the same time "drawing to an head the disaffected Clubmen of Somerset, Wilts, and Dorset, when once our backs were towards them"—become a basis of operations, which would be very dangerous to an army advancing into Devon and Cornwall. It was true that the defences of the city were understood to be formidable; and that, as the plague was raging within it, the danger to the army even in case of success would be full as great as while it was still exposed to the fire of the garrison's artillery. All these objections were, however, over-ruled; and on Monday, 18 August, the same day on which Charles turned back from Doncaster, Fairfax marched to Castle Carey on his way to form the siege of Bristol, which surrendered to him on 11 September.

The "Moderate Intelligencer" (no. 26) records, under date Thursday, 21 August: "From the west we have: that Fairfax like a noble General, before his departure from Sherborne ordered restitution for our soldier's violence done to the Garrison: a work worthy to be chronicled to posterity." And under Saturday 23 August: "Fairfax, ere he set forwards for Bristol, ordered the Castle of Sherborne to be put into the hands of Major (George) Starr, an honest, valiant gentleman, Major to Colonel Popham sometime, but last Major of Colonel Tomson's (Thompson's) regiment of Horse. How long this will be continued a Garrison is uncertain; because it depends upon the disposition of the neighbours and their good behaviour. He sent Sir Lewis Dyve, Colonel Strangways, and other prisoners to Poole to be sent to London. We have prisoners plenty: let's take care of their influence." And under Monday, 25 August: "On Tuesday last Sherborne was ordered to be slighted; and all forces left, called off: there were good reasons for it. The Clubmen will not be angry any more: they hope to be freed of free-quarter."

In the Castle were taken Sir Lewis Dyve, Colonel and Governor, Lady Dyve, Sir John Strangways, Colonel Giles

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Strangways, one of Lord Poulett's sons, Sir John Walcott, Sir —— Cotton Kt., Colonel Thornhill, Colonel Fussel, an attorney and sometime sub-governor of Weymouth for the King, three members of the House of Commons, several commissions of Array, nine Captains, eleven Lieutenants, three Cornets, five Colours (two according to Sprigg), fifty-five gentlemen of Wilts and Dorset, ten Clergymen, 344 common soldiers, 600 arms, thirty horses, 18 pieces of ordnance and a mortar-piece, sixty barrels of powder, and much spoil. Few of the garrison were slain in the storm. The prisoners and leaders of the Clubmen were sent up by sea to London on Monday 18 August. Sir Lewis Dyve and Sir John Strangways being brought to the bar of the House of Commons; Dyve refused to kneel until compelled to do so, and with Sir John was committed to the Tower for high treason. On the Parliament side; Major Done, Major Crosse, and Captain Crosse were slain; and Captain Creamer wounded—they were all of the artillery and Rainsborough's regiment. The total loss of the besieging party was 200 men during a siege which lasted sixteen days. On 22 September, 1645, the Committee at Derby House inform Sir W. Campion that they have received his communication concerning the proposed exchange for him of Colonel Thornhill, taken at Sherborne by Sir T. Fairfax; but that with the business of exchange they do not meddle. Therefore his way is to apply to Fairfax, who no doubt will exchange Thornhill upon equal terms. This is sent by his own trumpet; and they send by the same a similar communication to Monsieur Puiade acknowledging his letter "anent exchange for you of Colonel Thornhill."

Though the operations of war were chiefly carried on about the Castle; yet the town of Sherborne and its inhabitants, who were generally very loyal to the King, suffered greatly during the Civil War. George, Lord Digby, was one of the first voted to be excepted from pardon in 1648; and on 15 March he and his father were ordered to be banished, and their estates confiscated. The Earl of Bristol's estate was let to Lady Brooke for £530 per annum—with the exception of the old rents which were reserved; but George, Lord Digby, was allowed to compound for his own estate for £500. The estates of the following inhabitants of Sherborne were also sequestered; but they were afterwards allowed to compound:

Josiah Cooth	at	£73.
Henry Durnford	,,	£281.
Hugh Hodges, Attorney-at-law	,,	£200.
Richard Haydon	,,	£140.
Richard Turner	,,	£234.
John Williams	,,	£19.

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The anonymous letter to Speaker Lenthall of 12 o'clock at night of 15 August, gives the following list:—

Prisoners of War taken at Sherborne Castle, 15 August, 1645.

Sir Lewis Dives (Dyve)
Sir John Walcooth (Walcott)
Col. Strangwayes of Horse (Sir John?)
Col. Thornhill
Lieut.-Col. Strangways of Horse (Giles?)
Major Balston
Capt. Hamon
Capt. Bright
Capt. Chancee
Capt. Mullins
Capt. Creswell
Capt.-Lieut. Norris
Capt. Hoddinot
Capt. Speed
Capt. Strangwayes of Horse (James?)
Capt. Bond
George Waller, Provost Marshall

Chirurgeons.

Mr. Stuckey
,, Paylee
,, Robinson

Ministers.

Doctor Coockson
Mr. Wild
,, Wake (Wm. R. of Trinity and St. Mich. Wareham)
,, Townsend (Ralph of Upwey?)
,, Ford

Capt. Hoddar
Capt. Brisco
Lt. Jenings
Lt. Tayler
Lt. Mallet
Lt. Rogers
Lt. Townsend
Lt. Jolliffe of Horse
Coronet Devonet, Reformado
Ensign Gale
,, Hoyes
,, Harris
,, Toole
,, Collins (townsman)
,, Mullins
,, Tod

Gentlemen.

Mr. Chafine (Thos. of Chettle)
,, Buckland
,, Barns
,, Browne
,, Grisley
,, Forsell
,, Richards
,, Wiborne
,, Hutchins
,, Carleton

344 Common Soldiers besides Officers.[1]

1. Sprigg, 92-8. Hutchins IV, 272-3, 429. Gardiner II, 307-8. Portland MS., I, 242. Firth's 'Cromwell's Army,' 168-9, 173, 177-8. Bell, 246. Carlyle I, 199. The remains of the Castle are parts of the curtain wall, the gate-house, the square keep, the Chapel and hall. These are of Norman work somewhat restored and altered in the fifteenth century. Tract—Sherborne 10. Tract, Dorset 6. Tract, Dorset 7.

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CHAPTER XI.

The Fall of the last Royalist Garrisons in Dorset: Corfe Castle and Portland.

(August 1645 to April 1646).

ON 26 August, 1645, came an ordinance directing the Dorset Standing Committee, named on 1 July 1644, to put in force the weekly assessment for six months for the support of Colonel Edward Massey's forces—the sums to be raised weekly being £437 10s. 0d. from Dorset, and £5 from Poole. On 6 September, Whitelocke records that the Governor of Weymouth with the assistance of some seamen had entered the isle of Purbeck; taken a Fort therein and a demiculverin; and slighted the Fort. On 1 October, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper and others write from Melcombe Regis to the Speaker concerning the sad condition of Poole; "where the plague and famine busily contend for preeminence, and the distressed inhabitants impatient of either of their reigns threaten to break out to the inevitable danger of the loss of the garrison and ruin of the places adjacent"—which the writers desire may be taken into present consideration on account both of the importance of the place and its affection to Parliament. They will always be ready to contribute their best assistance; but "five of our great towns, Poole, Sherborne, Dorchester, Perret (South Perrott), and Week (Wyke Regis)—being by the present contagion necessarily reduced to a just expectation of relief—the County will not be able much longer to subsist under the intolerable burthen of so many infected places and seven garrisons, especially when our weekly contributions shall be taken from us." On Monday 6 October, Winchester Castle surrendered to Cromwell; and six of his troopers were convicted at Blandford of robbing, near Worthy, the departing Cavaliers whom they were escorting under Captain Robotham. One, to whose lot it fell, was executed next morning at the head of the army. He died very penitently, and his execution

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made a deep impression. The five others were marched under escort to Oxford; and there handed over to the Governor, Sir Thomas Glemham, who sent them back, "with an acknowledgement of the Lieutenant-General's nobleness." On 30 September the army had marched to Shaftesbury, leaving Fairfax at Warminster. On 2 October they marched to Milton; next day to Dorchester; and the next to Beaminster. From thence the army marched, on 6 October, to Chard where they remained eight nights; but on Wednesday 8 October Fairfax himself went to Lyme, returning on the following day. There he was entertained by the Governor, Colonel Ceeley; and heard of the fall of Winchester Castle. The taxes levied for the support of Fairfax's soldiers had come in but slowly; and for some time past there had been no money to send into the west. The discipline of the army depended upon constant pay; and on the first day's march many of the men were seen to look over their shoulders in order to espy the treasure-carts from London. A few days later they were ripe for a mutiny. If the money, they said, did not soon arrive they would go back to London to fetch it. It was not until Saturday, 11 October, that the long-expected convoy arrived; "and the army was paid that night, having been ever since the taking of Bristol without pay." On Tuesday 14 October, Fairfax and his army marched to Honiton by way of Axminster. On 16 October the Derby House Committee write to the Treasurers of the Army. Whereas the latter now have £20,000 ready to be sent to Fairfax's army, the Committee desire them to send it to Kingston-on-Thames to be there on Tuesday night; whence it will go under convoy to Portsmouth, and so to Weymouth by sea for the service of that army. They have written to the Committee of Surrey to send 40 Horse and dragoons to Kingston for convoy.[1]

Under the date 28 October, Sprigg, speaking of the investment of Exeter, notices that in order to isolate the city Bishop's Clyst, Poltimore, and Stoke Canon, were pitched upon to be garrisons. Sir John Bampfield, M.P., gave his consent that Poltimore House might be made a garrison; and an engineer was sent to Bishop's Clyst to draw a line for fortifications about Bedford House. The Lyme regiment had the charge of these two garrisons; and Colonel Hammond's regiment was to secure and fortify Stoke Canon. And under the date 7 December he says, "the garrisons of Nutwell,

1. Minute Books, xxii. Portland MSS. I, 279. Sprigg, 139, 144-5. Whitelocke, 173. Godwin, 340. Gardiner, II, 360. Dorchester Records, 532-7 for mention of various visitations of plague and small-pox.

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Broad-Cliss (Clyst), Poltimore, and Stoke (Canon) were by now "tenable against any sudden assault of the enemy; and possessed by the forces of Lyme, some Foot of Major-General Massey's, and some new raised regiments of the County,—whereby Excester was perfectly straitened on the east side." But it was not until 13 April, 1646, that the loyal city surrendered. On 8 November, Colonel William Sydenham writes to the Speaker from Melcombe Regis: "Being chosen a burgess for this place I apprehend it my duty to recommend the care of the Garrison" to Parliament. "Ability, faithfulness, and diligence will be requisite in a succeeding governor—especially till Portland be reduced, which I have already blocked up. I beseech the House that the many well-affected persons, from whom in case of great extremity I have borrowed; and also the artificers and labourers, who are not in a condition to forbear payment, may receive at least some competent satisfaction." On 10 November, John Ashe, M.P., writes from Ottery St. Mary to the Speaker: "Touching elections as yet I have not proceeded far, only at Shafton (Shaftesbury) and Weymouth; where for three vacant places there stood seven men; and so many speeches made against strangers and unknown persons that if three townsmen had stood they had carried it against all that interposed; for they rejected four able men, and chose a poor simple townsman. He told them that by the Statute they ought to choose inhabitants as burgesses, and I hear that they in Somerset are in a like manner provided three or four for one place; wherefore I shall advise you to write your letters to Sir John Bampfield, Sir Samuel Rolle,[1] and Mr. Nicoll; for if you send them writs they have more places than men to supply them . . . . Sir Samuel Rolle complains that the country is not able to undergo the quarter of the soldiers; and he that was so eager to have the army come into Devon is now as willing to be discharged of them—at least of the charge and burthen of them. As for the business itself we may hope that the enemy may be vanquished without blows. A few days will shew us their resolutions; for they have been kindly saluted by us; and many things offered to their considerations . . . . I find the General exceeding healthy and cheerful: I believe much the better for the comfort of his good Lady."[2] On 10 November also the Derby House Committee inform Fairfax that there is some ordnance in the garrison of Poole, which

1. Sir S. Rolle of Heanton, Devon, brother of Henry the Judge and of John Rolle, merchant and politician. D.N.B. XLIX., 162, 163.

2. Fairfax married Anne, fourth daughter of Sir Horace Vere, Baron Vere of Tilbury, soldier. D.N.B., LVIII, 235.

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lately belonged to the train of Waller. If not required for Poole, the guns are required for Winchester Castle. Four days later the Committee write to the Treasurers of the Army saying they are informed by the Committee of the Army that £30,000 is ready to be sent to Fairfax. They desire it sent to Portsmouth, and thence by sea to Weymouth. Let it be at Portsmouth by the 19th; and they will give orders for a ship to attend it there. On 28 November, Sir John Strangways writes to the Speaker inclosing his petition to the House. In this he declares he has relinquished all employment or service for the King since 18 October, 1644; and asks that, on account of his age and infirmities he may be allowed to be at large on his parole or on security. The Map of England of 5 November 1645 displays the shrunken territories of the King. The island in Parliamentary mid-England containing the royal head-quarters at Oxford, Banbury, Faringdon, and Wallingford still was his; the peninsular west of Exeter and Dunster, save puritanical Plymouth; the Welsh counties of Anglesey, Carnarvon, Merioneth, Cardigan, Radnor, with most of Flint, Denbigh, and Montgomery; the greater part of Herefordshire; the adjacent strips of Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Worcestershire; and the isolated garrisons of Bolton Castle, Skipton, Lathom House, Chester, Beeston Castle, Hulme, High Ercall, Lichfield, Ashby de la Zouche, Shelford, Newark, Belvoir Castle, Raglan, Donnington, and Corfe Castles.[1]

As early as 17th May 1645, the following instructions had been given by the Committee for the Associated Western Counties to Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper for the blockade of Corfe Castle:—

> "You are desired forthwith to repair to the Isle of Purbeck and to draw together, as speedily as may be, out of the garrisons of Poole, Wareham, Lulworth, and Weymouth, such numbers of Foot and Horse as are sufficient to block up Corfe Castle. And the governors of the several garrisons aforesaid are hereby desired to give you all the furtherance and assistance they are able in this design, which is of such great consequence to the county. You shall have powers to dispose of such monies as we have given order to Mr. Henry Bridges to receive, in such manner as shall be conducible to the carrying on of this service. You shall have power to appoint such officers as you shall think fit to command these forces being drawn together. You shall have power, if either the commanders or soldiers are willing to render the

1. Portland MSS., I, 304, 307, 317. Sprigg, 163, 170. C.S.P., (1645-7).

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Castle on composition, that then you shall accept of it on such reasonable conditions for their persons and estates as in your discretion shall be thought fit. Lastly, you are authorized to do and execute all things else that, in your judgement, you shall think necessary for the carrying on all this design; and, for the better encouragement both of officers and soldiers herein, you are to let them know they shall each of them have a fortnight's pay for their reward.

ANTH. NICOLL DENZILL HOLLES
DENIS BOND THO. ERLE."

And at the same time it was ordered that "the soldiers of Colonel Popham's and Colonel Cooke's regiments, now sent under conduct of Mr. Henry Bridges to Wareham, shall receive and obey such orders and commands as shall be given them" by Cooper. This order was signed by the same, save that Samuel Prideaux's signature replaces that of Denis Bond. Shaftesbury himself says of this period in his autobiographical sketch, written in January 1646:—"In May he received divers commissions from the Committee of the West, the chief of which was to command in chief the forces they designed to beleaguer Corfe Castle, which forces he was to receive from Colonel Weldon who then commanded in the West; but when Sir Anthony came into the country he found Weldon blocked up by Goring; so that being not supplied with men he was forced to return . . . . In October he went down into the country; and sat with the Committee constantly, most commonly as Chairman. In December he was employed by the Committee with Colonel Bingham, to the General (Fairfax)—who lay them at Autree (Ottery St. Mary) in Devon—to obtain an assistance of force towards the besieging Corfe Castle, which they obtained." The Castle was then blocked up by Colonel Bingham, Governor of Poole, and Colonel Pickering's regiment—sent thither for that purpose. On 20 June, Colonel Robert Butler—having heard that the garrison at Corfe had store of cattle which they turned out to graze every day but every night brought into the Castle—had marched out of Wareham by night with Captains Jordan and Lawrence and a party of Horse and Foot. He lay undiscovered until daybreak when, the garrison having turned out the cattle and horses to graze, Butler with his Horse drew near the Castle and faced the enemy: whilst Jordan and Lawrence drew up the Foot; entered the town; beat the Royalists to the Castle; and kept them in play. Meanwhile Butler's Horse drove away their cattle from under their very walls to the number of at least 140; took also about 20 good

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horses; and brought them all off safely to Wareham without the loss of a man. On 15 December the Derby House Committee write to Colonel Rainsborough, or the officer in command of his regiment, to the effect that, having written to Fairfax to send a Foot regiment speedily to Abingdon, they have received an answer that he has appointed Rainsborough to come to Wareham and there attend their further directions. He is to come at once as the London forces are to leave Abingdon on the 20th instant. Under 16 December Whitelock says Fairfax "sent a regiment of Horse, and two regiments of Foot to take in Corfe Castle." On 18 December the Committee write to Fairfax that they are informed by the gentlemen of Dorset that Corfe Castle would be easily reduced, if his Foot regiment sent thither might have continued there but for a short time. But it necessarily had to go to Abingdon. This Castle, therefore, will be still left in the hands of the Royalists; and the people of the island, who have declared themselves for Parliament, will be in danger of being ruined by that garrison. The Committee therefore desire Fairfax to send thither 400 Foot with what expedition he can for its reduction; which effected would wholly free that country from any force of the enemy. They therefore desire him to send these forces forthwith. On the same day the Committee repeat the substance of the above letter to the gentlemen of Dorset in leaguer before Corfe Castle, adding "Meanwhile, with your regiment of Horse and your own County Foot you are to keep in (confine) that garrison and preserve the country [from plundering] until other forces come up; which we hope will be very speedily sent by the same (Fairfax)." On 22 December, in Bury the Treasurer's accounts, two troops are mentioned to be drawn to Corfe. Next day John Rushworth writes from Tiverton to Lord Fairfax: "The General had it last night in debate of sending another regiment of Foot to Corfe Castle in lieu of that which is called away; but in regard the Enemy is preparing to relieve Exeter we are like to need the greatest party of our army." On 27 December the Committee of both Kingdoms write to Fairfax that they hear there are two regiments of his Horse in Dorset; where they are now of no use. If he can spare these he is to send them up into the Midlands; where they may be useful in blocking up the Royalist garrisons. They have not heard whether he has sent 400 men against Corfe as they desired in lieu of Colonel Rainsborough's; but they again made this request if he can spare them.[1]

1. Hutchins, I, 508. Christie, I, 74. Vicars' 'Burning Bush,' 175. Sprigg, 157, 174. Whitelocke, 183. C.S.P., 1645-7. Bell, I, 267.

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Under 3 January, 1646, Mercurius Academicus says "two Regiments are gone to make good that against Corfe Castle;" and under 22 January the same journal mentions that Sir John Campsfield, with a party of nearly 200 Horse from Oxford, had routed the Roundheads at Marlborough. On the latter day in a lists of counties, with the number of recruits for Fairfax's Army to be severally supplied by them, Dorset is credited with 600. On 29 January the King's Horse from Oxford lay near Corfe, and Goring's forces were advanced to near Barnstaple—pretending a design to join together. To prevent this Fairfax, says Sprigg, "went from Chudleigh to Tiverton, to give order about that point; sent Colonel Edward Cooke from thence with three regiments of Horse of Major-General Massey's brigade to attend the enemy's motion; and the next day some regiments of Horse and dragoons marched from these parts to a rendezvous towards the north of Devon —though upon second advice they were recalled to quarters." Under 31 January Mercurius Academicus records that from Marlborough Sir John Campsfield and his Oxford Horse went on to Salisbury, where he let forty Royalists out of prison; and from thence "lookt upon Bath, and could not descry one Rebel there (yet gave such a hot alarm to the Besiegers of Corfe Castle, that they runne away, and gave besieged leave to relieve themselves.") On the same day Fairfax informs his father from Tiverton that he has sent for Major-General Skippon's regiment from Bristol and the regiment from Corfe Castle to beleaguer Exeter and carry out the business in the west. On 3 February the Derby House Committee inform Captain William Ludlow, Governor of Langford House (Longford Castle), Wilts, that the forces of Fairfax that were at Corfe, being required for other service in the West, the siege of that Castle is like to be unsuccessful unless forces be supplied from some other place. Ludlow is therefore required to furnish 100 men out of his garrison, there being no enemy near that can offend or endanger him. A letter to the same effect is sent to the Committee of Dorset who are desired to bring in as many more men as may be. On Thursday, 5 February, upon intelligence of the Royalist Horse being gone towards Dunster, Colonel Cooke, who had orders to march somewhat farther eastward in order to check the Oxford Horse that by information from the east were to be in Dorset, had orders to return. The next day came news that a party of Royalist Horse, put at 1500, had thrown some small relief into Dunster; taking the opportunity when those forces that attended thereabout were withdrawn towards Corfe. On their retreat the country, with the assistance of Colonel

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Blake's forces who were unable to oppose so large a body and therefore during the relief secured themselves in a strong house, fell upon their rear; slew some; took others prisoners; and disarmed more. Edmund Ludlow says of this period in his Memoirs: "I betook myself to Colonel Massey's party, commanded at that time (September, 1645) by Colonel Edward Cooke, where I had not been long before an alarm was given that a party of Horse from Oxford had marched by with a design (February, 1646), to relieve Corfe Castle besieged at that time by our forces: but before we could get our men together, they had surprised part of ours in Wareham and beaten off the guard between that place and the Castle—which they relieved with what they could and returned again. In this action a brother of my father's was mortally wounded, taken prisoner by the Enemy, and died the next day. Colonel Cooke was forced to content himself to reinforce the besiegers and to return to his former station." Colonel Edward Cooke a younger son of Sir Robert Cooke of Highnam, Gloucestershire, served originally in Waller's army, and was one of the witnesses against Nathaniel Fiennes after the surrender of Bristol. Waller had been ordered to send him and his regiment to reinforce Massey, and assist in the relief of Taunton. Whilst engaged in that service he was severely wounded. He seems to have shared Massey's political views; and was at Newport on 30 November, 1648, when the King was carried off to Hurst Castle. After the Restoration Cooke was in great favour with Charles II, who was wont to call him "honest Ned Cooke." He was one of the Commissioners for carrying out the Act of Settlement and Explanatory Act in Ireland.[1]

Under the date 14 February, Whitelock gives an account of the Royalist surprise at Wareham. A party of 120 Cavaliers under Colonel Cromwell[2] came into Dorset to relieve Corfe Castle; marched through Colonel Cooke's quarters undiscovered; and came to Wareham. There they told the sentinels they were a troop of Fairfax's Horse, whose scarves they were wearing; and rode into the town to the governor's house. But Colonel Robert Butler, on seeing them, shut his door; and, with his son, fired upon them; and made good his lodging three hours together; until the enemy fired the house, to which the magazine was near, and then they were forced to yield upon quarter. Butler and two Committee Men were carried

1. C.S.P., 1645-7. Sprigg, 189, 190. Bell I, 283. Hutchins I, 508. Ludlow, 130.

2. Probably Col. James Cromwell eldest son of Henry, Oliver's senior first-cousin.

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prisoners into Corfe Castle: and the Parliament forces before it quitted some of their guards—although they were four times as many as those within. But some of the victorious Royalists, returning to Wareham to provide for their newly-gained garrison, were beaten out of the town by Colonel Cooke who took their Commander-in-chief with divers prisoners. Butler, Governor of Wareham, contrived his escape from Corfe with Colonel Lawrence of Creech Grange, who being of the King's party therein resolved to come in to the Parliament, and both of them got out together. On 12 February the Derby House Committee write to Fairfax that, owing to the Royalist incursion into Dorset, Wareham is put in danger and some disaffection discovered to exist in that county. They, then, think it fit that Colonel FitzJames' regiment of Horse continue in that county for its better security and the reduction of Corfe; until forces from other parts supply its place. Next day they write to Colonel Cooke that, regarding the late accident at Wareham and the increase of the Royalist garrison in Corfe, they think it better that—until he is called away by General Fairfax—he continue to take care for the security of Dorset and the town of Wareham; and also assist at the reduction of Corfe. If Cooke be called away thence, Colonel FitzJames's regiment of Horse is to be left in Dorset; for which Cooke is to give order to FitzJames. These two letters were forwarded by the gentlemen of Dorset. On 18 February the Committee of Both Kingdoms inform the Governor of Wareham that they have written to Colonel Algernon Sydney, Governor of Chichester, to send 100 Foot to the siege of Corfe. Upon their coming up Butler is to draw off 100 of his own Foot for the security of his garrison. This letter was delivered to Mr. Erle. From a letter of the same date to Sydney we find that the Committee of Dorset was to pay the said troop. Under 14 February, Mercurius Academicus has the following:—"This day carries you into Dorset, whence you hear of six of your Reformado-Officers (disbanded officers) in a gallantry surveying the Country. At their return upon Salysbury Heath (Salisbury Plain), they fell in company with seven of like condition—honesty excepted—belonging to Fairfax, with whom they skirmish. One of the Rebels falls, and the other six yield themselves prisoners; and furnish better men than themselves with Buff-coats, scarlet cloaks, Horses, Swords, and pistols. Nor were their outsides so gay but their linings were as rich, and lent them good store of money till they can pay themselves by a like exploit. And in mere humility bare them company to Farringdon; where they have took up their lodgings and are not like to leave them; till they

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can defray charges, and find exchange for two Majors, two Captains, and two other officers." Some light is thrown upon the affair at Wareham by the examination of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Pittman, on 8 June, 1646. Pittman, "an officer for the King heretofore," had served under Lord Inchiquin in Ireland; and was, perhaps, akin to the Pittman family who owned property at Maplederwell in Hampshire. He says Dr. Hudson undertook to go to Wareham and get it given up to the King. His way was he went as a pursuivant (?) from Parliament to receive the King's rents, and at a week's end he got Wareham. He let down the bridge and Pittman then entered with his Horse. On 12 June Dr. Michael Hudson, who had accompanied Charles on his flight from Oxford, being himself examined, said:—"I went into Dorset to Wareham. One Colonel Philips spake of taking Wareham. He and Dr. Ferrier (?) spake of me. Colonel Philips desired my acquaintance, and he moved (?) me to go into Dorset and see if Wareham was to be taken. I went thither. He sent Pittman with me to Blandford. I went to Pittman where he had 50 men that would be the King's. I viewed Poole, and told Secretary Nicholas that 200 Horse would take both Poole and Wareham . . . . I left two within to let down the bridge when I came. We went in and seized all. He said at Wareham he came to gather money for Parliament in that county. An old maiour came to examine me and I told him this. He writ a copy of a warrant from Haberdashers Hall to gather the Duke of Richmond's rents. They were concealed rents."[1]

Meanwhile, in February, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Pittman, who was serving in the garrison of Corfe Castle, found means to intimate to the besieging force that—if protection were afforded him—he was willingly to procure the deliverance of the Royalist stronghold into the possession of Parliament. Accordingly a protection was privately procured, and sent down to him from London; whereupon he laid his plot. Pittman told Colonel Henry Anketell, Governor of the Castle, that, with his permission, he would go into Somerset and privately get 100 more men; bring them into the Castle; and then, considering what had been formerly done, he made no doubt they would beat off the besiegers and make them quit the place. He would, moreover, find means to colour his going out by obtaining leave to go for an exchange of a friend of his[2] for one of the Parliament's side then a prisoner in

1. Mercurius Acad., 88. Whitelocke, 192. Hutchins I, 508. C.S.P., 1645-7. Portland MSS. I. 372, 379.

2. Whitelocke says "for Pittman's brother."

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Corfe. Anketell, the unsuspicious Governor, third son of Christopher Anketell of Stour Provost was in holy orders—being D.D. of Wadham College—and hence styled by the opposite party "the priest and malignant doctor." He gave his assent to Pittman's pretended project; and leave was obtained from Colonel Bingham, in command of the forces before the Castle, for Pittman to come out and treat about the exchange. Outside it was agreed that the sometime Royalist should have one hundred commanded men to carry into the Castle; and that the attacking party should give the onset at the same time. Accordingly one hundred picked men were taken out of several companies of the Weymouth garrison, and secretly marched to Lulworth Castle; whence they marched back, with 30 or 40 more, as silently as they could until they came to Corfe. Pittman led them into the sally-port on the north-east corner of the Castle; where Anketell stood to welcome them, with much courtesy, some of the men being from Somerset and "he being that countryman;"[1] and some amongst them were "in a disguised habit who knew all parts of the Castle." When 50 of them were entered Anketell, seeing many yet behind, refused to let any more enter, saying, those were enough and more than he could tell what to do with; at which Pittman seemed to be very angry, saying, the Governor had done him wrong in causing him to bring men so far at hazard of their lives; and then to shut them out, make them lie in the cold, and be in danger of having their throats cut. But those who had entered, meanwhile, got some into the King's Tower or Keep; others into the Queen's Tower; and the rest into the two Platforms; standing upon their guard and making it good in expectation of the besiegers giving the onset by scalado (by means of scaling ladders), or otherwise—it being about two o'clock in the morning. Thus they continued for three or four hours; the besiegers in all that time never falling on; and the garrison shooting at and threatening to cut the throats of all who had entered. But these fifty maintained their ground and, when at last it was open day, the besiegers—seeing their friends on the tops of towers and platforms—made an assault. The garrison, finding themselves between two fires, demanded a parley; which was granted and agreement made that all lives should be spared, and that those who were of the town should return quietly to their houses. Whereupon two of the last came over the walls; which the rest seeing began to

1. Anketell's mother Elizabeth Fraunceis and his grandmother Elizabeth Phelipps were from Somerset. He himself appears to have been in some points the original of Dr. Rochecliffe in Scott's 'Woodstock.'

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shoot, and so broke quarter. These in the sequel, about 140 in number, all became prisoners at discretion, their lives excepted. A store of plunder and provisions was taken; besides 17 barrels of powder with match proportionate. Thirty prisoners of the Parliamentary party were released. In this action but one man was lost on the Parliament side; although the garrison fired many shots and flung down great stones from the walls upon the attacking party. Tradition declares that the besiegers shut the greater part of the garrison into the lower ward, where they happened to be; and that only six were left in the upper part of the Castle. Only two of the garrison were slain. In Sprigg's table of battles and sieges this siege is said to have lasted for 48 days, during which 11 men were slain and five ordnance taken. The Castle surrendered at 8 o'clock in the morning of 27 February 1646. Bingham's letter to the Speaker concerning the surrender is as follows:—

(*Tanner MS.* 60, f. 487).

Sir,—By God's great providence wee are this instant possessed of Corff Castel having wrestled with many difficulties in the designe. Our Sheriffe, Colonel Fitzjames, being present with me when wee entred the Castel. God raised up the spirit of one Lieut.-Col. Pittman (who came into this Castel when Wareham was surprised) to endevour a surrender of it into our hands. The particulars at large you shall speedily receive from the hands of,

Your faithful servant,

Jo: BINGHAM, (Collonel).

Corff Castel the
27 of Febr. 1645/6
at eight in morning.
Excuse I beseech you, Syr, my hast.
(to Lenthall).

(*Tanner MS.* 60, f. 508).

Sir,—After extraordinary dutie some slayne and manie wownded, God hath strangely delivered the Castle of Corfe into our hands. But to expedite the worke the Castle being of vast strength and my men but about fower hundred, I made use of Lieut.-Col. Pitman to whome I, haveing prevailed with our Committee to engage with me, promised an order of oblivion for former malignancy, and a Commission for raising of a foote regiment for Ireland, he haveing performed his parte and your

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expectacions not frustrate, the Castle being reduced, I humbly desire that you would make good my engagements and that a smiling brow from your Honourable House may bee cast on the Gentleman, for his paines and hazard of his life in which you may encourage some others in future, and extreamely much oblige, Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

Jo: BINGHAM (Collonel).

Corfe Castle
March the 3d, 1645.
(to Lenthall).

(*Tanner MS.* 60, f. 510).

Sir,—We humbly recommend unto you this Gentleman, Lieutennant Col. Pitman, who was the instrument and by whose action Corff Castle was reduced. He had subscription by us for 200*li* before hand as part of his recompence which wee humbly desire may be satisfied, as also an engagement under our hands to endeavour (quantum in nobis) the acquittinge of him from all delinquency, and the procurement of a Commission for the raysinge of a regiment of foote for the service of Ireland against the rebells. And with all a farther recommendacion of him to the Honourable House of Commons for their favourable aspect on him, and a more liberal recompence for his real service in this action. Sir, be confident of this that the reducing of this Castle will be the means in probability of the great quiet of these parts, and prevent a designe which the King's party had for landinge of forces at *Swannidge*, a place very commodious for that purpose, and to give you a hint of the designe it hath beene formerly revealed unto us by Col. Cromwell late prisoner, whispered by the Cavaleere party and just in the very nick of time as Lieut.-Col. Pitman was to enter the sally port with Col. Bingham's foote he mett with Cornett Chamberlaine then com from Oxford who told him the King had an especiall eye upon Corffe and would within three weekes be there in person for the reliefe thereof, and indeed when wee consider the commodiousness of Swannidge for landinge, the straits the King is brought to in respect of ports and harbours, how easy to raise the seige of Corff, to take Warham and Lulworth and the readinesse of the country here to rise and joyne with the King's part, by comparing of circumstances we are easily drawn to believe the plott and to

Swanwich or Swanage.

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looke on the timelynesse of the taking it in and the seasonable advantage of the service. Therefore wee humbly desire that Lieut.-Col. Pitman having beene faithfull to us, our promises to him may be performed which is the earnest suite of

Your humble servants,

Jo: Bingham,
Francis Chettell.[1]

Poole, March 3,
1645/6.

The names of such gentlemen as are alike engaged but not present at this subscription.

Jno. Fitzjames Vic. com.
Robt. Butler.
John Fry.
Rob. Coker.
John Squib.
Richard Bury.
Jno. Whiteway.
(To Lenthall).

On 5 March a vote passed in the House of Commons to slight Corfe Castle and Wareham. The walls and towers were thrown down, or blown up; the lead and timber converted to private use. Captain Thomas Hughes, Governor of Lullworth Castle, who was employed in the demolition, charges in his accounts the receipt of the following sums borrowed for that purpose:—

		£	s.	d.
1646.	30 Oct.	20	0	0
,,	4 Nov.	40	0	0
1647.	26 Jan.	26	5	0
,,	29 April	55	8	8
More in wood out of Grange Farm		26	13	4

He also charges in his disbursements as Governor of Lullworth, for taking down the materials of the Castle by agreement with the County Committee, £200 os. od.

"The 10th of Oct. 1646. Received of Melchessed Skinner for the West Woodford Farm, for the demolishing of Corffe Castle the sum of 15s. 9d.

Thos. Hughes."

1. Of Blandford St. Mary, M.P., Corfe Castle, and Committee Man.

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On 22 October 1646, the Dorset Standing Committee, sitting at Dorchester, order that £40 of the money due from Mr. Robert Culliford of Encombe in the Isle of Purbeck, a discharged delinquent, to be paid at All Hallowtide to the County Treasurer shall be paid by him to Captain Thomas Hughes towards the discharge of his engagement at the demolishing of Corfe Castle. The same Committee on 24 October 1649, order that "whereas Captain John Whiteway of Dorchester, Committee Man, did lately, while he was in London, pay unto Lieut. Col. Thos. Pittman the sum of seven pounds by colour of a false letter of Mr. Bury, Treasurer of this County, upon pretence of his being unsatisfied for his service in delivering Corfe Castle into the hands of Parliament; the Treasurer shall repay unto Mr. Whiteway the seven pounds aforesaid, and that it be entered by the said Treasurer in his accompt in full of what is due to the said Pittman." Some three months after the fall of the Castle the Dorset Committee of Sequestration thus communicate with their superiors in London :—

"Right Honble,—According to the instructions unto us given by ordinance of Parliament, we make bold to address ourselves to your Lordships for your resolution in a case of difficulty arising before us concerning the Lady Bankes.

Her husband's estate was sequestered by us during his lifetime for his delinquency, but since his decease she hath petitioned us to enjoy the jointure settled on her before the delinquency of her husband; but we, finding her active in the defence of Corfe Castle against the Parliament during her coverture, have not granted her desire; but conceive we ought to continue the sequestration until we shall receive satisfaction from your Lordships whether her act during coverture includes her within the ordinance, or whether your Lordships be not informed of any delinquency in her since her husband's decease—from which time the greatest part of her residence hath been near London, as we are informed.

In the prosecution of this sequestration we shall be wholly guided by your Lordships' advice, and subscribe ourselves

Your honours most humble and faithful servants,

Ri. Broderipp.
John ffry Jno. Whitway.

Shaston, this 4th of June, 1646.

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Lady Bankes's petition appears to have remained unanswered until Cromwell's accession to power, when, on payment of large sums by herself and her children, the sequestration was removed. She was not further molested during the Commonwealth.[1]

Under the date, 26 February, 1646, Mercurius Academicus says: "Having Sir Lewis Dives (Dyve) their prisoner, though they have licensed a Book for Many Wives, they would not yet give him leave to have the company of one; but denied her access to him, and him the comfort of her. She, then in travail, said—unless she saw her husband she could not be delivered, or if she was, both herself and her infant must perish—the blood of Mother and infant (for they both died) will cry aloud for vengeance."[2] During his two years' confinement in the Tower Dyve was a fellow-prisoner of John Lilburn, whom he succeeded in persuading that Cromwell and Ireton had made a private bargain with Charles; "of which although he were not persuaded himself, yet he judged it for the King's service to divide Cromwell and the army." The same journal, Mercurius Academicus, under the date 2 March, thus describes the proceedings of Dr. Ford the fighting preacher: "This Ford is a captain under Colonel Bingham, and though an inferior officer to Lieutenant-Colonel Barrett Lacy (commanding at Wareham) and Major William Skutt (commander of the Poole garrison); yet their superior and attended by them in his divine Rhapsodies. Yes, Sir Anthony Cooper, too, the Baronet and his brother, Major George Cooper, think it no disparagement to be disciples of this new Illuminato; and therefore not long since came this Ford to a place called Wimborne in Dorset, and commanded the Clerk of that parish to ring all in; for he himself would preach twice that Lord's Day. The Clerk repairs to the Dr. Incumbent and acquaints him with the will of this new Preacher. The Doctor thought it strange that a man who pretended to be so high a pitch of learning as Divinity should have so little acquaintance with the Ethics, as to command his pulpit without his leave; but after second thoughts and considering whose Creature this Ford was, he answered: 'If Mr. Ford will preach twice this day, his will must be to

1. Vicars' Burning Bush, 371-3. Whitelocke, 194. Hutchins, I, 80, 508; III, 66. Bankes, 218, 223, 244. Minute Book, 35, 556. One large bed, minus the feathers, and one red velvet chair, appear to constitute the amount of furniture recovered by Sir Ralph Bankes from the hands of the sequestrators. He probably considered himself fortunate in securing the estates themselves. Bingham seems to have returned what he could.

2. Lady Dyve was Howarda, eldest daughter of Sir John Strangways of Melbury Sampford and widow of Edward Rogers of Bryanston.

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me a law. Colonel Bingham, I perceive, is resolved to deprive me without Law, and to bring in Mr. Ford without Equity.' Mr. Ford goes to Church, guarded thither by Lacy, Skutt and some soldiers belonging to that Regiment; and, regarded there by the presence of Baronet Cooper and his brother, commands the Clerk to repeat the Lord's Prayer and sing a Psalm; and up to the Pulpit he steps. At the sight of whom and missing of Common Prayer, the parishioners first gaze and then cry out for their Doctor and the old service of God. Mr. Ford rails at and reviles the People for this disorder (intending no one shall be disorderly but himself); and rising up against him that came to bring Jesus Christ to them (that expression he took in short hand the last time he heard Mr. Peters), who had not been preached in three score years before. The People hearing this impudent lie, and fearing that if this Fellow were suffered it might come to pass Christ should not be preached in threescore years after, renew their desires for the Common Prayer and their Doctor: at whose just demands Lieutenant-Colonel Lacy grows angry and obtains leave of Baronet Cooper to command a guard of muskets to bring the people into their order; but the soldiers seeing the people's resolution, and foreseeing what a bloody day such an action would make, are wiser than their Commander and sit still. And as Lacy is zealous in this business a discreet man wishes him to take wit in his anger, and then to cut it off with his shears (you may know this Lacy was a tailor); and a wise woman promised to cure his headache (his wife having been an arrant ——). The Baronet (being told truth by the people that he had already starved their bodies, for he is a racking landlord, and now took a course to starve their souls as an Impropriator) hastens out of Church to the Doctor's House, and desires him to come and lay that Devil which himself had raised; promises that Ford should leave the pulpit—which in the end he did, not by the Baronet's policy but the people's piety. And in requital this thankful Sir Anthony, with the help of Bingham, Lacy, Skutt, and such other Reformers, have expelled the Doctor out of his living and banished him out of the county. By this you may see what property or liberty we shall enjoy, if the Rebels prevail." This episode occurred, perhaps, in December, 1645, or earlier; for from Shaftesbury's diary it appears that he was not in Dorset during 1646, before the last few days of March.[1]

The accounts of Colonel Robert Butler, Governor of Wareham, extend from 19 August 1644 to 30 April 1646. On 9 November 1644 the sum of £105 11s. 10d. was paid to the

1. Mercurius Acad., 101, 109.

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Bluecoats, and £101 11s. 10d. to the Greycoats. His disbursements amounted to £4717 10s. 3d.; besides £339 12s. 6d. due to him for raising and arming his company. His receipts amounted to £3478 16s. 7d.; besides which he received out of the Blandford division £1329 13s. 4d.—all of which was disbursed. On 5 March the Derby House Committee write to Sir Hardress Waller to order him, if he has any Horse available, to send a convoy to Blandford—for the protection of recruits about to be sent from Reading to Fairfax—"as being nearer than Fairfax's army now is (then at Bodmin), and in that case give notice to Fairfax."[1]

During 1645 an attempt had been made by Parliament to take Portland. Bury's accounts mention that the Castle was summoned on 21 August; and stormed on the 23rd; but it remained untaken. On 30 March 1646, the Derby House Committee write to Captain William Batten, their Vice-Admiral, acknowledging the receipt of his letter of the 24th. instant from Portland Road; and expressing their satisfaction with the arrangement he has made, and the conditions expressed in his letter. And, for his perfecting the work, they thereby enpower him to treat and conclude with the Governor of the Castle thereupon. This power is to continue for 14 days after Batten has returned to the island, within which time they doubt not he will have finished that business. Money shall be paid for a week's pay, and for ammunition as he may give direction. On the morning of Monday 6 April 1646 Colonel Thomas Gollop surrendered the Castle and Island of Portland to Batten on behalf of Parliament.[2] Next day Batten writes to Lenthall as follows enclosing the terms of capitulation:—

Tanner MS. 59, f. 37.)

Honor'd Sir,—The wind and weather haveing beene contrary ever since I putt into this place, it hath as yet retarded my getting farther west. However I have made the best use of my tyme I could in this place, and after many difficulties and disputes (which were here too tedious to relate) yesterday the Castle and Island of Portland were surrendred to mee upon such condicions as are here inclosed. And although they beare a face of great termes (on the Enemie's behalf which is done purposely for the Governor's honor) yet in effect the matter is not soe great, for as for drumms beatinge and collours flying, there was noe such thinge when they

1. Hutchins, I, 80. C.S.P., 1645-7.
2. For terms of capitulation see Appendix.

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wished that the soldiers had that in money which they took in plunder; yet five shillings gotten in way of spoil from the Enemy gives them more content than twenty shillings by way of reward in an orderly manner; besides being not rewarded (ten shillings a man) according to promise, when Bridgewater was stormed, made them now more zealous to be their own Carvers." Not a man but obtained plunder; some two or three times over. The anonymous correspondent of the Speaker says his greatest care was to preserve writings, but he was glad "to take the soldiers' leavings and missed things there present of great concernment; yet some was got of the proceedings in Spain when the Earl of Bristol was there with the Prince." (This last clause refers, of course, to Charles I's abortive visit of 1623 to Madrid, in search of a wife). Fairfax intends to stay at Sherborne but one day to settle their peace; and then to move with the army, as it may be in his judgment and the opinion of the Council of War best for the public service. "I believe we shall go where we are not expected." The army is mustered and most of it paid; and, it is hoped, will give a good account of whatever it undertakes. This business of Sherborne has tried the skill and resolution of the soldiers more than anything that has yet fallen out; and indeed the Comptroller of the Ordnance, Captain Richard Deane, (afterwards Admiral and a Regicide), has been a diligent and active man in managing the approaches, bridges, mines, and galleries. "Once again, let me desire you to expedite all things fitting for Sieges with all the speed that may be; a day lost in it is of infinite disservice; above all, send mortar-pieces and granado shells fit for them: they are at Warwick, but sent for."

The reduction of Sherborne was of great importance; because of the influence it had upon the disaffected Clubmen of the surrounding country, who, having the countenance of this garrison, were so much the bolder in their demands and behaviour. The looting by the soldiers lasted all that day and most of the night, whose good conduct in the town of Sherborne during the siege of the Castle deserves commendation; when, notwithstanding the fact that about sixty townsmen, with families in the town, were in the Royalist garrison; yet not one of their houses was plundered. On Saturday, 16 August, being market-day, the soldiers with the booty they had acquired kept a great market with the country-people, who bought the goods of them; and all that day and the next was necessarily spent in ordering the disposal of the prisoners and in considering what to do with the Castle, which on 21 August, Parliament ordered to be slighted (demolished).

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This appears to have been completed in the following October; and out of the ruins were built the adjacent Castleton Church, part of the Lodge, the stables, and part of the garden walls. The capture of Sherborne gave to Fairfax the command of a shorter road to the west than that through Blandford and Dorchester. At the Council of War some had urged the importance of returning to the west before Goring could recover strength, but the majority were of opinion that Bristol must be taken first. The position of Bristol was of the very greatest importance; and, garrisoned as it was by more than 2000 men under Rupert, it might easily—if Charles saw fit to join his troops with those of his nephew, at the same time "drawing to an head the disaffected Clubmen of Somerset, Wilts, and Dorset, when once our backs were towards them"—become a basis of operations, which would be very dangerous to an army advancing into Devon and Cornwall. It was true that the defences of the city were understood to be formidable; and that, as the plague was raging within it, the danger to the army even in case of success would be full as great as while it was still exposed to the fire of the garrison's artillery. All these objections were, however, over-ruled; and on Monday, 18 August, the same day on which Charles turned back from Doncaster, Fairfax marched to Castle Carey on his way to form the siege of Bristol, which surrendered to him on 11 September.

The "Moderate Intelligencer" (no. 26) records, under date Thursday, 21 August: "From the west we have: that Fairfax like a noble General, before his departure from Sherborne ordered restitution for our soldier's violence done to the Garrison: a work worthy to be chronicled to posterity." And under Saturday 23 August: "Fairfax, ere he set forwards for Bristol, ordered the Castle of Sherborne to be put into the hands of Major (George) Starr, an honest, valiant gentleman, Major to Colonel Popham sometime, but last Major of Colonel Tomson's (Thompson's) regiment of Horse. How long this will be continued a Garrison is uncertain; because it depends upon the disposition of the neighbours and their good behaviour. He sent Sir Lewis Dyve, Colonel Strangways, and other prisoners to Poole to be sent to London. We have prisoners plenty: let's take care of their influence." And under Monday, 25 August: "On Tuesday last Sherborne was ordered to be slighted; and all forces left, called off: there were good reasons for it. The Clubmen will not be angry any more: they hope to be freed of free-quarter."

In the Castle were taken Sir Lewis Dyve, Colonel and Governor, Lady Dyve, Sir John Strangways, Colonel Giles

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Strangways, one of Lord Poulett's sons, Sir John Walcott, Sir —— Cotton Kt., Colonel Thornhill, Colonel Fussel, an attorney and sometime sub-governor of Weymouth for the King, three members of the House of Commons, several commissions of Array, nine Captains, eleven Lieutenants, three Cornets, five Colours (two according to Sprigg), fifty-five gentlemen of Wilts and Dorset, ten Clergymen, 344 common soldiers, 600 arms, thirty horses, 18 pieces of ordnance and a mortar-piece, sixty barrels of powder, and much spoil. Few of the garrison were slain in the storm. The prisoners and leaders of the Clubmen were sent up by sea to London on Monday 18 August. Sir Lewis Dyve and Sir John Strangways being brought to the bar of the House of Commons; Dyve refused to kneel until compelled to do so, and with Sir John was committed to the Tower for high treason. On the Parliament side; Major Done, Major Crosse, and Captain Crosse were slain; and Captain Creamer wounded—they were all of the artillery and Rainsborough's regiment. The total loss of the besieging party was 200 men during a siege which lasted sixteen days. On 22 September, 1645, the Committee at Derby House inform Sir W. Campion that they have received his communication concerning the proposed exchange for him of Colonel Thornhill, taken at Sherborne by Sir T. Fairfax; but that with the business of exchange they do not meddle. Therefore his way is to apply to Fairfax, who no doubt will exchange Thornhill upon equal terms. This is sent by his own trumpet; and they send by the same a similar communication to Monsieur Puiade acknowledging his letter "anent exchange for you of Colonel Thornhill."

Though the operations of war were chiefly carried on about the Castle; yet the town of Sherborne and its inhabitants, who were generally very loyal to the King, suffered greatly during the Civil War. George, Lord Digby, was one of the first voted to be excepted from pardon in 1648; and on 15 March he and his father were ordered to be banished, and their estates confiscated. The Earl of Bristol's estate was let to Lady Brooke for £530 per annum—with the exception of the old rents which were reserved; but George, Lord Digby, was allowed to compound for his own estate for £500. The estates of the following inhabitants of Sherborne were also sequestered; but they were afterwards allowed to compound:

Josiah Cooth	at	£73.
Henry Durnford	,,	£281.
Hugh Hodges, Attorney-at-law	,,	£200.
Richard Haydon	,,	£140.
Richard Turner	,,	£234.
John Williams	,,	£19.

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The anonymous letter to Speaker Lenthall of 12 o'clock at night of 15 August, gives the following list:—

Prisoners of War taken at Sherborne Castle, 15 August, 1645.

Sir Lewis Dives (Dyve)
Sir John Walcooth (Walcott)
Col. Strangwayes of Horse (Sir John?)
Col. Thornhill
Lieut.-Col. Strangways of Horse (Giles?)
Major Balston
Capt. Hamon
Capt. Bright
Capt. Chancee
Capt. Mullins
Capt. Creswell
Capt.-Lieut. Norris
Capt. Hoddinot
Capt. Speed
Capt. Strangwayes of Horse (James?)
Capt. Bond
George Waller, Provost Marshall

Chirurgeons.

Mr. Stuckey
,, Paylee
,, Robinson

Ministers.

Doctor Coockson
Mr. Wild
,, Wake (Wm. R. of Trinity and St. Mich. Wareham)
,, Townsend (Ralph of Upwey?)
,, Ford

Capt. Hoddar
Capt. Brisco
Lt. Jenings
Lt. Tayler
Lt. Mallet
Lt. Rogers
Lt. Townsend
Lt. Jolliffe of Horse
Coronet Devonet, Reformado
Ensign Gale
,, Hoyes
,, Harris
,, Toole
,, Collins (townsman)
,, Mullins
,, Tod

Gentlemen.

Mr. Chafine (Thos. of Chettle)
,, Buckland
,, Barns
,, Browne
,, Grisley
,, Forsell
,, Richards
,, Wiborne
,, Hutchins
,, Carleton

344 Common Soldiers besides Officers.[1]

1. Sprigg, 92-8. Hutchins IV, 272-3, 429. Gardiner II, 307-8. Portland MS., I, 242. Firth's 'Cromwell's Army,' 168-9, 173, 177-8. Bell, 246. Carlyle I, 199. The remains of the Castle are parts of the curtain wall, the gate-house, the square keep, the Chapel and hall. These are of Norman work somewhat restored and altered in the fifteenth century. Tract—Sherborne 10. Tract, Dorset 6. Tract, Dorset 7.

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CHAPTER XI.

The Fall of the last Royalist Garrisons in Dorset: Corfe Castle and Portland.

(August 1645 to April 1646).

ON 26 August, 1645, came an ordinance directing the Dorset Standing Committee, named on 1 July 1644, to put in force the weekly assessment for six months for the support of Colonel Edward Massey's forces—the sums to be raised weekly being £437 10s. 0d. from Dorset, and £5 from Poole. On 6 September, Whitelocke records that the Governor of Weymouth with the assistance of some seamen had entered the isle of Purbeck; taken a Fort therein and a demiculverin; and slighted the Fort. On 1 October, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper and others write from Melcombe Regis to the Speaker concerning the sad condition of Poole; "where the plague and famine busily contend for preeminence, and the distressed inhabitants impatient of either of their reigns threaten to break out to the inevitable danger of the loss of the garrison and ruin of the places adjacent"—which the writers desire may be taken into present consideration on account both of the importance of the place and its affection to Parliament. They will always be ready to contribute their best assistance; but "five of our great towns, Poole, Sherborne, Dorchester, Perret (South Perrott), and Week (Wyke Regis)—being by the present contagion necessarily reduced to a just expectation of relief—the County will not be able much longer to subsist under the intolerable burthen of so many infected places and seven garrisons, especially when our weekly contributions shall be taken from us." On Monday 6 October, Winchester Castle surrendered to Cromwell; and six of his troopers were convicted at Blandford of robbing, near Worthy, the departing Cavaliers whom they were escorting under Captain Robotham. One, to whose lot it fell, was executed next morning at the head of the army. He died very penitently, and his execution

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made a deep impression. The five others were marched under escort to Oxford; and there handed over to the Governor, Sir Thomas Glemham, who sent them back, "with an acknowledgement of the Lieutenant-General's nobleness." On 30 September the army had marched to Shaftesbury, leaving Fairfax at Warminster. On 2 October they marched to Milton; next day to Dorchester; and the next to Beaminster. From thence the army marched, on 6 October, to Chard where they remained eight nights; but on Wednesday 8 October Fairfax himself went to Lyme, returning on the following day. There he was entertained by the Governor, Colonel Ceeley; and heard of the fall of Winchester Castle. The taxes levied for the support of Fairfax's soldiers had come in but slowly; and for some time past there had been no money to send into the west. The discipline of the army depended upon constant pay; and on the first day's march many of the men were seen to look over their shoulders in order to espy the treasure-carts from London. A few days later they were ripe for a mutiny. If the money, they said, did not soon arrive they would go back to London to fetch it. It was not until Saturday, 11 October, that the long-expected convoy arrived; "and the army was paid that night, having been ever since the taking of Bristol without pay." On Tuesday 14 October, Fairfax and his army marched to Honiton by way of Axminster. On 16 October the Derby House Committee write to the Treasurers of the Army. Whereas the latter now have £20,000 ready to be sent to Fairfax's army, the Committee desire them to send it to Kingston-on-Thames to be there on Tuesday night; whence it will go under convoy to Portsmouth, and so to Weymouth by sea for the service of that army. They have written to the Committee of Surrey to send 40 Horse and dragoons to Kingston for convoy.[1]

Under the date 28 October, Sprigg, speaking of the investment of Exeter, notices that in order to isolate the city Bishop's Clyst, Poltimore, and Stoke Canon, were pitched upon to be garrisons. Sir John Bampfield, M.P., gave his consent that Poltimore House might be made a garrison; and an engineer was sent to Bishop's Clyst to draw a line for fortifications about Bedford House. The Lyme regiment had the charge of these two garrisons; and Colonel Hammond's regiment was to secure and fortify Stoke Canon. And under the date 7 December he says, "the garrisons of Nutwell,

1. Minute Books, xxii. Portland MSS. I, 279. Sprigg, 139, 144-5. Whitelocke, 173. Godwin, 340. Gardiner, II, 360. Dorchester Records, 532-7 for mention of various visitations of plague and small-pox.

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Broad-Cliss (Clyst), Poltimore, and Stoke (Canon) were by now "tenable against any sudden assault of the enemy; and possessed by the forces of Lyme, some Foot of Major-General Massey's, and some new raised regiments of the County,—whereby Excester was perfectly straitened on the east side." But it was not until 13 April, 1646, that the loyal city surrendered. On 8 November, Colonel William Sydenham writes to the Speaker from Melcombe Regis: "Being chosen a burgess for this place I apprehend it my duty to recommend the care of the Garrison" to Parliament. "Ability, faithfulness, and diligence will be requisite in a succeeding governor—especially till Portland be reduced, which I have already blocked up. I beseech the House that the many well-affected persons, from whom in case of great extremity I have borrowed; and also the artificers and labourers, who are not in a condition to forbear payment, may receive at least some competent satisfaction." On 10 November, John Ashe, M.P., writes from Ottery St. Mary to the Speaker: "Touching elections as yet I have not proceeded far, only at Shafton (Shaftesbury) and Weymouth; where for three vacant places there stood seven men; and so many speeches made against strangers and unknown persons that if three townsmen had stood they had carried it against all that interposed; for they rejected four able men, and chose a poor simple townsman. He told them that by the Statute they ought to choose inhabitants as burgesses, and I hear that they in Somerset are in a like manner provided three or four for one place; wherefore I shall advise you to write your letters to Sir John Bampfield, Sir Samuel Rolle,[1] and Mr. Nicoll; for if you send them writs they have more places than men to supply them . . . . Sir Samuel Rolle complains that the country is not able to undergo the quarter of the soldiers; and he that was so eager to have the army come into Devon is now as willing to be discharged of them—at least of the charge and burthen of them. As for the business itself we may hope that the enemy may be vanquished without blows. A few days will shew us their resolutions; for they have been kindly saluted by us; and many things offered to their considerations . . . . I find the General exceeding healthy and cheerful: I believe much the better for the comfort of his good Lady."[2] On 10 November also the Derby House Committee inform Fairfax that there is some ordnance in the garrison of Poole, which

1. Sir S. Rolle of Heanton, Devon, brother of Henry the Judge and of John Rolle, merchant and politician. D.N.B. XLIX., 162, 163.

2. Fairfax married Anne, fourth daughter of Sir Horace Vere, Baron Vere of Tilbury, soldier. D.N.B., LVIII, 235.

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lately belonged to the train of Waller. If not required for Poole, the guns are required for Winchester Castle. Four days later the Committee write to the Treasurers of the Army saying they are informed by the Committee of the Army that £30,000 is ready to be sent to Fairfax. They desire it sent to Portsmouth, and thence by sea to Weymouth. Let it be at Portsmouth by the 19th; and they will give orders for a ship to attend it there. On 28 November, Sir John Strangways writes to the Speaker inclosing his petition to the House. In this he declares he has relinquished all employment or service for the King since 18 October, 1644; and asks that, on account of his age and infirmities he may be allowed to be at large on his parole or on security. The Map of England of 5 November 1645 displays the shrunken territories of the King. The island in Parliamentary mid-England containing the royal head-quarters at Oxford, Banbury, Faringdon, and Wallingford still was his; the peninsular west of Exeter and Dunster, save puritanical Plymouth; the Welsh counties of Anglesey, Carnarvon, Merioneth, Cardigan, Radnor, with most of Flint, Denbigh, and Montgomery; the greater part of Herefordshire; the adjacent strips of Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Worcestershire; and the isolated garrisons of Bolton Castle, Skipton, Lathom House, Chester, Beeston Castle, Hulme, High Ercall, Lichfield, Ashby de la Zouche, Shelford, Newark, Belvoir Castle, Raglan, Donnington, and Corfe Castles.[1]

As early as 17th May 1645, the following instructions had been given by the Committee for the Associated Western Counties to Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper for the blockade of Corfe Castle:—

> "You are desired forthwith to repair to the Isle of Purbeck and to draw together, as speedily as may be, out of the garrisons of Poole, Wareham, Lulworth, and Weymouth, such numbers of Foot and Horse as are sufficient to block up Corfe Castle. And the governors of the several garrisons aforesaid are hereby desired to give you all the furtherance and assistance they are able in this design, which is of such great consequence to the county. You shall have powers to dispose of such monies as we have given order to Mr. Henry Bridges to receive, in such manner as shall be conducible to the carrying on of this service. You shall have power to appoint such officers as you shall think fit to command these forces being drawn together. You shall have power, if either the commanders or soldiers are willing to render the

1. Portland MSS., I, 304, 307, 317. Sprigg, 163, 170. C.S.P., (1645-7).

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Castle on composition, that then you shall accept of it on such reasonable conditions for their persons and estates as in your discretion shall be thought fit. Lastly, you are authorized to do and execute all things else that, in your judgement, you shall think necessary for the carrying on all this design; and, for the better encouragement both of officers and soldiers herein, you are to let them know they shall each of them have a fortnight's pay for their reward.

ANTH. NICOLL DENZILL HOLLES
DENIS BOND THO. ERLE."

And at the same time it was ordered that "the soldiers of Colonel Popham's and Colonel Cooke's regiments, now sent under conduct of Mr. Henry Bridges to Wareham, shall receive and obey such orders and commands as shall be given them" by Cooper. This order was signed by the same, save that Samuel Prideaux's signature replaces that of Denis Bond. Shaftesbury himself says of this period in his autobiographical sketch, written in January 1646:—"In May he received divers commissions from the Committee of the West, the chief of which was to command in chief the forces they designed to beleaguer Corfe Castle, which forces he was to receive from Colonel Weldon who then commanded in the West; but when Sir Anthony came into the country he found Weldon blocked up by Goring; so that being not supplied with men he was forced to return . . . . In October he went down into the country; and sat with the Committee constantly, most commonly as Chairman. In December he was employed by the Committee with Colonel Bingham, to the General (Fairfax)—who lay them at Autree (Ottery St. Mary) in Devon—to obtain an assistance of force towards the besieging Corfe Castle, which they obtained." The Castle was then blocked up by Colonel Bingham, Governor of Poole, and Colonel Pickering's regiment—sent thither for that purpose. On 20 June, Colonel Robert Butler—having heard that the garrison at Corfe had store of cattle which they turned out to graze every day but every night brought into the Castle—had marched out of Wareham by night with Captains Jordan and Lawrence and a party of Horse and Foot. He lay undiscovered until daybreak when, the garrison having turned out the cattle and horses to graze, Butler with his Horse drew near the Castle and faced the enemy: whilst Jordan and Lawrence drew up the Foot; entered the town; beat the Royalists to the Castle; and kept them in play. Meanwhile Butler's Horse drove away their cattle from under their very walls to the number of at least 140; took also about 20 good

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horses; and brought them all off safely to Wareham without the loss of a man. On 15 December the Derby House Committee write to Colonel Rainsborough, or the officer in command of his regiment, to the effect that, having written to Fairfax to send a Foot regiment speedily to Abingdon, they have received an answer that he has appointed Rainsborough to come to Wareham and there attend their further directions. He is to come at once as the London forces are to leave Abingdon on the 20th instant. Under 16 December Whitelock says Fairfax "sent a regiment of Horse, and two regiments of Foot to take in Corfe Castle." On 18 December the Committee write to Fairfax that they are informed by the gentlemen of Dorset that Corfe Castle would be easily reduced, if his Foot regiment sent thither might have continued there but for a short time. But it necessarily had to go to Abingdon. This Castle, therefore, will be still left in the hands of the Royalists; and the people of the island, who have declared themselves for Parliament, will be in danger of being ruined by that garrison. The Committee therefore desire Fairfax to send thither 400 Foot with what expedition he can for its reduction; which effected would wholly free that country from any force of the enemy. They therefore desire him to send these forces forthwith. On the same day the Committee repeat the substance of the above letter to the gentlemen of Dorset in leaguer before Corfe Castle, adding "Meanwhile, with your regiment of Horse and your own County Foot you are to keep in (confine) that garrison and preserve the country [from plundering] until other forces come up; which we hope will be very speedily sent by the same (Fairfax)." On 22 December, in Bury the Treasurer's accounts, two troops are mentioned to be drawn to Corfe. Next day John Rushworth writes from Tiverton to Lord Fairfax: "The General had it last night in debate of sending another regiment of Foot to Corfe Castle in lieu of that which is called away; but in regard the Enemy is preparing to relieve Exeter we are like to need the greatest party of our army." On 27 December the Committee of both Kingdoms write to Fairfax that they hear there are two regiments of his Horse in Dorset; where they are now of no use. If he can spare these he is to send them up into the Midlands; where they may be useful in blocking up the Royalist garrisons. They have not heard whether he has sent 400 men against Corfe as they desired in lieu of Colonel Rainsborough's; but they again made this request if he can spare them.[1]

1. Hutchins, I, 508. Christie, I, 74. Vicars' 'Burning Bush,' 175. Sprigg, 157, 174. Whitelocke, 183. C.S.P., 1645-7. Bell, I, 267.

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Under 3 January, 1646, Mercurius Academicus says "two Regiments are gone to make good that against Corfe Castle;" and under 22 January the same journal mentions that Sir John Campsfield, with a party of nearly 200 Horse from Oxford, had routed the Roundheads at Marlborough. On the latter day in a lists of counties, with the number of recruits for Fairfax's Army to be severally supplied by them, Dorset is credited with 600. On 29 January the King's Horse from Oxford lay near Corfe, and Goring's forces were advanced to near Barnstaple—pretending a design to join together. To prevent this Fairfax, says Sprigg, "went from Chudleigh to Tiverton, to give order about that point; sent Colonel Edward Cooke from thence with three regiments of Horse of Major-General Massey's brigade to attend the enemy's motion; and the next day some regiments of Horse and dragoons marched from these parts to a rendezvous towards the north of Devon —though upon second advice they were recalled to quarters." Under 31 January Mercurius Academicus records that from Marlborough Sir John Campsfield and his Oxford Horse went on to Salisbury, where he let forty Royalists out of prison; and from thence "lookt upon Bath, and could not descry one Rebel there (yet gave such a hot alarm to the Besiegers of Corfe Castle, that they runne away, and gave besieged leave to relieve themselves.") On the same day Fairfax informs his father from Tiverton that he has sent for Major-General Skippon's regiment from Bristol and the regiment from Corfe Castle to beleaguer Exeter and carry out the business in the west. On 3 February the Derby House Committee inform Captain William Ludlow, Governor of Langford House (Longford Castle), Wilts, that the forces of Fairfax that were at Corfe, being required for other service in the West, the siege of that Castle is like to be unsuccessful unless forces be supplied from some other place. Ludlow is therefore required to furnish 100 men out of his garrison, there being no enemy near that can offend or endanger him. A letter to the same effect is sent to the Committee of Dorset who are desired to bring in as many more men as may be. On Thursday, 5 February, upon intelligence of the Royalist Horse being gone towards Dunster, Colonel Cooke, who had orders to march somewhat farther eastward in order to check the Oxford Horse that by information from the east were to be in Dorset, had orders to return. The next day came news that a party of Royalist Horse, put at 1500, had thrown some small relief into Dunster; taking the opportunity when those forces that attended thereabout were withdrawn towards Corfe. On their retreat the country, with the assistance of Colonel

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Blake's forces who were unable to oppose so large a body and therefore during the relief secured themselves in a strong house, fell upon their rear; slew some; took others prisoners; and disarmed more. Edmund Ludlow says of this period in his Memoirs: "I betook myself to Colonel Massey's party, commanded at that time (September, 1645) by Colonel Edward Cooke, where I had not been long before an alarm was given that a party of Horse from Oxford had marched by with a design (February, 1646), to relieve Corfe Castle besieged at that time by our forces: but before we could get our men together, they had surprised part of ours in Wareham and beaten off the guard between that place and the Castle—which they relieved with what they could and returned again. In this action a brother of my father's was mortally wounded, taken prisoner by the Enemy, and died the next day. Colonel Cooke was forced to content himself to reinforce the besiegers and to return to his former station." Colonel Edward Cooke a younger son of Sir Robert Cooke of Highnam, Gloucestershire, served originally in Waller's army, and was one of the witnesses against Nathaniel Fiennes after the surrender of Bristol. Waller had been ordered to send him and his regiment to reinforce Massey, and assist in the relief of Taunton. Whilst engaged in that service he was severely wounded. He seems to have shared Massey's political views; and was at Newport on 30 November, 1648, when the King was carried off to Hurst Castle. After the Restoration Cooke was in great favour with Charles II, who was wont to call him "honest Ned Cooke." He was one of the Commissioners for carrying out the Act of Settlement and Explanatory Act in Ireland.[1]

Under the date 14 February, Whitelock gives an account of the Royalist surprise at Wareham. A party of 120 Cavaliers under Colonel Cromwell[2] came into Dorset to relieve Corfe Castle; marched through Colonel Cooke's quarters undiscovered; and came to Wareham. There they told the sentinels they were a troop of Fairfax's Horse, whose scarves they were wearing; and rode into the town to the governor's house. But Colonel Robert Butler, on seeing them, shut his door; and, with his son, fired upon them; and made good his lodging three hours together; until the enemy fired the house, to which the magazine was near, and then they were forced to yield upon quarter. Butler and two Committee Men were carried

1. C.S.P., 1645-7. Sprigg, 189, 190. Bell I, 283. Hutchins I, 508. Ludlow, 130.

2. Probably Col. James Cromwell eldest son of Henry, Oliver's senior first-cousin.

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prisoners into Corfe Castle: and the Parliament forces before it quitted some of their guards—although they were four times as many as those within. But some of the victorious Royalists, returning to Wareham to provide for their newly-gained garrison, were beaten out of the town by Colonel Cooke who took their Commander-in-chief with divers prisoners. Butler, Governor of Wareham, contrived his escape from Corfe with Colonel Lawrence of Creech Grange, who being of the King's party therein resolved to come in to the Parliament, and both of them got out together. On 12 February the Derby House Committee write to Fairfax that, owing to the Royalist incursion into Dorset, Wareham is put in danger and some disaffection discovered to exist in that county. They, then, think it fit that Colonel FitzJames' regiment of Horse continue in that county for its better security and the reduction of Corfe; until forces from other parts supply its place. Next day they write to Colonel Cooke that, regarding the late accident at Wareham and the increase of the Royalist garrison in Corfe, they think it better that—until he is called away by General Fairfax—he continue to take care for the security of Dorset and the town of Wareham; and also assist at the reduction of Corfe. If Cooke be called away thence, Colonel FitzJames's regiment of Horse is to be left in Dorset; for which Cooke is to give order to FitzJames. These two letters were forwarded by the gentlemen of Dorset. On 18 February the Committee of Both Kingdoms inform the Governor of Wareham that they have written to Colonel Algernon Sydney, Governor of Chichester, to send 100 Foot to the siege of Corfe. Upon their coming up Butler is to draw off 100 of his own Foot for the security of his garrison. This letter was delivered to Mr. Erle. From a letter of the same date to Sydney we find that the Committee of Dorset was to pay the said troop. Under 14 February, Mercurius Academicus has the following:—"This day carries you into Dorset, whence you hear of six of your Reformado-Officers (disbanded officers) in a gallantry surveying the Country. At their return upon Salysbury Heath (Salisbury Plain), they fell in company with seven of like condition—honesty excepted—belonging to Fairfax, with whom they skirmish. One of the Rebels falls, and the other six yield themselves prisoners; and furnish better men than themselves with Buff-coats, scarlet cloaks, Horses, Swords, and pistols. Nor were their outsides so gay but their linings were as rich, and lent them good store of money till they can pay themselves by a like exploit. And in mere humility bare them company to Farringdon; where they have took up their lodgings and are not like to leave them; till they

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can defray charges, and find exchange for two Majors, two Captains, and two other officers." Some light is thrown upon the affair at Wareham by the examination of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Pittman, on 8 June, 1646. Pittman, "an officer for the King heretofore," had served under Lord Inchiquin in Ireland; and was, perhaps, akin to the Pittman family who owned property at Maplederwell in Hampshire. He says Dr. Hudson undertook to go to Wareham and get it given up to the King. His way was he went as a pursuivant (?) from Parliament to receive the King's rents, and at a week's end he got Wareham. He let down the bridge and Pittman then entered with his Horse. On 12 June Dr. Michael Hudson, who had accompanied Charles on his flight from Oxford, being himself examined, said:—"I went into Dorset to Wareham. One Colonel Philips spake of taking Wareham. He and Dr. Ferrier (?) spake of me. Colonel Philips desired my acquaintance, and he moved (?) me to go into Dorset and see if Wareham was to be taken. I went thither. He sent Pittman with me to Blandford. I went to Pittman where he had 50 men that would be the King's. I viewed Poole, and told Secretary Nicholas that 200 Horse would take both Poole and Wareham . . . . I left two within to let down the bridge when I came. We went in and seized all. He said at Wareham he came to gather money for Parliament in that county. An old maiour came to examine me and I told him this. He writ a copy of a warrant from Haberdashers Hall to gather the Duke of Richmond's rents. They were concealed rents."[1]

Meanwhile, in February, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Pittman, who was serving in the garrison of Corfe Castle, found means to intimate to the besieging force that—if protection were afforded him—he was willingly to procure the deliverance of the Royalist stronghold into the possession of Parliament. Accordingly a protection was privately procured, and sent down to him from London; whereupon he laid his plot. Pittman told Colonel Henry Anketell, Governor of the Castle, that, with his permission, he would go into Somerset and privately get 100 more men; bring them into the Castle; and then, considering what had been formerly done, he made no doubt they would beat off the besiegers and make them quit the place. He would, moreover, find means to colour his going out by obtaining leave to go for an exchange of a friend of his[2] for one of the Parliament's side then a prisoner in

1. Mercurius Acad., 88. Whitelocke, 192. Hutchins I, 508. C.S.P., 1645-7. Portland MSS. I. 372, 379.

2. Whitelocke says "for Pittman's brother."

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Corfe. Anketell, the unsuspicious Governor, third son of Christopher Anketell of Stour Provost was in holy orders—being D.D. of Wadham College—and hence styled by the opposite party "the priest and malignant doctor." He gave his assent to Pittman's pretended project; and leave was obtained from Colonel Bingham, in command of the forces before the Castle, for Pittman to come out and treat about the exchange. Outside it was agreed that the sometime Royalist should have one hundred commanded men to carry into the Castle; and that the attacking party should give the onset at the same time. Accordingly one hundred picked men were taken out of several companies of the Weymouth garrison, and secretly marched to Lulworth Castle; whence they marched back, with 30 or 40 more, as silently as they could until they came to Corfe. Pittman led them into the sally-port on the north-east corner of the Castle; where Anketell stood to welcome them, with much courtesy, some of the men being from Somerset and "he being that countryman;"[1] and some amongst them were "in a disguised habit who knew all parts of the Castle." When 50 of them were entered Anketell, seeing many yet behind, refused to let any more enter, saying, those were enough and more than he could tell what to do with; at which Pittman seemed to be very angry, saying, the Governor had done him wrong in causing him to bring men so far at hazard of their lives; and then to shut them out, make them lie in the cold, and be in danger of having their throats cut. But those who had entered, meanwhile, got some into the King's Tower or Keep; others into the Queen's Tower; and the rest into the two Platforms; standing upon their guard and making it good in expectation of the besiegers giving the onset by scalado (by means of scaling ladders), or otherwise—it being about two o'clock in the morning. Thus they continued for three or four hours; the besiegers in all that time never falling on; and the garrison shooting at and threatening to cut the throats of all who had entered. But these fifty maintained their ground and, when at last it was open day, the besiegers—seeing their friends on the tops of towers and platforms—made an assault. The garrison, finding themselves between two fires, demanded a parley; which was granted and agreement made that all lives should be spared, and that those who were of the town should return quietly to their houses. Whereupon two of the last came over the walls; which the rest seeing began to

1. Anketell's mother Elizabeth Fraunceis and his grandmother Elizabeth Phelipps were from Somerset. He himself appears to have been in some points the original of Dr. Rochecliffe in Scott's 'Woodstock.'

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shoot, and so broke quarter. These in the sequel, about 140 in number, all became prisoners at discretion, their lives excepted. A store of plunder and provisions was taken; besides 17 barrels of powder with match proportionate. Thirty prisoners of the Parliamentary party were released. In this action but one man was lost on the Parliament side; although the garrison fired many shots and flung down great stones from the walls upon the attacking party. Tradition declares that the besiegers shut the greater part of the garrison into the lower ward, where they happened to be; and that only six were left in the upper part of the Castle. Only two of the garrison were slain. In Sprigg's table of battles and sieges this siege is said to have lasted for 48 days, during which 11 men were slain and five ordnance taken. The Castle surrendered at 8 o'clock in the morning of 27 February 1646. Bingham's letter to the Speaker concerning the surrender is as follows:—

(*Tanner MS.* 60, f. 487).

Sir,—By God's great providence wee are this instant possessed of Corff Castel having wrestled with many difficulties in the designe. Our Sheriffe, Colonel Fitzjames, being present with me when wee entred the Castel. God raised up the spirit of one Lieut.-Col. Pittman (who came into this Castel when Wareham was surprised) to endevour a surrender of it into our hands. The particulars at large you shall speedily receive from the hands of,

Your faithful servant,

Jo: BINGHAM, (Collonel).

Corff Castel the
27 of Febr. 1645/6
at eight in morning.
Excuse I beseech you, Syr, my hast.
(to Lenthall).

(*Tanner MS.* 60, f. 508).

Sir,—After extraordinary dutie some slayne and manie wownded, God hath strangely delivered the Castle of Corfe into our hands. But to expedite the worke the Castle being of vast strength and my men but about fower hundred, I made use of Lieut.-Col. Pitman to whome I, haveing prevailed with our Committee to engage with me, promised an order of oblivion for former malignancy, and a Commission for raising of a foote regiment for Ireland, he haveing performed his parte and your

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expectacions not frustrate, the Castle being reduced, I humbly desire that you would make good my engagements and that a smiling brow from your Honourable House may bee cast on the Gentleman, for his paines and hazard of his life in which you may encourage some others in future, and extreamely much oblige, Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

Jo: BINGHAM (Collonel).

Corfe Castle
March the 3d, 1645.
(to Lenthall).

(*Tanner MS.* 60, f. 510).

Sir,—We humbly recommend unto you this Gentleman, Lieutennant Col. Pitman, who was the instrument and by whose action Corff Castle was reduced. He had subscription by us for 200*li* before hand as part of his recompence which wee humbly desire may be satisfied, as also an engagement under our hands to endeavour (quantum in nobis) the acquittinge of him from all delinquency, and the procurement of a Commission for the raysinge of a regiment of foote for the service of Ireland against the rebells. And with all a farther recommendacion of him to the Honourable House of Commons for their favourable aspect on him, and a more liberal recompence for his real service in this action. Sir, be confident of this that the reducing of this Castle will be the means in probability of the great quiet of these parts, and prevent a designe which the King's party had for landinge of forces at *Swannidge*, a place very commodious for that purpose, and to give you a hint of the designe it hath beene formerly revealed unto us by Col. Cromwell late prisoner, whispered by the Cavaleere party and just in the very nick of time as Lieut.-Col. Pitman was to enter the sally port with Col. Bingham's foote he mett with Cornett Chamberlaine then com from Oxford who told him the King had an especiall eye upon Corffe and would within three weekes be there in person for the reliefe thereof, and indeed when wee consider the commodiousness of Swannidge for landinge, the straits the King is brought to in respect of ports and harbours, how easy to raise the seige of Corff, to take Warham and Lulworth and the readinesse of the country here to rise and joyne with the King's part, by comparing of circumstances we are easily drawn to believe the plott and to

Swanwich or Swanage.

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looke on the timelynesse of the taking it in and the seasonable advantage of the service. Therefore wee humbly desire that Lieut.-Col. Pitman having beene faithfull to us, our promises to him may be performed which is the earnest suite of

Your humble servants,

Jo: BINGHAM,
FRANCIS CHETTELL.[1]

Poole, March 3,
1645/6.

The names of such gentlemen as are alike engaged but not present at this subscription.

Jno. Fitzjames Vic. com.
Robt. Butler.
John Fry.
Rob. Coker.
John Squib.
Richard Bury.
Jno. Whiteway.
(To Lenthall).

On 5 March a vote passed in the House of Commons to slight Corfe Castle and Wareham. The walls and towers were thrown down, or blown up; the lead and timber converted to private use. Captain Thomas Hughes, Governor of Lullworth Castle, who was employed in the demolition, charges in his accounts the receipt of the following sums borrowed for that purpose:—

		£	s.	d.
1646.	30 Oct.	20	0	0
,,	4 Nov.	40	0	0
1647.	26 Jan.	26	5	0
,,	29 April	55	8	8
More in wood out of Grange Farm		26	13	4

He also charges in his disbursements as Governor of Lullworth, for taking down the materials of the Castle by agreement with the County Committee, £200 os. od.

"The 10th of Oct. 1646. Received of Melchessed Skinner for the West Woodford Farm, for the demolishing of Corffe Castle the sum of 15s. 9d.

THOS. HUGHES."

1. Of Blandford St. Mary, M.P., Corfe Castle, and Committee Man.

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On 22 October 1646, the Dorset Standing Committee, sitting at Dorchester, order that £40 of the money due from Mr. Robert Culliford of Encombe in the Isle of Purbeck, a discharged delinquent, to be paid at All Hallowtide to the County Treasurer shall be paid by him to Captain Thomas Hughes towards the discharge of his engagement at the demolishing of Corfe Castle. The same Committee on 24 October 1649, order that "whereas Captain John Whiteway of Dorchester, Committee Man, did lately, while he was in London, pay unto Lieut. Col. Thos. Pittman the sum of seven pounds by colour of a false letter of Mr. Bury, Treasurer of this County, upon pretence of his being unsatisfied for his service in delivering Corfe Castle into the hands of Parliament; the Treasurer shall repay unto Mr. Whiteway the seven pounds aforesaid, and that it be entered by the said Treasurer in his accompt in full of what is due to the said Pittman." Some three months after the fall of the Castle the Dorset Committee of Sequestration thus communicate with their superiors in London :—

"Right Honble,—According to the instructions unto us given by ordinance of Parliament, we make bold to address ourselves to your Lordships for your resolution in a case of difficulty arising before us concerning the Lady Bankes.

Her husband's estate was sequestered by us during his lifetime for his delinquency, but since his decease she hath petitioned us to enjoy the jointure settled on her before the delinquency of her husband; but we, finding her active in the defence of Corfe Castle against the Parliament during her coverture, have not granted her desire; but conceive we ought to continue the sequestration until we shall receive satisfaction from your Lordships whether her act during coverture includes her within the ordinance, or whether your Lordships be not informed of any delinquency in her since her husband's decease—from which time the greatest part of her residence hath been near London, as we are informed.

In the prosecution of this sequestration we shall be wholly guided by your Lordships' advice, and subscribe ourselves

Your honours most humble and faithful servants,

Ri. Broderipp.
John ffry Jno. Whitway.

Shaston, this 4th of June, 1646.

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Lady Bankes's petition appears to have remained unanswered until Cromwell's accession to power, when, on payment of large sums by herself and her children, the sequestration was removed. She was not further molested during the Commonwealth.[1]

Under the date, 26 February, 1646, Mercurius Academicus says: "Having Sir Lewis Dives (Dyve) their prisoner, though they have licensed a Book for Many Wives, they would not yet give him leave to have the company of one; but denied her access to him, and him the comfort of her. She, then in travail, said—unless she saw her husband she could not be delivered, or if she was, both herself and her infant must perish—the blood of Mother and infant (for they both died) will cry aloud for vengeance."[2] During his two years' confinement in the Tower Dyve was a fellow-prisoner of John Lilburn, whom he succeeded in persuading that Cromwell and Ireton had made a private bargain with Charles; "of which although he were not persuaded himself, yet he judged it for the King's service to divide Cromwell and the army." The same journal, Mercurius Academicus, under the date 2 March, thus describes the proceedings of Dr. Ford the fighting preacher: "This Ford is a captain under Colonel Bingham, and though an inferior officer to Lieutenant-Colonel Barrett Lacy (commanding at Wareham) and Major William Skutt (commander of the Poole garrison); yet their superior and attended by them in his divine Rhapsodies. Yes, Sir Anthony Cooper, too, the Baronet and his brother, Major George Cooper, think it no disparagement to be disciples of this new Illuminato; and therefore not long since came this Ford to a place called Wimborne in Dorset, and commanded the Clerk of that parish to ring all in; for he himself would preach twice that Lord's Day. The Clerk repairs to the Dr. Incumbent and acquaints him with the will of this new Preacher. The Doctor thought it strange that a man who pretended to be so high a pitch of learning as Divinity should have so little acquaintance with the Ethics, as to command his pulpit without his leave; but after second thoughts and considering whose Creature this Ford was, he answered: 'If Mr. Ford will preach twice this day, his will must be to

1. Vicars' Burning Bush, 371-3. Whitelocke, 194. Hutchins, I, 80, 508; III, 66. Bankes, 218, 223, 244. Minute Book, 35, 556. One large bed, minus the feathers, and one red velvet chair, appear to constitute the amount of furniture recovered by Sir Ralph Bankes from the hands of the sequestrators. He probably considered himself fortunate in securing the estates themselves. Bingham seems to have returned what he could.

2. Lady Dyve was Howarda, eldest daughter of Sir John Strangways of Melbury Sampford and widow of Edward Rogers of Bryanston.

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me a law. Colonel Bingham, I perceive, is resolved to deprive me without Law, and to bring in Mr. Ford without Equity.' Mr. Ford goes to Church, guarded thither by Lacy, Skutt and some soldiers belonging to that Regiment; and, regarded there by the presence of Baronet Cooper and his brother, commands the Clerk to repeat the Lord's Prayer and sing a Psalm; and up to the Pulpit he steps. At the sight of whom and missing of Common Prayer, the parishioners first gaze and then cry out for their Doctor and the old service of God. Mr. Ford rails at and reviles the People for this disorder (intending no one shall be disorderly but himself); and rising up against him that came to bring Jesus Christ to them (that expression he took in short hand the last time he heard Mr. Peters), who had not been preached in three score years before. The People hearing this impudent lie, and fearing that if this Fellow were suffered it might come to pass Christ should not be preached in threescore years after, renew their desires for the Common Prayer and their Doctor: at whose just demands Lieutenant-Colonel Lacy grows angry and obtains leave of Baronet Cooper to command a guard of muskets to bring the people into their order; but the soldiers seeing the people's resolution, and foreseeing what a bloody day such an action would make, are wiser than their Commander and sit still. And as Lacy is zealous in this business a discreet man wishes him to take wit in his anger, and then to cut it off with his shears (you may know this Lacy was a tailor); and a wise woman promised to cure his headache (his wife having been an arrant ——). The Baronet (being told truth by the people that he had already starved their bodies, for he is a racking landlord, and now took a course to starve their souls as an Impropriator) hastens out of Church to the Doctor's House, and desires him to come and lay that Devil which himself had raised; promises that Ford should leave the pulpit—which in the end he did, not by the Baronet's policy but the people's piety. And in requital this thankful Sir Anthony, with the help of Bingham, Lacy, Skutt, and such other Reformers, have expelled the Doctor out of his living and banished him out of the county. By this you may see what property or liberty we shall enjoy, if the Rebels prevail." This episode occurred, perhaps, in December, 1645, or earlier; for from Shaftesbury's diary it appears that he was not in Dorset during 1646, before the last few days of March.[1]

The accounts of Colonel Robert Butler, Governor of Wareham, extend from 19 August 1644 to 30 April 1646. On 9 November 1644 the sum of £105 11s. 10d. was paid to the

1. Mercurius Acad., 101, 109.

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Bluecoats, and £101 11s. 10d. to the Greycoats. His disbursements amounted to £4717 10s. 3d.; besides £339 12s. 6d. due to him for raising and arming his company. His receipts amounted to £3478 16s. 7d.; besides which he received out of the Blandford division £1329 13s. 4d.—all of which was disbursed. On 5 March the Derby House Committee write to Sir Hardress Waller to order him, if he has any Horse available, to send a convoy to Blandford—for the protection of recruits about to be sent from Reading to Fairfax—"as being nearer than Fairfax's army now is (then at Bodmin), and in that case give notice to Fairfax."[1]

During 1645 an attempt had been made by Parliament to take Portland. Bury's accounts mention that the Castle was summoned on 21 August; and stormed on the 23rd; but it remained untaken. On 30 March 1646, the Derby House Committee write to Captain William Batten, their Vice-Admiral, acknowledging the receipt of his letter of the 24th. instant from Portland Road; and expressing their satisfaction with the arrangement he has made, and the conditions expressed in his letter. And, for his perfecting the work, they thereby enpower him to treat and conclude with the Governor of the Castle thereupon. This power is to continue for 14 days after Batten has returned to the island, within which time they doubt not he will have finished that business. Money shall be paid for a week's pay, and for ammunition as he may give direction. On the morning of Monday 6 April 1646 Colonel Thomas Gollop surrendered the Castle and Island of Portland to Batten on behalf of Parliament.[2] Next day Batten writes to Lenthall as follows enclosing the terms of capitulation:—

Tanner MS. 59, f. 37.)

> Honor'd Sir,—The wind and weather haveing beene contrary ever since I putt into this place, it hath as yet retarded my getting farther west. However I have made the best use of my tyme I could in this place, and after many difficulties and disputes (which were here too tedious to relate) yesterday the Castle and Island of Portland were surrendred to mee upon such condicions as are here inclosed. And although they beare a face of great termes (on the Enemie's behalf which is done purposely for the Governor's honor) yet in effect the matter is not soe great, for as for drumms beatinge and collours flying, there was noe such thinge when they

1. Hutchins, I, 80. C.S.P., 1645-7.
2. For terms of capitulation see Appendix.

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march'd away, for they had not a colour in the Island, and for their marching to Oxford, there is not five of them gone thither, but are gone to their homes, or have taken upp armes on our side. As for the sequestration of their estates that were country men, there is not a hundred pounds a yeare amongst them all, the Governour excepted who hath about 120*li* per annum in Somersett-shire after his Mother's decease; the sequestracion whereof I shall desire may be taken off, and the Articles inviolably kept. The Island was very stronge, and would have cost much blood to have reduced it by force; there was delivered to me in it, 21 pieces of ordnance, 28 barrells of powder, about 120 unfixt musketts, with good quantitie of shott, of all sortes, and 600 weight of match. The Governor is aboard with mee, and intends to goe for Silly to seeke the Prince, and then to returne to me againe. And although reporte speake him to be in France, yet wee heare he is there still;[1] and if soe the Governor is in good hopes to be a meanes to get him off. Hee hath in this business shewed himself a very honest, and a discreete man if there be occasion. I shall make it my request he may be look'd on accordingly. I have delivered the Castle and Island with the amunicion to the Governor of Weymouth, who hath for present putt two companies in it, till all thinges are (*) but I humbly conceive their workes being slighted, a discreet man in the (*) with 30 souldiers wilbe a guard sufficient; for there is more to be done on the Island with a faire carriage then by violence. I did use all the meanes I could not (*) have Captaine Arthure exempted by the Islanders, but I find their hate against him soe extreame, that I could not prevaile with them. The Islanders were very important to have my Lieutennant for their commander but I (*) not seeme to determine anythinge therein, and allthough I am certaine his care will deserve well, yet I shall leave both it and him to the consideracion of the Honorable House of Parliament and allwayes remaine,

* hole in MS.

* hole in MS.

* hole in MS.

* hole in MS.

At the command of
this Honorable Assembly,
WILL. BATTEN.

Portland Road, 7 April 1646.

(Will. Batten to Lenthall.)

1. Prince Charles was in the Scilly Isles from 4 March to 16 April, 1646, when he left for Jersey. It was in Scilly that Clarendon began his famous History of the Rebellion.

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Tanner MS. 59, f. 44).

Sir,—Upon the surrender of Portland (of which I doubt not but Vice-admirall Batten have given you a full account) I am necessitated till the further pleasure of the Parliament (which I desire to receive) be signifyed to take care of that place and to that purpose have sent thither two foote companyes, the one to secure the Castle the other the Island which I find much better fortifyed than victualled having ben by land closely blockt up all this winter. There ben now (*) Enemy left amongst us I doubt not * hole in MS. but itt will bee thought requisite to take off what men may bee spared to serve the Parliament. Else where I have (besides those that are for the present employed in Portland) neere two hundred more than I shall need in this garrison, whom I desire with all convenient speed to receive order to dispose of . . . . .

Sir,

Yours faithful humble servaunt,

W. SYDENHAM.

Melcomb Regis, 9th Aprill, 1646.

(Wm. Sydenham to Lenthall).

Dorset at last lay wholly in the power of Parliament. On 13 April, Exeter surrendered to Fairfax; and on Saturday, 18 April he began his march towards Oxford, and quartered that night at Chard—eighteen miles from Exeter. Next day Fairfax marched to Dorchester, where most of the army quartered that night; and on Monday 20 April, he marched from Dorchester to Salisbury, the train and Foot to Blandford. That day week Fairfax arrived at Newbury, and Charles fled from Oxford on his way to the Scottish army. On 20 April, the Derby House Committee acknowledge the receipt of Batten's despatch giving notice of the capitulation of Portland. They have reported it to the House that money may be provided to discharge his engagements. The House of Commons, upon the first notice of the surrender and before Batten's letter could be reported, had appointed as Governor, Captain Elias Bond of Egleston and Wareham, brother of Dennis Bond. On 21 April the Dorset Standing Committee order that Colonel Sydenham "be desired out of the honestest and civiliest men in his Regiment to make by his own, his Lieutenant-Colonel Captain Edward Bragge's, Captain Richard Yardley's, and Captain Richard Channing's companies, five complete companies consisting of 530 private soldiers and the rest—to march under the conduct of Captain Wase to the

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army. Upon Thursday next Captain Wase is said to have his rendezvous at Crook Hill (near South Perrott); where they shall receive their pay and they to march with their arms that night to Bridport." This order is signed by Cooper, John Browne of Frampton, Robert Coker of Mapowder, Thomas Erle son of Sir Walter Erle, John Arthur of Sydling, Francis Chettle of Blandford, and John Whiteway of Dorchester. Next day the same Committee order that all the wheat then in the garrison of Weymouth is to be disposed of by John Seager (to whom was leased Stinsford Farm sequestered from Sir John Strangways) and Thomas Adams (Deputy-Treasurer of Dorset), save such as properly belongs to Colonel Sydenham as arrears of payment; and render an account of the same to the Committee when required. They likewise order that Sydenham shall take into possession for one year next ensuing the farm of Radipole, now sequestered, together with all rents that shall arise from any tenement thereon with all the oxen, ploughs, and corn now upon the farm, in part of his arrears aforesaid. This order is signed by Arthur, Whiteway, Walter Foy, Robert Row, Richard Brodrepp of Maperton, and Richard Bury of Dorchester the County Treasurer.[1]

1. Vicars' 'Burning Bush,' 404. Hutchins II, 479, 814. C.S.P., 1645-7. Minute Books, 174, 452, 458, 566. C.C.C., 1684. C.C.A.M., 983, 1290. Sprigg, 252. Add. MS, 29319, f. 36.

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CHAPTER XII.

The Disbanding of Local Forces, etc. (1646 to 1651).

ON 6 April, 1646, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper mentions in his diary that he came to Dorchester, and lodged at Will. Patye's house. On the following day the Quarter-Session began at Dorchester, and not at Sherborne, for security. On 8 April, "we ended the session. Nine hanged; only three burnt in the hand." On 11 April; "we sat in the Shire Hall at Dorchester, by the ordinance for punishing pressed soldiers of the 15th of January last; when three were condemned to die, two to run the gantelope (gauntlet or loupegarthe), two to be tied neck and heels, one to stand with a rope about his neck." On 14 April; "I and Mr. Thomas Erle went and dined with Mr. Churchill at Muston; from thence we went to Grange to Sir Gerard Napier's." On 23 April Cooper came to Blandford, whither the Committee was adjourned from Dorchester: Mr. Sheriff, Mr. Erle, Colonel Butler, Mr. Elias Bond, Mr. Chettle, Mr. Joy. The sequestrators of Blandford were ordered to pay Mr. Francis Chettle £20, Mr. Bond £10, "which was borrowed of them by the Committee, and for which Colonel Bingham and I gave our bills."[1]

On 3 July, the Committee write from Shaftesbury to Lenthall as follows:—

(*Tanner MS.* 59, f. 392).

Sir,—Wee conceive our selves oblieged by the trust reposed in us for the preservacion of the peace of this Countie of Dorsett to acquaint the Parliament with the

1. Christie I, appendix II, xxxv. Firth's 'Cromwell's Army,' 289. On 18 May, 1646, Cooper gives his servant, James Percivall, two bonds "wherein he owed me £70; this for his losses in coming in with me to the Parliament."

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present distracted condicion of theise partes. Wee are according to our oathes and duties assembled att the Generall Quarter Sessions of this countie at Shaston notwithstanding the greate insolencies and disorders committed by the souldiers under the commaund of Major Generall Massey, who (theire superiour commanders being absent) doe in greate numbers quarter on this countie, and levie money to very greate value. The good subjectes they spoile of theire goodes by plunder, theire persons they assault on the high wayes, whereby the course of justice is much interrupted, the peace of the countie disturbed, and unles a speedie remedie by your wisdome bee applied, the good beginninges of a happie settlement in theise partes wilbe wholly crusht. Therefore our humble suit to the Honourable House of Commons is, that there being noe enemie now visible in theise partes, wee may be freed of the intollerable burthen of the souldiers that now are amongst us, that the people of this countie bee not enforced to free themselves from theise greate oppressions, wee have intrusted Mr. Browne one of our Knightes for our countie in Parliament with a fuller accompt of our condicion and desires, and therefore shall not further trouble you but with assurance that wee are,

Your most faithfull
and humble Servaunts,

Will: Whitaker (of Shaftesbury)
John Browne
Ri: Brodrepp
Robb. Coker
Wm. Savage (of Bloxworth, High Sheriff, 1648)
John Hanham (J.P. 1648)
Tho. Erle
Will: Hussey (of Shaftesbury, J.P., 1648)
Fra: Chettell
Tho. Gollop
Robt. Butler

(Committee at Shaston to Lenthall).

Shaston,
3to July, 1646.

On 23 and 30 July, the report of the proceedings at two Councils of War (courts-martial), held at Sherborne and Hinton St. George respectively, bore witness to the disturbed state of Dorset owing to the unruly soldiery within it. One

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trooper is sentenced to be hanged for murder; another for not endeavouring to prevent him from being cashiered; a third to be burned through the tongue for cursing and swearing; whilst other officers and troopers are to be tried at the Assizes for murder and highway robbery. Some ten days later, on 10 August, at Salisbury, Cooper sat with Judge Godbolt on the Crown side; being the only Justice there besides the Judge and the Clerk of Assize in the Commission of Oyer and Terminer. He was sworn that day a J.P. for Wilts. Next day, "Sir John Danvers (the future Regicide) came and sat with us. Seven condemned to die, four for horse stealing, two for robbery, one for killing his wife; he broke her neck with his hands, it was proved that, he touching her body the day after, her nose bled afresh; four burnt in the hand, one for felony, three for manslaughter; the same sign followed one of them, of the corpse bleeding." On 12 August, "I and the Sheriff of Wilts begged the life of one Prichett, one of those seven condemned, because he had been a parliament soldier." Two days later, "Chibbett condemned for horse-stealing; we, the Justices begged his reprieve, he having been a faithful soldier to the State." On 15 August, "I waited on the Judges out of Dorchester, swore two of the Committee for accounts, being a commissioner nominated for that purpose. I sat at the Committee; we were a full Committee, Sir Thomas Trenchard, Mr. John Trenchard, Colonel Bingham, Colonel Sydenham, Mr. Chettle, all parliament men being present. I got the parsonage of Abers for the repair of Harnhambridge, at Salisbury." On 3 September, Cooper went to Dorchester, and lay at Will. Patye's. On 1 October he went to Shaftesbury "to the council of War for Massey's brigade and got them removed out of Dorset." Ludlow, who with Alderman Allen—as M.P.'s for Wiltshire—acted in that county in carrying out the Parliament's orders, says: "Though many of that brigade were glad of the opportunity to return home to their several callings, having taken up arms and hazarded their lives purely to save the public; yet divers idle and debauched persons, especially the foreigners, amongst them not knowing how to betake themselves to any honest employment—endeavoured to stir up the brigade to a meeting; but not being able to effect that, some of them listed themselves to serve against the rebels in Ireland under Sir William Fenton and others there present to receive them; for which we had instructions from the Parliament. The rest dispersed themselves and returned home." In November Cooper says: "The note wherein Colonel Bingham and I stand engaged to Mr. Chettle for £20, which the

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Colonel had for the service at Corfe, is acknowledged by Mr. Chettle to be satisfied." In December Cooper was by both Houses of Parliament made High Sheriff of Wiltshire—leave being given him to reside out of the County during his shrievalty. He was also by ordinance of Parliament made one of the Committee for Dorset and Wilts "for Sir Thomas Fairfaxe his army's contribution." On 11 February, 1648, Cooper says: "I had my writ of discharge from being Sheriff of Wiltshire delivered me by my uncle (-by-marriage) Edward Tooker, who succeeded me in my office." And in July Sir Anthony was made a Commissioner "of the ordinance of Parliament for the rate for Ireland, for Dorset;" and also by ordinance of Parliament "one of the Commissioners for the Militia, which they settled in Dorsetshire by that ordinance." On 10 August he went to Dorchester to meet the commissioners of the Militia, which was there settled. There were present: Sir Thomas Trenchard, Messrs. Erle, Trenchard, Dennis Bond, and Chettle; Colonels Sydenham, and Henley; Mr. Browne, Colonel Butler, Mr. Whiteway, and Colonel Coker. "Received of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper what was borrowed of him at Poole for the great occasions of the garrisons and buildings, two hundred pound, which I paid unto him again by two hundred pound he received of Mr. John Hoyle by order. Witness my hand the 10th of August, 1648.

R. Burie, Treasurer."[1]

The internal affairs of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, while the twin-towns were a Parliamentary garrison, are illustrated by the MSS. in Mr. Sherren's collection. On 3 July, 1645, the Mayor and Corporation humbly conceive that the timber of part of the Chapel which the Governor threatens to take down, spoiled at the time of the siege, should remain. As touching the building of a Fort at the Looking Place they agree upon a rate for raising £10 towards the charge thereof. On 21 November of the same year Robert Hardy of Melcombe, apothecary, on his oath said that on Wednesday last, in the afternoon, he heard Thomas Allin one of the Constables say that a company of Cavalier rascals had abused him, who spoke fair to his face and abused him behind his back. Robert Waall, merchant of Melcombe, on his oath said that on the same day he, being present on the bridge, heard Allin call Alderman George Churchey a drunken, malignant knave and say there was a good nice fraternity of them. Captain

1. Christie I, appendix II, passim.

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John Arthur appears to have been particularly unpopular. On 11 March, 1646, Arthur, Vice-Admiral of Dorset, came before Mr. Thomas Waltham—Mayor, J.P., and Quorum of the town—and swore his peace against John Waltham, merchant. And John Waltham said he would take away the life of Captain Arthur; calling him many opprobious names—such as rogue, toad, cowardly slave—and using many other abusive terms in the presence of the Mayor; and swore two oaths—by the name of God and God's wounds—in the said Mayor's presence. And it appears upon the oath of Captain Arthur and Arthur Holman of Weymouth, merchant, that the said Waltham assaulted and struck Captain Arthur within this town. Holman testified on oath that Waltham first struck the Captain with his fist, and afterwards with a stick in the face and broke the skin near the eye. John Browne, Esquire, testified on oath that Waltham this day said he would kill Arthur, and that he would make no more of killing him than a toad. The result was that Waltham was put upon his recognizances in the sum of £80. But on 27 May, John Waltham is again accused by Richard Covett of threatening to kill Captain John Arthur and calling him "cuckoldy rogue" etc, Of Mrs. Pitt he is said to have spoken as "an Independent loose woman (by periphrasis), and that he would have her and all such Independent loose women whipt out of the town." The said John Waltham behaved himself very saucily before the said Mayor. On 4 August 1647, Francis Raymond of Portland, hellier (tiler), deposed that John Fawne, seaman, in his hearing on Monday last at the sign of the Ship, said that Captain John Arthur was a French dog, a cur, and a toad. Fawne was bound in £20 to appear at next Sessions.

Religious differences were liable to show themselves. On 10 April 1646, Robert Saunders, mariner, had said that Mr. Peter Ince and Mr. Henry Way, the two Ministers, were knaves in their preaching; and that Way preached plain Popery. Saunders said he fought against Papists not on account of their religion, for it was lawful for every man to use his conscience, but because they were bloody men; and said he would fight as valiantly against the Presbyterians as ever he did against the Cavaliers. The Rev. Peter Ince went to Donhead St. Mary on 26 February 1647, having accepted that living to the regret of the Melcombe people, and was succeeded by the Rev. Edward Buckler.

The abuse of profane oaths, and of evil speaking in general, was rigorously punished under Sydenham; and the detection of offenders seems to have encouraged a system of amateur espionage. On 5 May 1646 John Bure (Bower?), mariner,

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said that on Wednesday last, about seven o'clock in the evening, he—being upon the Quay near the George—heard John Jourdain say to Mr. Henry Rose, one of the Bailiffs and Justices of the town, that he was a Cavalier and as bad as Fabian Hodder (who was condemned to death by the Parliament) or worse, and was a two-faced knave. And he heard Mr. Bailiff say to Jourdain that he (Rose) would throw down all again shortly. David Dove (one of the gunners of the Weymouth garrison,) said Jourdain replied, "Thou art a double-faced man, and Fabian Hodder is an honester man than thou." Jourdain acknowledged his offences, but was pardoned on Rose's intercession. On 8 May, Giles Gregorie, sailor, said in an alehouse kept by Robert Wyer, a sergeant of Captain Bragge's company "that Thomas Waltham, Waltham's calf, Mayor of this town is a traitor." Gregorie was accordingly put upon his recognizances in a sum of £40 to appear at next sessions, with two sureties of £20 each.

Spirit-drinking, as a help towards getting drunk, had already set in. James King, servant to Richard Keate of Weymouth, blacksmith, confessed on 19 June 1646 he drank a cup of beer and then strong waters; came home; quarrelled and struck his master.

The victorious party were already divided among themselves. On 8 July 1646 Katherine Kinde, widow, heard Mr. Maddox say there would be a greater war than there had been yet if they did go to put down the Independents.

The intolerable burthen of free-quarter, of billeting soldiers upon the inhabitants of a town or village is illustrated by the following narrative. George Churchey, Alderman and one of the Overseers of the Poor for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, complained that upon Tuesday 13 October 1646, being market-day, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon as he was following his calling—divers country chepemen being in the town who were indebted to him—Mr. Peter Peeke, meeting him in the market-place, told him he would forthwith quarter three soldiers in his house. Churchey answered him: "Sir, you know I pay weekly by your order six pence unto Daniel Hawk, one of your soldiers; and my house, being full of children, I have no room to entertain any." Peeke then replied, "Make your composition with these men"—there being then in company seven or eight soldiers. Churchey said he would pay what Peeke ordered. The latter then asked: "Will you or will you not?" The Alderman replied he would conform himself as others of the town did. Upon this the Lieutenant commanded his soldiers to carry him to the Black Rod, which Churchey willingly obeyed and entered

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without any refusal, and being on the stairs of the hall where prisoners use to be he was followed by the said Peeke, who straightly charged his keeper to clap him up a close prisoner. This Churchey perceiving, being at the top of the stairs, turned himself about and told Peeke he need not fear; he was a prisoner and would use no indirect way to escape, and if he pleased he might clap irons upon his legs (therewith Churchey tendered Peeke his leg) the Lieutenant being at the foot of the stairs and Churchey at the top; whereupon in a fury he mounts the stairs thundering out these words; "Dost thou spurn at me with thy foot?" and "he takes me by the cloke and pulls me over three or four stairs in much danger; whereupon my speech to him was that he would forbear to assault me in the prison, for that I was not under his command but a prisoner, and desired the privilege of a prisoner." Whereupon Churchey remained there until nine o'clock at night; when he came again and told him, if he would pay 18d. weekly for soldiers' lodgings, he should be free. Churchey's answer was that Peeke well knew he was never backward in his payments to the garrison and that what Peeke ordered he was ready to obey as he had formerly answered; with which he was freed. On Monday 25 October Lieutenant Peeke sent to the Alderman in the morning two soldiers to quarter in his house. Churchey told him he quartered two already at a widow's house and would so continue to lend them bedding and lodging as formerly he did; notwithstanding a little before night a sergeant with four soldiers were sent to quarter in his house. Churchey asked who sent them, and learned it was the Lieutenant-Colonel. He went to see him. But by the way, near the mainguard, Lieutenant Peeke came in a hasty and choleric manner to meet him, accusing him of disobeying the Lieutenant-Colonel's warrant. Churchey then told him his story; but he answered he should have more in the house. He told him he could not; but Peeke said he should and gave him many provoking and urgent terms; insomuch he said Churchey had sworn "By God." But this Churchey denied. So the same Monday night about seven o'clock there came Lieutenant Peeke, Captain Harding, two sergeants, and many musketeers with matches burning, to Churchey's house in a hostile manner and affrighted his people—and in a special manner a sick son in a dying condition—and brought in the four soldiers. He told them he could not lodge them in his house as his beds were full; but he would lodge the two soldiers as formerly he did; and added he would spare them a house which had a chimney in it and a lock and key to the door, so they might go out or in at pleasure. This would not

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content them but Churchey must lodge them in his house and pay for their quarter abroad. They gave him, moreover, many provoking terms. Captain Harding told him he was a malignant and a Cavalier; both of them abusing him in his own house and saying it was happy for him he was proclaimed a traitor in the King's ruling time, but Mr. Peeke would have an account of "my French journey; and, as I can prove, he hath long been seeking to prove some untruths against me, and would know what I had done for Parliament; which I am ready to give an account of." In the end they left the four soldiers in Churchey's house; so that the two he already quartered went back to their old quarters; and for the other two he gave them a groat between them to pay for their lodgings, who departed well-contented and would not have any money to pay further quarters. But between eight and nine o'clock he sent three other soldiers: one Nathaniel Trim, lately come into the town for fear of a press in the country; and the other, so Churchey heard, a former Cavalier soldier named John Butcher. The one came with match burning: the other had no musket and beat furiously upon the door. They looked at all the beds, and searched the cupboards. Churchey then gave them a groat and they went.[1] In March 1647 Cooper says: "This month I raised the country twice and beat out the soldiers designed for Ireland; who quartered on the county (of Wilts) without order, and committed many robberies." On 1 August 1649, the Commander-in-Chief Thomas, third Lord Fairfax, writes from Kensington to Colonels Charles Fleetwood and William Sydenham: "Whereas divers misdemeanours and offences are committed, contrary to articles of war and the late Act of Parliament for taking off free-quarter and billet, by your soldiers of the army and garrisons in their several quarters which cannot conveniently —in regard of the great distance of quarters—be brought to a Council of War (Court-Martial) at Headquarters; I do hereby give you—or either of you in absence of the other—full power and authority to call a Court of War, from time to time and as often as need shall require, of the Commission Officers under your command for the trial of such officers and soldiers under your command—according to the laws and articles of War established and late orders given forth for prevention of free-quarter and billet—as shall be found guilty of such misdemeanours. And to inflict further punishments upon them according to the said laws and ordinances as shall be adjudged; provided that this commission shall not extend to the taking

1. Hist. MS., Appendix to 5th Report, 586-589.

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away of life or any member of any soldier without first acquainting me therewith and receiving further direction from me therein." Among local examples illustrative of this practice are the following. On 30 October 1646, Lady Strangways is to be allowed 16d, day and night, for so many horse and men as she shall quarter of the County troop: in April of the following year she is to be allowed out of her next rent payable to the County Treasurer for the estate of her husband Sir John, all the charge she has been at in quartering of soldiers unto Lady-Day last; and also for all such wood sold by order of the Dorset Standing Committee out of the said estate. In October 1646, Mrs. Grey, having promised to satisfy all arrears of rent due to the State out of Kingston Marwood Farm, Stinsford—sequestered from Mr. Angel Grey, delinquent—and also to satisfy the State for 40 bushells of barley (at 2s. a bushell) and to deliver 40 bushells of wheat, it is ordered that she shall be allowed out of the said rent, for free quarter of the Parliament soldiers, £32. In April of the following year the sum of £60 4s. 8d. is to be paid by the Treasurer, when convenient, to John Cobb of Dorchester for the quartering of soldiers in that town when it was a Parliamentary garrison. In October 1646, Mr. Robert Freke of Hilton, delinquent, on condition he pays £20 and speedily perfects his composition for his delinquency, is to be discharged from his engagement for £78—representing his personal estate;—owing to the fact that, before his corn at Puddletrenthide was threshed and made into money, it was for the most part consumed and wasted by the quartering of soldiers. At the same time John Ayres of Remscombe in the Isle of Purbeck is promised the sum of £266 os. 4d. for horse, plate, money, cattle, corn, etc., by him contributed to the use of the State with quartering of soldiers, Horse and Foot, for Parliament. He is also allowed all the wreck lately taken up by him upon the lands of Mrs. Wells, a recusant. About the same date Christian Adyn, widow, of Dorchester is to be paid £4 14s. od. for quartering of soldiers; Nicholas Windsor of Dorchester is to receive 57s. for the charges he has been at in quartering John Maurice, a Parliament soldier, that lay sick in his house; and William Munden, tailor of Dorchester, is to be paid eventually £97 15s. 4d. at 8% as executor of Thomas Foxwell, deceased inn-keeper, for the quartering of Captains and other officers and soldiers when the town was a garrison. In December of the same year Captain John Lea of Bridport is to be paid £47 6s. 1d. for and in respect of so much money which he is engaged for the quartering of his soldiers. In January 1647, Walter Blandford, yeoman, and Thomas Hext,

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gentleman, tenants of the respective farms of Melbury Abbas and Fontmel—sequestered from Lord Arundel of Wardour—are excused and discharged severally from the rent and arrears of rent-grain for the years 1644 and 1645 in respect of their great losses; sustained in their stock etc., being taken away by Parliament soldiers, by reason it was the estate of a Popish recusant. In February 1648 John Polden, Collector of the Shaston Division, is to pay Cicely Henning £5; because she is much impoverished by entertaining soldiers on free-quarter, and has little or nothing to live on. In October 1648 upon the petition of John Hyne and other inhabitants of Portland the Treasurer is ordered to pay Hyne 33s.—he having disbursed the same in candles for the use of the guards in the island;—and to substract (defauke) £8 11s. 0d. from the pay of Captain Dewy's troop, being so much due from them to the said inhabitants for their quarter in Portland. On 2 December 1647 John Browne of Frampton is declared to have the public faith of the Kingdom for £800, which he disbursed for the use of Parliament, viz: £150 in money, £150 in horses, and £500 in quartering soldiers. In October of the following year the Treasurer, upon the petition of Ann Baylie wife of Gregory Baylie, slain in the Parliament's service, and in consideration of the great charge she has been at and loss she has sustained by quartering of soldiers, is ordered to pay her £12 at the rate of £4 a quarter. In January 1647 Nicholas Windsor, mentioned above, is ordered to receive £17 17s. 0d. at 8% for quartering of soldiers in Dorchester when it was a garrison: at the same time Elizabeth Perryn, widow, of Dorchester is to receive £40 at 8%; because the last time Sir William Waller came with his brigade and quartered near the town there was taken by his soldiers out of her barn for provender so much barley and other grain as was worth £40, for which she was then promised satisfaction by Waller but as yet never received any. Near the end of March 1647 Ursula Vye of Keysworth, widow, has the public faith for £44 18s. 0d. for so much hay, corn, and other provision eaten up and expended by Colonel Middleton, his soldiers and horses, when they lay against Wareham 9 August 1646; and William Kenell of Wareham is ordered to be paid £5 for so much lent for supply of the soldiers' wants in that town. Three weeks later Elizabeth and Margaret Barfoot, poor orphans, receive the public faith for all such goods as they shall prove were brought into Wareham for the use of the soldiers when it was a Parliamentary garrison. In December 1647 Agnes Winchen of Wareham, widow, is to be paid £9 19s. 0d. when possible;

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which is due to her for quartering soldiers and other services when Wareham was a garrison. In January 1649 it appears there is due to Elizabeth Brampton of Poole, widow, for quartering of soldiers there in the time of great extremity, £57 12s. 6d; it is ordered therefore that the Treasurer shall pay her the said sum, as soon as he may after paying the reduced officers of Dorset and the officers of the garrison of Weymouth; and that in the meantime the public faith is engaged for the payment thereof. In August of the same year upon the petition of William Wilson of Dorchester, clothier, for £80 due to him from the State for quartering of divers officers and soldiers under Sir Walter Erle when Dorchester was garrisoned in the late war; it is ordered that the Treasurer pay unto him the said sum out of the compositions of such delinquents' estates as shall be by him discovered, not being before discovered.[1]

Soldiers who had been seriously wounded or maimed, and the widows of those slain, in the Parliament's service were not neglected by the local Committee. On 11 November, 1647, the Committee, sitting at Dorchester, order the Treasurer to pay to the maimed soldiers and widows who have attended the Committee these two days past the sum of 12d. a piece; and to all the maimed soldiers and widows in Dorset the sum of £60 out of such monies as shall be raised upon the 5th and 20th part upon several persons in the said County. In October, 1646, the Commissary-Chirurgeon and Quarter-Master of the garrison of Weymouth and Melcombe are ordered to take care of and provide for Malcombe Murdo and Andrew Leach, maimed soldiers, as they do for other soldiers of the said garrison until further notice. At the same time the Treasurer is to pay 40s. for his present support to Evan Moore, a maimed soldier of Captain Gould's Company wounded at Corfe Castle. In May, 1649, the Treasurer is ordered to pay out of the composition money of Robert Reeves, a delinquent, the following sums, *viz.*; to David Dove, gunner, 40s.; to the widow Kelway of Weymouth, 40s.; to John Bondfield of the same, 20s.; to the widow Tayler of Wareham, 20s.; to John Strode of Cheselburne, a maimed soldier, 20s.; to Thomas Harris of Poole, a maimed soldier, 20s.; and to Evan Moore, a maimed soldier, 20s. Two years earlier, David Dove, one of the gunners of Weymouth garrison pays £10, deducted out of his arrears for service, which he owed for being redeemed out of prison. In February, 1648, Thomas Harris, a maimed soldier then in

1. Egerton, f. 18. Minute Books, passim.

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Poole garrison, is in receipt of 2s. a week; and in August, 1649, he is to be paid 20s. by the Treasurer. In October, 1646, the Committee having heard that John Leach of Wareham had been a soldier there when it was a garrison for Parliament; that he had done good service therein, and sustained great loss by the Irish when they took the town; and that Andrew Leach, his son mentioned above, being a Parliament soldier had lost the use of one of his legs in that service; think fit and order that the Treasurer pay to John Leach £5, and to his son five nobles. In November the Treasurer is ordered to pay £3 to Humphrey Masters, a maimed soldier in great distress—he having at this time a rotting leg; and Francis Willis, maimed at the siege of Corfe Castle, is granted £3 and excused the sum of 33s. 4d., which he owed William Raymond, a sequester of Blandford, for the purchase of wood. In October, 1646, it is ordered that, if the parishioners of Holy Trinity, Dorchester, raise 40s. for the purpose of transporting James Stagg—a maimed soldier of that parish—to London in order that he may learn the trade of a barber, the Treasurer shall pay the same £5 for binding him an apprentice unto that trade. In January, 1647, the Treasurer is ordered to pay Richard Squire 10s., and Edward Norwood 20s.; they having lost their limbs in the siege of Lyme Regis; and William Orchard, having served in Lyme as a soldier throughout the war and being maimed there and now unable to support himself, is ordered 40s., until he shall be further provided for by the Sessions, according to the Statute in such cases made and provided. In April, 1647, John Oldish, senior, of Dorchester is to be paid £23 os. 4d. at 8% *viz.*, for lending at the beginning of the war, upon the propositions of Parliament, £9; for laying out in 1644, when one of the Constables of the town, £40 os. 4d., for sick and wounded soldiers and messengers employed in the service of the State; for lending Colonel Sydenham £12 as Governor of Weymouth. In 1647, the Treasurer is ordered to pay Henry Hoskins, a maimed soldier, the several sums of 20s. and 40s., he being now sick and under the chirurgeon's hands. At the beginning of 1649 John Linnington, having received many dangerous wounds in the Parliament service and much money being due to him, is to receive £1 immediately, and £10 when the Treasurer can raise the same out of such delinquents' estates, as are not yet discovered. On 24 April, 1649, the Committee, sitting at Dorchester, order that all such fines as shall be by them imposed upon delinquents not worth £200 shall be from henceforth paid unto the most necessitated soldiery of Dorset.[1]

1. Egerton, f. 18. Minute Books, passim.

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In September, 1646, when the existing Minute Books of the local Standing Committee begin, two troops of Horse were left in Dorset—the Sheriff's troop and Captain Theodore Gulston's troop. On 25 September they are spoken of as "lately reduced by this Committee;" and on 12 October Captain Jacob Taylor is appointed to command the County troop. Three days later Lieutenant William Pitman, who had been Lieutenant to Captain Gulston, was desired to hold the same rank in the County troop under Captain Taylor, to which he is transferred; and on the 30th, Lieutenant Nathaniel Tyre, who had served under the Sheriff for the last eighteen months, was paid off. This troop was employed in enforcing the orders of the Committee where necessary, that is, in ejecting the sequestered or "malignant" clergy and placing their successors in possession; in assisting in the collection of the excise money; in apprehending those who refused to obey; in levying upon their goods; and in collecting arrears of rent due to the Committee. It is indicative of the quiet condition of Dorset that on 25 March, 1647, the Committee propose that the County troop shall be disbanded, "if not exepted into pay by the Kingdom," *i.e.*, "to be reckoned among the 5,400 troops appointed for the general guard of the Kingdome." From the same minute it appears that there were two companies of Foot soldiers in the County —one acting as garrison of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis under Colonel Sydenham; and the other under Lieutenant-Colonel Coker, the new governor. The former company is to be placed under the charge of Major James Heane or Haynes, and Captain-Lieutenant Harding to be discharged; the latter to remain under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Coker, with Captain Edward Bragge as his subordinate. When the Committee of the West ordered £1000 to be paid to the Treasurer of Dorset out of the moiety of the Excise, it was divided in the following proportions—£690 for the garrison of Weymouth and Portland; £194 for that of Poole; and £116 for a fortnight's pay for the Horse. A special watch, was, however, ordered to be kept in the Isle of Purbeck, and along the coast, from Fleet to Burton Bradstock "for preventing the hurt which may be committed by rogues and pirates" on 25 March, 1647. On 6 May, 1647, the disbanding of the County Horse was ordered to be carried into effect; ten troopers being retained under the command of Cornet Pitman, "to attend the Treasurer to fetch in moneys for the soldiers, and to be assistant unto the sub-commissioners of Excise." But on 6 July, 1648, it appears that "there is a great and present occasion for two troops of Horse in this County for

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preserving the peace thereof, against the enemy who threaten to rise and disturb the same peace;" and a minute of 22 November records that "about Midsummer last by authority of Parliament this Committee did, for the safety of this County, raise and order to be inlisted three companies of Foot and one troop of Horse." These were to be paid at the charges of the County; and, until an ordinance of Parliament could be procured for raising a monthly payment for them, there was advanced by Sir Thomas Trenchard, Mr. John Browne, Colonel Henry Henley of Colway, Lyme Regis, M.P. for Dorset, and Mr. John Whiteway, the sum of £250. But "now there is nere fower weekes pay owinge into the Foote companies, who are in extreme necessity; and the troope of Horse that quartereth up and downe the County, because there is not £150 to pay them off." The troop is, therefore, ordered to be disbanded. The three Foot companies were acting in the Garrison of Portland and Weymouth. But the pressure of expense was already felt, and Captains Lacy and Bragge of Portland garrison, and their commission officers, were suspended; and the inferior officers and men committed to the charge of Captain Richard Channing. On 4 January, 1649, it was ordered "that all the Commission officers of the new-raised companies in Weymouth and Portland—except Captain Richard Channing, Lieutenant Bedford, and Ensign Godfry—shall be presently (immediately) disbanded; and the common soldiers, except sixty to be added to the forty already under the command of Captain Channing, to be likewise disbanded." On 30 April, 1649, the sum of £10 was ordered to be paid to Lieutenant-Colonel Barrett Lacy, for what he had laid out in raising a company the previous summer. Several troops are mentioned as passing through Dorset. Captain Doylie, with a troop of Horse, who "doth lie upon free quarter where he comes," is ordered by the Committee to depart the County on 11 December, 1646. Lord Inchiquin, whose savage destructiveness branded him among his countrymen with the appellation of "Murrough of the burnings," had been pursuing his accustomed work of rapine and slaughter in Munster. On 3 April, 1648, he declared openly for the King, and for an alliance with the Scots and the Irish Confederates; and also notified to his officers that those who refused to support his new policy must leave the country. The regiments of Colonel Jephson and Lieutenant-Colonel Townsend had passed through Dorset to the place of embarkation for Ireland; and, on 1 June and 5 July, in pursuance of an order from the House of Commons on 9 September, 1645, it was ordered that Collectors of the

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British assessment in Dorset were to allow to all persons—rated to the said assessment—all such charges as they had been at in quartering the said regiments; provided that the said allowance did not exceed 12 pence for 1 horse and 6 pence for 1 man for 24 hours. For nine days 100 men under Townsend's command were quartered at Corscombe. On 5 July, 1648, Colonel Felton is forbidden to enlist any more men in Sherborne for the service of the Republic of Venice against the Turks until order be received from Parliament. On 22 November, 1648, Peter Butler, a soldier of Colonel Scrope's regiment, petitions for the value of a horse lost in the service of the County. Twelve days earlier it had been ordered that there should be borrowed from Mr. Henry Maber, Treasurer for the late British Assessment, as much as was wanting to make up the £2,500 due to Scrope's regiment; "for the present ease of the County from the charge and burden of free quarter."[1]

In the establishment of the home army settled by Parliament during February, March, and April 1647, Brownsea Castle is to be garrisoned by 20 men; Poole by 100; Weymouth and Portland by 300 each. On 4 March of the same year an order of the House of Commons is issued to the effect that whereas in February 1644, Dennis Bond M.P. was appointed to receive £400, being monies of the Duke of Candales lying in the office of King's Bench, and to issue the same for the service and preservation of Lyme then besieged; it is ordered that the Committee for taking the accounts of the Kingdom do accept of and allow to Mr. Bond, upon passing of his account, acquittance and receipt of Colonel Robert Blake in discharge of that sum received and issued by Mr. Bond. On 17 June the Lords and Commons approve of Captain William Skutt being Governor of Poole; they nominate and appoint Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Coker, Governor of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis; they approve of Captain Elias Bond as Captain of Portland Castle; they appoint Captain John Arthur, Captain of Sandy Fort (Sandsfoot Castle); and they order Brouncksea (Brownsea) Castle to be under the governor of Poole. Apparently on 10 September, Colonel James Heane becomes Governor of Weymouth; and on 11 November 1647, Colonel John Rede is appointed Governor of Poole and Brownsea Castle, and Commander-in-Chief of all forces raised for the defence of the same. On 17 October Colonel Henry Osborne writes to Sir Peter Osborne that "Gloucestershire will

1. Minute Books, xxix to xxxiv et passim. Much money had been given to Irish fleeing hither from the rebels in their own country; and poor English families were enabled to settle there "for the planting of that Country."

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admit no soldiers; in Wiltshire the Clubmen, for I can give them no other title, have in so rude a manner enclosed the Committee at Marlborough, that they were glad to get away through back doors." On 29 July 1648, Thomas Trenchard and others write to the Speaker from Dorchester. They desire to be excused attending the call of the House for 7 August, being engaged in settling the Militia of the County pursuant to the ordinance of Parliament. On 9 August the Committee of Derby House write to Captain William Skutt, Commander-in-Chief of Poole garrison. From his letter of 27 July they learn the condition of the garrison, and his endeavours with the Committee of Dorset for his supply. They are sensible of the importance of that place; its danger from the unwillingness of the town to give him assistance; and the want of so many provisions necessary for defence against any attempt of the enemy. They have written to the County Committee to give him supplies. Skutt's letter with the enclosed paper of wants they have directed to be reported to the House in order that a supply may be ordered for him, which is all this Committee can do. Next day the London Committee earnestly recommend the garrisons of Poole and Brownsea Castle to the especial care of the Dorset Committee. On 21 August the same inform the same that they hear there are designs upon the garrisons of Weymouth, Melcombe, and Portland, for the prevention whereof they have written to the governor of those places to draw into them a sufficient number of trusty men for their preservation. They have appointed him to apply to the Dorset Committee for such forces, which they desire them to furnish him with. They will report to the House with the request that an establishment may be assigned for the pay of those forces. On 22 August the same inform the same that a design has been laid in town, on behalf of the enemy, to be put into execution in some of the western counties. Many soldiers, dressed like ordinary men, are to go that way—some on horseback and some on foot, and these horses are likewise carried that way for the same purpose. They desire them to appoint some to guard several passes upon the road into the west; and to secure all who come into those parts as strangers, and can give no good account of their business. On the same day the London Committee notify the Committees of Somerset and Dorset that the disguised intend a rendezvous in one of those counties; where they expect to muster 8000 very speedily. They therefore desire them to put themselves into a posture to prevent such a rendezvous or to disperse the insurgents, if they attempt to come together. They are desired to secure the men and seize the horses to prevent danger. At 6 o'clock

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on Wednesday, 5 September 1648, the Governor of Poole received the following letter :—

> "I desire you upon receipt of this letter to repair to Headquarters that I may confer with you concerning the state of your garrison. I have given order to Sir Hardress Waller to send some forces under him under some careful officer, who may take charge of the place in your absence,
>
> Your assured friend,
>
> T. FAIRFAX.
>
> Leaguer before Colchester, 18 August.

On 9 September Captain John Arthur, Vice-Admiral of Dorset, writes to William Lenthall from Weymouth enclosing an examination, and desiring that course may be taken for the preservation of the isle of Scilly. The examination of William Cotton of Weymouth, mariner, is in this wise :—"Being master of a bark of Weymouth, the *Magdalen*, about 9 weeks since he was taken when bound from Portland to London by an Irish man-of-war; carried to Barfleur; and then turned ashore there. He then went to Shirbrook (Cherbourg), and thence to Monville; where on 1 September a shallop arrived from Scilly with six men on board, one being Lieutenant to the Governor, who affirmed they were bound for the Downs with two letters—one for the Prince of Wales, and one for the Duke of York—the contents of which were, in case the Prince should consent to the articles therein, the Governor of the isle would deliver it up to him." On 30 September Colonel James Heane, Governor of Weymouth, writes to the Committee of Derby House: "having at last got an addition of two companies I must disband them, or see them perish for want of bread. How impossible it is to keep these garrisons without them needs no demonstration . . . . The seas are pestered with Irish men-of-war . . . . no less than thirty in a fleet; the isle of Portland but this very week beset by some of them, and had I not men ready there must needs have been taken. Had the enemy no possibility of proceeding a foot further, that island is so convenient a receptable for men of their profession that it will be a miracle if any ship pass safely either East or Westward. I therefore desire that these men be constantly paid; and 8 or 9 guns sent to Portland."[1]

On 3 January 1648, the vote of No Addresses had been passed and the Committee of Both Kingdoms dissolved without

1. *Ibid.* Gardiner's Civil War III, 232. C.S.P., 1645-7; 1648-9. Hoskins II, 166. Portland MSS. I, 492, 497, 499. Stowe, 189, f. 41.

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a dissentient voice. The supervision of public affairs was placed in the hands of the English members of the defunct Committee, who from thence-forward were officially known from the place in which they met as the Committee of Derby House. A further vote added to their numbers three decided Independents in place of three Presbyterians, who were either dead or disqualified. The House of Lords at first showed little inclination even to consider the Vote of No Addresses, but their opposition was ultimately overcome by the intervention of the army. A pretext for military intervention was easily found. Money was wanted for paying off the supernumeraries of the army; and an attempt to levy a tax for the purpose met with resistance in the City. A soldier was beaten by the mob; and the Sheriffs, when they attempted to allay the disorder, were driven off the ground with shouts "for the King and no plunder." On this the Commons requested Fairfax to send 2000 men to occupy Whitehall and the Mews for the protection of Parliament. On 18 January Colonel John Barkstead's regiment of Foot took up its quarters at Whitehall, and Colonel Nathaniel Rich's regiment of Horse at the Mews. The permanent presence of soldiers at Westminster made the power of the army more directly felt in London than it had ever been before. On 25 January William Clarke, Knight and Secretary at War after the Restoration, writes from Windsor to Lieutenant-Colonel John Rede, Governor of Poole. He informs him of the disturbed state of the capital; where "all the misery of the City, decay of trade, scarcity and dearness of provision, the not bringing in of bullion, etc. are imputed to the army." There have been some meetings of butchers and others; "but they proved abortive by the care of the Lord Mayor and other magistrates of the City, who gave order for the beating of Drums to raise the trained Band to put down disorder . . . Some few days since Lieutenant-Colonel (John) Lilburne, Mr. (John) Wildman and others, endeavouring to promote a petition — entitled, the earnest petition of many freeborn people of England—at a meeting in London (East Smithfield on 17 January), some of them were apprehended; and Lilburne and Wildman being brought before the House were committed to custody (20 January)—which occasions some dissatisfaction in divers of the honest godly party. Our work at Headquarters hath been about the footing the establishment of 2700, intended to be kept up in the Kingdom, is to take. The pay of several general officers is abated and otherwise wisely ordered: also the number of gunners, mattrosses (superintendents of ammunition), marshalls, etc. to be continued in the respective

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garrisons has been this week arranged; and sent up to the Committee of the Army. The disbanding of supernumeraries (enlisted since August 1647) as yet goes on but slowly, and indeed the work is more than the work of a day." But Clarke considers that, if the country will be but a little patient, the work will not be long: "Though there wants not some turbulent spirits to foment distempers amongst them also and occasion them not to disband. There was a design of the supernumeraries to betray Gloucester and other places." He says the affair arose in the following manner. A Council had been held at Broadway in Worcestershire the greater part of the previous week by about eighty officers, including Colonel Nicholas Kempson's, Colonel Thomas Ayres', Colonel Herbert's, and Colonel Grey's regiments of Foot with Colonel Cooke's and some others of Horse. The debate was concerning the surprisal of Gloucester by night. They considered that Hartlebury Castle would be delivered to them by Colonel Turton; and they discoursed concerning the surprisal of Hereford, Ludlow and Shrewsbury. Some of them talked of having assurance of Laugharne's forces to join with them; that arms would be sent them from Bewdley; and that the discontented citizens of London would furnish them with morions. "This though if it had stood might have proved ominous; yet, being nipped in the bud, is not I hope dangerous. Major-General Rowland Laugharne (who deserted to the Royalists on 4 May), being about to go down to your parts, was therefore stayed. From the Isle of Wight is only this that the King is outwardly very merry: the Governor (Colonel Robert Hammond) is very careful to secure him and hath appointed the Carver and Sewer, Mr. Thomas Herbert and Captain Preston, to lodge nightly and attend daily about the King. Yesterday the House of Commons heard the report of the Committee, employed for the trial of Captain Burleigh (John Burley) and the rest of the rioters in the Isle of Wight, that the Grand Jury (at Winchester) had found Burleigh guilty of High Treason and many others guilty of the riot: three of them were fled and the rest fined." He adds: "upon a letter from the Vice-Admiral, the House ordered £70,000 to be advanced upon the Excise to be paid every six months for the advancement of the service of the Fleet. The House ordered the Committee for disbanding Supernumeraries to disband them; troop after troop and company after company as they come in. The business of Gloucester looks very ill. We had intelligence last night that Colonel Morgan and the rest of the officers refuse entrance to Sir William Constable's regiment. The General hath sent them a positive order to surrender, or

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to be looked upon as enemies. You see what confusions we are like to run into if we go to support a rotten structure, which God will have to fall. He is happy that can escape crushing if the pillars break." On 5 March Edward, Earl of Manchester, writes from Derby House in the name of the Committee of Both Houses to the Sheriffs of Counties (including Dorset): "You are to publish the votes passed by both Houses against levying, listing, mustering and transporting of any forces for Foreign Service." On 17 March it was ordered by the Commons that Colonels Bingham and Sydenham were to acquaint the French Ambassador "with the quality of Monsieur Shiveirs (*sic*) that pretended your authority for the transporting of goods; that he was in arms against the Parliament; and, being taken prisoner, brake prison; and that, notwithstanding this, the Parliament out of their respect for the French King granted his desires—but withal desire that persons who have been such enemies to the Parliament may not be employed on such missions."[1]

On 11 September 1649 John Bradshaw, as President of the Council of State, issued the following order for a survey of seaports—including the Isle of Wight, Portland, Weymouth, and Lyme:

(1) Make a survey and discover defects;

(2) As the year is far advanced, state what is immediately necessary and provide for the future;

(3) Make a survey of all arms and ammunition;

(4) And of all other arms and ammunition whether public or private—as ammunition is very expensive a great deal of money might be saved by careful management;

(5) Instruct Governors to be careful of ammunition, and let them know the Council will, at the end of each year, exact an account of all used or wasted for which the Governors will be responsible;

(6) Such Governors are to forbear all Salutes save upon especial and extraordinary occasions;

(7) Instruct them to keep their sentinel with firelock-musket well-fixed to save expense of match, and if there are no firelock-muskets order shall be taken for a supply thereof;

(8) Be careful all arms in the Garrison are kept fixed, and any decay in any part of the works at once remedied;

1. Stowe, 189, f. 39. C.S.P., 1648-9. Add. MS., 29319, f. 40. Whitelocke, 289.

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(9) A copy of these instructions to be delivered to each Governor;

(10) You are to take such skilled artificers as are required on your survey.

You are to render account to this Council of your survey.[1]

From the Minute Books of the Dorset Standing Committee the rate of pay among the troops employed in that County appears to have been:—

Horse.

Captain—39s. a day, or £13 13s. od. a week.
Captain-Lieutenant—19s. 6d. a day.
Lieutenant—18s. a day, £6 6s. od. a week; or £25 4s. od. a month, or £26 18s. od. a month.
Cornet—13s. 6d. or 13s. 4d. a day, or £4 14s. 6d. a week.
Quarter-Master—9s. 6d. or 9s. 4d. a day; £3 3s. od. or 56s. a week; or £12 12s. od. a month.
Corporal—3s. a day, or £1 1s. od. a week.
Trooper—2s. 6d. a day; 17s. 6d. a week; or £3 10s. od. a month.
A Corporal in the Sheriff's troop received 17s. 6d. and a Trooper 14s. a week.
A Dragoon was paid 50s. for seven weeks.
From these sums 12d. a day was deducted from a trooper's pay for free-quarter, and one-third from the pay of commissioned officers.

Foot.

Lieutenant-Colonel Coker, when Governor of Weymouth, received £10 10s. od. a week.
Lieutenant-Colonel Heane, the same; and when Major had £8 8s. od. a week.
Captain-Lieutenant—18s. a day.
Captain—15s. a day, or £5 5s. od. a week.
Lieutenant—4s. a day, or 28s. a week.
Ensign—21s. a week.

The pay of officers and men was constantly in arrear and, in default of ready money, was met by the issue of debentures pledging "The Faith of the Kingdom;" and latterly by the expedient of promising that payment should be made from the first delinquent's estate, not yet discovered, which might

1. Stowe, ff. 45, 47.

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be discovered by the hungry soldier. The case of Nathaniel Tyre, a poor Lieutenant, to whom £300 was due, speaks for itself. On 21 January 1647 as much as £2630 17s. 0d. was due to the officers of the Weymouth garrison. On 4 May 1647 the Treasurer informs the Committee that all the sequestered rents are paid out; and that there is no money to pay the garrison of Weymouth and Portland. On 20 October 1648 the officers are still unpaid the £500 then due; and the Committee propose to raise it by "improving" the rents of the sequestrations.

The following persons are mentioned as Commissaries:—

Of Wareham Garrison—John Payne, senior, of Anderston; Morgan Blandford; Nathaniel Child or Childs; John Frampton; and Captain Thomas Hughes.

Of Weymouth Garrison—Richard Scovile; Robert Wakely; and John Bishop.

It is not stated to what garrison Penny and Richard Savage were attached. Peter White was Provost Marshal for the County; Walter Tett in Lyme Regis; Peter Lidbie in Poole; Philip Bankes in Wareham; and Nicholas Hillard, as Under-Marshal, in Weymouth.

The Surgeons mentioned are George Gerrett or Gerrard, who "from the beginning of the late wars to the present time, hath done many great cures upon several wounded men" in Poole Garrison—the charge amounting to £53 12s. 6d., of which by May 4, 1647, he has received only £15. William Keynell of Wareham, barber-surgeon, is owed £50, of which £10 is paid him on 11 November, 1647. Captain Peter De Salanova, chirurgeon and apothecary,[1] received—on 15 March, 1647,—£6 for salves and medicines used at Corfe Castle about wounded soldiers. His usual pay in Weymouth Garrison was £3 a week. Arnold de Sella Nova, of Weymouth, M.D., by will dated, 1684, gave £5 in money—the interest to be paid yearly to the poor of Weymouth; and £5—the interest to be paid to the poor of Melcombe. Thomas Alexander of Melcombe, barber chirurgeon, is ordered to be paid £6 13s. 4d. for service done for the State both by sea and land, 6 April, 1648. Anthony Butler of Dorchester, chirurgeon, and Hamnet Ward, M.D., are also mentioned. Hamnet Ward, a native of Dorset, took his doctor's degree at Angers and was incorporated at Oxford in 1660. A Prebendary of Wells, he died on 7 August, 1705, in the 85th year of his age; and

1. On 1 December, 1640, £5 are ordered to be paid Peter Salanova for cutting of Giles Garrett's leg, out of £10 set aside yearly by the hospital for pious uses; he to have one half cut of his leg immediately, and the other half when he is thoroughly cured.

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was buried in the church of Sturminster Newton Castle, of which place he was Vicar. A nurse, Mary Freind, who attended the sick and maimed soldiers in Poole Garrison by order of Colonel Bingham, for the space of two years and upwards; and "made it all her labour, for which she never received any satisfaction," is, on 21 December, 1648, to be paid £6 "for satisfaction of her pains taken therein."[1]

One chaplain is mentioned—John Tucker, chaplain to Colonel Townsend's regiment from 20 April, 1646, to 15 April, 1647, and paid at the rate of 8s. a day.

On 6 April, 1648, the County Committee order the Treasurer to pay all the reduced officers afterwards named in satisfaction of their arrears due to them, between this and a month after Midsummer next at latest, out of the incomes and revenues of sequestrations, the sum of £695. To Lieutenant-Colonel Barrett Lacy, for the charges he has been at in his late journeys to London on behalf of the soldiers of Dorset, upon condition that he repay forthwith the officers such monies as they have contributed towards his said journeys, £20; to Major George Skutt, £15; to Major Jordan, the same; to 10 Captains, £20 a piece; to 15 Captains of Foot, £12 a piece; to 6 Lieutenants of Horse, £10 a piece; to 10 Lieutenants of Foot, £6 13s. 4d. a piece; to 3 Cornets, £6 13s. 4d. a head; to 8 Ensigns, £5 a head; to 7 Quarter-Masters, £5 a head; to Captain Salanova, Chirurgeon, to John Frend, to Jasper Colson of Dorchester, who had supplied medicines for Poole Garrison, to John Spence, to William Keynell, Barber-Surgeon of Wareham, £5 a piece; to Captain Peter White, Provost-Marshal for Dorset, and Peter Lidbie of Wareham, Provost-Marshal in Poole, £5 a piece, with another £5 for one of them who had acted as Under-Marshal. On 20 April eleven other Commission officers are reduced and ordered to be paid in the same proportion before Michaelmas. But on 9 July, 1651, Colonel James Heane, Captain John Tutchen, and others, petition the Committee for Advance of Money that they informed against George Pitt, (son of Edward of Stratfieldsaye, Hants), who was fined £1238 10s. 8d., and beg their fifth. In November a list of forty officers, including Captain James Dewy, is given who are to have money for their arrears by virtue of the order in the Commons of 10 May, 1649. On 6 July, 1652, Thomas Hughes, on behalf of the officers, requests an order to the County Commissioners of Dorset to pay them half the fines paid

1. At Dorchester women doctors are mentioned, such as Mrs. Philip Davis of Martinstown and Canander Haggard (1654). Dorset N.H.A.F.C., XV, 159.

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on the compositions of persons discovered by them. Certificates from Goldsmiths' Hall show that the sums already paid amount to £984 13s. 4d. and £1254 12s. 1d. Eight days later Barrett Lacy and three others, on behalf of the officers, plead that they served all through the wars and were at great charges in the prosecution of delinquents, who were freed by the Act of Pardon; so that they are out of hopes to receive their arrears that way. They beg a proportion of the £2239 5s. 5d. paid in, and will always be ready to serve Parliament. On 21 July the Committee order that the fines of George Pitt and Robert Ryves of Fifehead Nevil, cannot be allowed as they compounded on their own discoveries before 10 May, 1649; that that of Henry Hastings of Woodlands is respited because he is under judgment of Parliament; but that half the fines paid by Robert Hussey and Nicholas Smart of Wyke Regis amounting to £404 13s. 4d. are allowed the officers, being discovered by them. On 29 September the treasurers of the Commissioners for Compounding are ordered to pay Captain Thomas Hughes and John Lea £100, part of £202 6s. 8d. due to the officers, to be distributed equally between them and what is paid endorsed on their several debentures, to be repaid in case it is claimed by the said officers; but the balance is retained until further order, because it is believed that there are other reduced officers in Dorset besides those in the list. On 20 December Heane asks for the fifth of £1254 12s. 1d., paid by Pitt, who is freed by the Act of Oblivion from paying more, which Major William Harding will receive and distribute. On 1 November, 1653, Sir Anthony Cooper and Colonel William Sydenham desire Secretary Dallison to pay the £102 balance to Barrett Lacy, Captain Williams, and Lieutenant Zachary Willis, taking bond to the same purport as that taken for the first £100. On 30 November, therefore, £102 6s. 8d. is to be paid to Lacy, Williams, and Willis. On 15 March, 1654, Heane and Hughes petition for the fifth of Pitt's fine. They refused it before, hoping for a half but this was not allowed. The Committee for Advance of Money declare they have no power to grant the warrant desired. On 24 October the Committee again declare they cannot grant the fifth part, justly due to the discoverers; that power belonging to the late Committee for Advance of Money, but not to the present.[1]

On 7 July 1649 the Commons allowed the Committee of the Army to make payment of several sums of money to several

1. Minute Books, xxxiii-v, 377, 386. P.C.A.M., 1076. Hutchins II, 464, IV, 343. Dorchester Records, 516. Dorset N.H.A.F.C., xv, 158.

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Garrisons and Castles according to the establishment proposed:—

Officers to be continued in the train of artillery—Chief Engineer—10 gunners—30 matrosses—60 draught-horses—Quarter-Master—24 waggoners—Commissary of Ammunition—2 assistants—3 Conductors—Lieutenant-General of Ordnance.

On 18 March, 1650, the House of Commons voted £56,301 10s. 10d. for the maintenance of the forces and garrisons in England per mensem. At this time the Weymouth Garrison is given as follows:—

James Heane, Colonel.
Austin Buckle, Captain-Lieutenant.
George Pinson, Ensign.
William Harding (of Poole), Lieutenant-Colonel.
Robert Farrant, Lieutenant.
Peter Templeman, Ensign.
Edward Sexby, Major (Governor of Portland, 1649; author of "Killing No Murder," 1657).
George Evered, Lieutenant.
—— Tulbin (*sic* Tutchen?), Ensign.
Peter Peeke (clothworker of Weymouth), Captain.
Richard Young, Lieutenant.
Edward Turtur, Ensign.
Thomas Rippon, Captain.
James Staresmore, Lieutenant.
William Rippon, Ensign.
George Joyce (Governor of Portland 17 June 1650), Lieutenant-Colonel.

Of the New Companies.

—— Heath, Captain.
Richard Channing, Captain.
John Pitman, Lieutenant.
Humfrey Hawfield, Ensign.
—— Awder, Captain.
Nathaniel Godfrey, Lieutenant.
William Willis, Ensign.
Kynaston Hillyard, Captain.
Richard Waddon, Lieutenant.
Thomas Russell, Ensign.
Richard Matthews, Captain.
Joseph Underwood (of Dorchester) Captain.
Thomas Chetmill, Ensign.

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On 6 July, John Bradshaw, President of the Council of State, writes to Colonel William Sydenham, Governor of the Isle of Wight, from Whitehall. "I am," he says, "sorry to hear of your sickness, and have written to Colonel Bingham, Captain Bourman, and Captain Baskett, or any two of them, to take care of that place during your sickness and until further orders." On 24 June 1651, two brass pieces, then in Poole, with their equipage are ordered to be delivered to Colonel Bingham for Guernsey. On 10 July, Nicholas Love the Regicide reports from the Council of State, and thereupon it is resolved "that the sum of £10,000 be charged upon the receipts of Haberdashers' Hall, next in course after the £10,000 charged for supply of the stores for repairing such Garrisons as shall be thought necessary to be continued; and the said sum be paid upon such person or persons as the Council shall appoint; and acquittance or acquittances of such person or persons, testifying receipt thereof, shall be a sufficient discharge in that behalf." On 21 August, the Council of State write to the Militia Commissions of Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall, informing them that the Scottish Army, by making great marches, has come as far as Worcester; and requiring them to bring forth their forces to the rendezvous. On 11 September, Sir Harry Vane reports, from the Council of State, the list of all the Garrisons which are kept up in the Nation. These included for Dorset:—

Poole and Brownsea Castle.—Governor; a chirurgeon; a marshal; one chief-gunner; two mates; 5 quarter-gunners; 2 Companies of Foot, consisting of 160 privates, besides officers.

Weymouth.—Governor; a master-gunner; a chirurgeon; a gunsmith; a marshal; a boatman; a store-keeper; one other gunner; one mate; 6 matrosses; with 380 soldiers, besides officers.

Portland.—One gunner; one mate; 2 quarter-gunners: with 100 private soldiers, besides officers.

On 2 October 1651, the list of Garrisons in Dorset is given as:—

	Present Charge by Month.	*Reducement.*
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Weymouth, etc.	625 6 8	476 14 0
Portland	160 1 4	156 6 8
Brownsea & Poole	280 18 8	6 1 4

Old Regiments of Foot.	*Standing Forces.*	*Forces to be Disbanded.*
Colonel Heane's.	4 Companies for Weymouth.	Six.

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The total charge for Garrisons in England and Wales (with Leith and Edinburgh), as they were *per mensem*, came to £12,688 2s. 5d.; what is now presented to be established equals £10,317 13s. 4d.; abatement thereby *per mensem* equals £2,370 9s. 1d.[1]

The Parliament had acquired the command of the sea, and defeated the King; but the important seaports of Dorset were nevertheless constantly harassed by pirates. The *Moderate* (no. 42) under date 26 April, 1649, prints the following statement from Portland: "It is a shame that we should be thus tormented by a few inconsiderable Pirates, that are so poor and cowardly they dare not fight with any ordinary vessel. We pay Customs and Excise, and yet we cannot find the least protection; though both we conceive are with other payments for that purpose. Three or four straggling Rogues, the Heart Frigate, one small vessel, and another somewhat bigger lie now upon our Coast and do much annoy us; insomuch that the Seamen dare not go out of Harbour, though but to the next. They rob the very Lobster Boats as they come from Cornwall hither. One Man-of-War, or a Frigate well-manned, will make them sail for it; and we wish the parties concerned would take notice of it." Under 7 July the *Moderate* (no. 52) reports from Weymouth: "News from Ireland is rendered here by very sad Relations. We wonder to see so much delay for the relief of that poor distressed Nation; which we hope is more occasioned through want of money, than the unwillingness of the Soldiery for that service. Some that lately struck into this harbour tell us that there are about forty of our ships taken lately by one Captain Plunket, and six Irish Men-of-War more with him near Newcastle. Those that are taken are most of them Fishermen, and some that are laden with coals. We had 5 Men-of-War to convoy them: 2 of them are also taken; and the other 3 are blocked up not far from Newcastle." On 22 January, 1650, Whitelock mentions letters from Weymouth concerning the pirates infesting the coast thereabouts. These Scilly and Jersey pirates were a constant source of annoyance to the Parliamentary Governors of Southern Dorset during this and the following years. On 18 April he hears from Poole that a Man-of-War of 200 tons burthen had been wrecked upon that coast. She struck a rock about midnight, and could never be got off again. The crew fired eight guns, but no help came to them until noon on the following day; by which time she had broken in two, and all those who were in one part had

1. Jl. H.C., VI, 254, 550, 600; VII, 16, 24-5, 46. Clarke II, 228n. Add. MS., 29319, f. 55. C.S.P. (1651), 265.

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been immediately drowned. The other part of the vessel stood firm above water until the next day about two o'clock in the afternoon; when a gentleman living near got a boat and brought off safely about sixty men, women, and boys. But before they reached the shore the remainder of the ship broke up and sank. In all were drowned about fifty men, women, and children; and goods of great value including gold, silver, pearls and precious stones, lost. On 6 June he hears from Weymouth of a fight close under Portland between one of the Parliament's ships, laden with ammunition for the Fleet at Lisbon, and three Irishmen; but cannot learn the result. On 29 August, Whitelock records that the Council of State had taken order for the better securing of Weymouth; on 26 September that there were rumours of Hopton's and Grenville's landing with forces in the west, which had caused the Governor of Weymouth and the Militia thereabouts "to be in a Readiness;" and on 27 November that letters were received concerning the refractoriness of the magistrates and ministers of Weymouth to the Parliament's orders. On 21 February, 1651, he notices that the Scilly Pirates had taken a rich Londoner, and that several Merchantmen have been taken on the western coast by the Jersey pirates. He mentions the want of Frigates upon the western seas to keep in these marauders. Under 24 April he reports that the Governor of Weymouth set out a boat full of soldiers to convoy certain vessels; which a Jersey pirate espying, he came up to them. The boat suffered the pirate to lay them on board, the soldiers lying unseen; but, when the pirate's men were on board, the soldiers appeared and gave them such a welcome that they hasted away and hardly escaped—leaving the captain and twelve of his men dead. On 11 October he hears that Colonel Heane is shipping with his men at Weymouth for the design upon Jersey; and that on 18 November letters came from Heane from Jersey of his proceedings there with the summons, answers, and conditions of the capitulation of Mont Orgueil Castle. They had in the Castle, which surrendered on 25 October, 18 pieces of ordnance, 4 barrels of powder, match and bullet proportionable, 1000 arms, and two months provision for 70 men. Parliament confirmed the articles; and voted thanks to General Blake and Colonel Heane for their good service. On 3 January, 1652, Whitelock hears that the Major-Generals are returned from the west, and had given great contentment in settling business there and taking off free-quarter; on 6 August, that not a small vessel escapes the pirates on the western coast, and that they have 36 oars; and on 25 September that General Blake with his fleet of 108

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sail passed by Weymouth to the eastward, upon information that the Dutch fleet "had given him a go-by." On 18 February, 1653, Blake defeated the Dutch under Tromp off Portland Bill. In March Whitelock reports that, since the last northerly winds, the Weymouth fishermen fish nothing but shipwreck and dead men; and that the French are unwilling to believe the English did beat the Dutch in the late engagement. On 21 May he records that Captain Diamond brought into Poole eight Dutch Merchant ships as prizes; on 11 September that the *Lily* Frigate was cast away by a violent storm near Weymouth, and four of her crew drowned as they endeavoured to reach the shore on the mast and planks of the ship, but the Captain with twenty-eight others who stayed in her were rescued by boats from Weymouth. On 9 December two Dutch ships were brought into Poole as prizes by private men-of-war; and on 30 December the Lord Protector was solemnly proclaimed at Weymouth and many other places. Under the date 7 January, 1654, Whitelock speaks of an English ship cast away near Weymouth, and all her men drowned except the shipman and two passengers; and under 9 May of an address to the Lord Protector from the town and county of Poole, acknowledging his government.[1]

On Wednesday, 17 January 1649, the Commons thanked the Petitioners of the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, Southampton, Poole, Hurst, Weymouth, and Malmesbury, representing their grievances and remedies; and referred their petitions to a Committee. On the following Friday the appointment to the post of Lieutenant of the Ordnance, formerly held by Sir Walter Erle one of the excluded members, was referred to a Committee. In February, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper records that he was made "by the States a Justice of peace of quorum for the counties of Wilts and Dorset, and of oyer and terminer for the western Circuit." In May he was appointed "by the States a Commissioner in their act of contribution for the Counties of Wilts and Dorset;" and on 16 August he was sworn "a Justice of peace for the same counties by Mr. Swanton. This was the first time I acted since the late King's death." On 5 April, a correspondent writes to the *Moderate* (no. 39) from Poole, declaring that he has been among many country people who "cry out they have no trade; their families ready to starve: all things at a dear rate; and yet their burthens continued." They say they

1. Whitelocke passim. Heane sailed from Weymouth at 4 o'clock p.m., on Friday, 17 October, 1651, for the design on Jersey. Besides his own regiment, he had six companies of Sir Hardress Waller's regiment of Foot; and two troops of Horse under Captains West and Margery, v. Clarke II, 228.

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would be content to pay contribution so long as it is equally proportioned while an army is in being; but the failing of trade starves them. They desire that either the Army or Parliament would take some speedy course to set all sorts of poor people to work: "now they cry out bitterly that they are undone; then would the Country be willing to pay Contribution, especially if the corrupt Justices, Committeemen, and Commissioners were all put out of office; for they make a prey of the people, and comply to keep in office purposely to ease themselves and their own malignant friends and favourites, not out of any love for the proceedings of the Army and Parliament." But if such men were all excluded without respect of persons; and only those entrusted with power, who are "known to be right for the Interest of honest people—active men being ready to decide the petty differences arising among the people, though but mean men—you would quickly get the hearts of the County." It is true that some very honest men are already interested in most Counties and they could name more, "but these are so overballanced with such a company of powerful, corrupt ones; that they can do little or no good: therefore (say they) let all sorts of people be kept at work, and impartial men only have the power; and as for Contribution they weigh it not. This is the sense of the Country in all these parts." The *Moderate* (no. 40.) publishes an engagement lately subscribed by the town of Poole to the following effect:—

"We the Mayor, Justices, Burgesses, Townsmen, Natives, and Inhabitants of the Town and County of Poole do unanimously, singly, and voluntarily adhere to, assist, maintain, and join with the present Governor, Lieutenant-Colonel John Rede, his officers and soldiers, in the preservation of this Garrison and Castle of Brownsea against all opposition, treachery, open force, and violence whatsoever offered, or to be offered, by Sea or Land against us; contrary to the Contents, Purport, and true Intent and Meaning of the present Governor's Commission, or Orders given already, or to be given him—either by this Present Parliament, or by his Excellency Thomas, Lord Fairfax, now General of all the Military Forces, by the Parliament's Authority, both in England and Ireland—in Order to the ends Aforesaid. And we shall further endeavour to discover and make known to the Governor all secret Plots, Policies, Evasions, and Workings, contrary hereunto; or to the peril, hazard, or damage of this Garrison and Castle aforesaid, with all our utmost possibilities. And also do engage ourselves not to act, plot, or contrive anything that shall be prejudicial to the pro-

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ceedings of this present Parliament sitting at Westminster. In witness hereunto, we all with one consent subscribe this 12 day of April 1649." On 27 June 1650, an order signed by John Bradshaw, President of the Council, notifies Rede, Governor of Poole, of Cromwell's appointment as Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the Parliament's forces. On 15 July, the Governor of Poole writes as follows:—

"Gentlemen—At the complaint of John White of your town of Wimborne concerning your indirect carriage in making rates for raising contributions within your limits and in your nominating a delinquent, lately in arms against the Parliament, to be your Collector—I could do no less than let you know these things are taken notice of; and therefore you shall do well for the future to subscribe the Parliament's engagement before any of you attempt to be assessor; and that you then make equal and just rates as you will answer the contrary. You are desired not to assess John White, or his father, above their wonted proportions unless you can show good reason for what you therein do; for without doubt your acting herein will be reviewed and, if they appear not equal, it may prove very prejudicial to some or most of the assessors; which that it might be timely prevented (knowing the danger of falling under the contempt, breach, or neglect of the Parliament's acts and orders) I have sent you these few lines; desiring also to assist you in whatsoever may tend to the good and welfare of you and your town of Wimborne.

In which I may remain
Your loving friend,
J. Rede.

Poole, 15 July 1650.

To Richard Blanchard, John Gay, James Pope, and Anthony Antill, or either of them—these at Wimborne."[1]

The apparent good-feeling between the citizens and Governor of Poole had not endured; for on 29 March 1651 was sent to the Council of State:—

"The Humble Petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Town and County of Poole.

Col. J. Bingham possessed the town when all the country round was lost to Parliament. But now Lieut.-Col. J.

1. *Moderate*, no. 28. Stowe, ff. 44, 49, 51. Whitelocke, 369.

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Rede has laid upon us an insupportable burthen of grief; for we see the members of Christ slighted and contemned: the city a place of refuge to exorbitant levellers and those grand enemies to just liberty, civility, and godliness; our civil rights devoured by the power of his arbitrary sword with many heart-troubling oppositions. Wherefore we pray he may be removed and Col. Bingham made Governor as formerly he was.

Robert Cleeves.	Thomas Cromwell.
Lawrence Gigger.	William Williams, (Mayor).
George Skutt, junior.	George Skutt, senior.
Moses Durell.	Aaron Durell.
John Pulson.	William Skutt.
Peter Hall.	(Rev.) John Trottle (a Trier).

A similar petition from the people in the neighbourhood of Poole mentions Rede's "irreligious and arbitrary practices," and "prayeth the stumbling-block may be removed."

Articles against Rede exhibited by Poole, 29 March, 1651.

(1) That being disaffected to the present Government he promoted the designs of the Levellers against the State, not only in his command but in the County of Dorset and elsewhere. That in March and April 1648, being a time of great danger when the Levellers rose in actual arms against the State, he did absent himself from Poole.

(2) That upon his return to Poole, after the defeat of the Levellers, he was angry and fell out with Captain Lillingston (then a commander in the said Garrison well-affected to the present Government, and of known integrity) for apprehending some of the Leveller party (who had been active in the designs and fled to the Garrison for protection).

(3) That he, from time to time, gives shelter to Levellers and raises them to places of great trust.

(4) That in a time of eminent danger he hath disarmed the Mayor and others of the Militia, and the rest of the well-affected inhabitants of the Garrison, because they would not join with him in his levelling design.

(5) That he hath openly declared himself against the observation of the Lord's Day by his favouring of the Ranters[1] in opposition to the Ministry and other public ordinances.

1. An act for suppressing the Ranters was passed 9 August, 1650.

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(6) That he hath cashiered out of the service of the Garrison such as were known to walk as visible Saints, and were cordially affected to the present Government; because they refused to join with him in his way of dipping.

(7) That he, to the great scandal of religion, entertained and countenanced such ranters and dippers as had been cashiered out of Poole and elsewhere to the utmost of his power.

(8) That he did protect and shelter Rudman, the great Ranter, and his companion, after Parliament had set forth an ordinance for his apprehension.

(9) That he with a high hand did endeavour to impose one Gardiner, a soldier and dipper, to be pastor and lecturer of Poole in opposition to the orthodox divines and well-affected ministers as were provided by the magistracy of Poole.

(10) That he hath endeavoured to make a dissention between the Garrison and civilians, and hath encroached upon civil rights and privileges.

(11) That by force he caused William Williams, Mayor of Poole, a man well-affected to be brought before him as a delinquent, in a disgraceful manner by a Sergeant and Musketeers with lighted matches; which might have proved of dangerous consequence had not the Mayor quietly submitted himself, and suffered this ignominious reproach and affront."

On 21 April Colonel Bingham, Rede's predecessor, was appointed Governor of the Isle of Guernsey.

Of the affairs of Wednesday 23 April 1651, a true and perfect relation of the transactions concerning Rede gives the following account :—" That same day about one o'clock in the afternoon came Major George Skutt and Captain Richard Yardley under the command of Colonel James Heane, Governor of Weymouth, into Poole who, as soon as they had alighted, came to the Governor; where Major Skutt produced a commission, dated 15 April, from the Council of State authorizing the said Skutt, Governor of Poole and Brownsea Castle; yet brought no order for the said Governor's rendition of the Garrisons, save only a letter from the Council to Heane desiring him to go to Poole with Skutt and invest him into the place as Governor. But Heane, upon sight of the said commission and letter, knowing Colonel Rede well and looking upon the commission as surreptitiously obtained, declared he had business and could

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not do such a thing for a world; and sent Major Skutt westward unto Major-General John Desborough. Skutt accordingly repaired thither as far as Exeter; but finding not the Major-General there, unless he should ride to Plymouth, suddenly returned back again to Weymouth; and never left soliciting Heane until he yielded in sending Yardley with Skutt to Poole; and by virtue of Mr. Bond's letter made Yardley an order to assist Skutt. The substance of this order was that Yardley should remember his service to Lieutenant-Colonel Rede; and tell him he knows the spirit of the said Colonel so well that he would submit to evidence and to all such orders as should be sent unto him by authority (as the said Colonel Heane); and would do what he should be enjoined—adding that George Skutt possessed a great deal of love for Rede, his officers and soldiers. The said Colonel added further an order to Captain Auder, Captain of a Company under his command although at that time borrowed by Rede for the defence of his garrison, that Auder should obey all such orders as he should receive from Yardley. Skutt, being thus completed as he thought, came into Poole and to Rede's house; and produced his commission saying to the old Governor, "The Parliament and Council of State are pleased to honour me with your government of this Garrison of Poole and Brownsea Castle, and in order to it have given me this commission." Rede answered "Is it so? Let me see your commission"; and, while Rede was viewing the commission, Skutt said he hoped as they had always been friends so now they would part fair. The Governor then asked if he had any orders to require the rendition of the garrison. Skutt said he had no order but a short letter of two or three lines to Heane from Mr. Dennis Bond, a member of the Council of State, desiring him to go with Skutt and be his assistant; but the Colonel, not having leisure, had sent Captain Yardley to supply his room. Yardley affirming the same, the Governor observed, "If that be all you have to show, we are not parting yet"; for, unless an immediate order came requiring the rendition, he told them he durst not deliver up the same as being bound in duty and conscience not to resign the said Garrisons without a special order demanding his resignation. "Then," said the Major, "you will not deliver it upon sight of this commission?" The Governor said "No": he dared not unless a special order came, requiring it of him. Then, in the presence of the Major, Rede—after ordering the copying out of the Commission, Bond's letter, and Heane's orders—caused an order to be drawn; authorizing his deputy, Captain Richard Bamford, by virtue of the Governor's own commission from the General, to take charge and care of the

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said Garrisons securing the arms and ammunition therein for the service of the Commonwealth; until a special order from himself, the Lord-General, Parliament, or the Council of State came requiring resignation of the same. Thereupon Skutt, and those who came with him, went away; and the Governor gave order to his officers and sent to cause his two companies to draw into the field near the town-gates, in order that he might acquaint the companies with what he had done in giving orders to Captain Bamford. Rede had put himself in a readiness by providing a petition to the Council of State; setting forth his whole condition since his first coming into the Garrison of Poole as Governor, and desiring to be heard before the Garrison should be ordered by the said Council from him. This petition he procured ready the night or morning before; having received private information that Skutt had certainly brought down such a commission, and shown it to Heane at Weymouth. So after the Governor had dined, all things being ready, he took horse and rode towards the town-gate in order to speak to his two companies; and then suddenly hasten to London, and apply in person to the Council of State. But in the street he overtook Skutt, Yardley, and one Mr. Cromwell, hastening towards the said two companies that were then called together. Whereupon the Governor, seeing them ready to divulge the said commission, said he was content it should be read in the ears of all. And when the Major had ended the Commission, and had also read Bond's letter and Heane's order, and made a pause; the Governor asked him if he had done. Skutt replied, "Yes." Then said the Governor: "Gentlemen, I have only a few words to say, which are to this effect that I have already seen the Major's Commission and what else he has read in your hearing; but having received no order requiring me to resign this trust committed to me by the General I have, as duty bids me, given order to Captain Bamford as my deputy to secure this Garrison for the service of the Commonwealth until such an express order be procured. And I doubt not but all of you officers and soldiers will obey him in my absence according to the discipline of war: for, you having served Parliament under my command for three years and nearly six months, I am confident I need not much press you to obedience—being assured of your wonted faithfulness and integrity. And therefore I desire a blessing of God upon you all; and I am riding to London to know the Council of State's further pleasure. Farewell." Upon which the soldiers, shouting, cast up their hats, saying: "The Lord bless you, Governor, and grant that you return speedily to your trust again with honour, peace, and safety." The Governor being

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gone, Major Skutt began again to speak to the companies; terrifying them with the dangers they were like to fall into if they did not yield obedience to him as Governor, and submit to the Council of State's Commission. Finally he spake to this effect, saying: "All ye that are for me declare yourselves." But the companies stood silent; so that he called out again, saying: "Declare yourselves, or else you little think the danger, etc.;" whereupon one of the Governor's company declared he would be for Major Skutt. Captain Bamford, the Governor's deputy, hearing the older begin to fall a-talking; and fearing to be one against the Captains' deputation, declared for Major Skutt. He presently commanded his company should march, saying: "Lieutenant, march away with my company"; but the said officer, Lieutenant Waterhouse, refused."

On 24 April the Council of State write to Rede: "Having appointed Major George Skutt to take charge of the Garrisons of Poole and Brownsea as Governor, you are to give him the custody of the said places with all guns, ammunition etc., of war belonging thereto." A letter of the Council to the Army Committee runs as follows:—"Upon the complaint against Lieutenant-Colonel Rede, then Governor of Poole, it was recommended to the Lord-General to give commission to Major Skutt to be Governor. But upon occasion of some recrimination against him, the Council thought neither of them should be Governor until the business should be determined; and Major-General Desborough was to have the matter heard by a Council of War; and meanwhile a third person was to be put into that government. As Lieutenant-Colonel Hunkins has been put in until the matter is disposed of; give order that he be entered upon the muster for that place, and paid in that quality until the settlement of this business."[1]

1. Stowe MS. 189, ff. 52, 53, 54. C.S.P. (1651), 161, 264.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Later Royalist Movements in Dorset (1647 to 1659).

ALTHOUGH finally beaten in the stricken field, the Royalists were still far from inactive, as may be seen from the following letter of the Committee at Dorchester to Lenthall:—

Tanner MS. 53, f. 45.

Sir,—Wee are not willing to interrupt you in the midst of your greater affayres, at every petty alarme: but knowing what small beginnings have formerly come to, wee think our selves in duety bound to give you an account of the distempers of these parts, where under pretence of football matches and cudgel playing and the like, there have bin lately suspicious meetings and assemblyes at several places made up of very disaffected persons, and more such are appointed. At one of the meetings as wee are enformed there were severall men in arms boasting that there will be suddainly up thousands more for the King, there are suspicious weapons made and making in some places of this county, as truncheons with iron starts, and staves with dagger-blades affixt. Wee find that generally the county is very adverse to the payment of the excise and that the minds of many were never so exasperated as now against the Parliament heightened by hopes of a better day suddainly which they are commonly boasting of. Such of our disbanded men as are gon to live at their owne homes after their engagements for the publike are so beatten and abused by the adverse party growne more there masters since they have bin subdued then before that they hardly dare without hazard of their lives to live amongst them. We have only paper left us (being no longer able to mayntaine the

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charge of our County Horse) to suppresse these disorders, and to prevent such designs as may be occasioned by them. Doubt not but by the wisedom of the Parliament there will be a speedy provision made for the settling of these parts in the kingdome safely. Which is the only ayme of,

Sir,—

Your most humble servants,

ROBT. COKER, *vic* (*i.e.*, High Sherift).
JOHN BROWNE.
W. SYDENHAM.
RI. BRODREPP.
JNO. WHITEWAY.
JOHN SQUIBB (of Winterborne Whitechurch).
WATT. FOY.
JOHN ARTHUR.
RI. BURNETT.

(Committee at Dorchester to Lenthall.)

Dorchester, May 31th, 1647.

On 25 March, 1648, the Committee of Derby House notify the Dorset Committee that they are informed of the dangerous miscarriage of Wake, a pretended minister and others about Blandford; of an insurrection there to hinder the execution of a warrant; and of the actual rescue of Wake. They desire then that these persons—William Wake, sequestered Rector of Holy Trinity and St. Michael's, Wareham, Major Underwood, and others named who have been active in this affair; some of whom are of the King's party dwelling about Blandford—may be arrested. To put it out of the power of the disaffected to resist these orders they have desired Fairfax to give order to his Horse and Foot, in those parts, to assist the local Committee. They recommend this business to the local Committee's effectual care as the ill-influence thereof may extend beyond Dorset—of which doubtless they are very sensible. On 6 April, the Rev. William Browne, M.A., is appointed to officiate in the Cure of Byranston; which, having been sequestered from the Rev. Robert Baskett for his delinquency, has "been destitude of a minister for a good space, by which means one Mr. Wake, a turbulent person, and other ill-affected Ministers have had opportunity to preach" there. On 16 October, a warrant is entered to suffer William Wake, junior, to go down and remain in the country following his calling and employment; the Derby House

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Committee having discharged him from any further attendance for rescuing his father from custody, who had been arrested by order of the Dorset Committee.[1]

The second Civil War had now broken out, and the hopes of the Royalists had revived. But such hopes were soon to be shattered by the New Model Army. On 15 June 1648, while Fairfax was besieging Colchester, there was printed in London a tract entitled, "The Declaration of the County of Dorset." It runs as follows:—"We surviving inhabitants of the much despised and distressed County of Dorset having, like the rest of the Kingdom, long groaned under the oppressing tyranny of those whom we reputed for our redeemers.—And being formerly too impatient sought ways of redress, but proved unsuccessful—Nor could we now imagine any hopes of a Jubilee; did we not see our fellow Counties, (who have formerly been too insensible of our misery and their own dangers) throwing down their Issaker's burthen and unanimously lending their hands to wrest Our Sovereign from the Jaws of Rebellion and Treason; and vindicating our gasping laws and liberties, from the unrelenting tyranny of those that would bury both in the Golgotha of their lawless wills. And though distance and remoteness hinders us from performing the Ceremony of a Petition, to travel so far for a few dissembled thanks from a Member of the House—yet we think fit to certify our fellow Subjects of our undoubted readiness, with life and estates, to second the loyal endeavours of any that labour for the restitution of Protestancy; the reinstatement of his Royal Majesty into his primitive splendour and greatness; and the establishing an inviolable and well-grounded Peace.

"It is not to be expected we should travel so far with a formal petition in our hands to see the two Houses; or to take pains to be scoffed at; or slighted or cudgeld back. For experience has taught us we have been fools too long to worship and deify those that are but our Trustees and Deputies, by petitioning them for that which they know is our own; and these insulters take pride either to delay or deny. Seeing they will do nothing for us; we thought fit to declare to the world what we mean to do for ourselves and the Kingdom.

(1) We demand the speedy retroduction of our imprisoned King to sit personally in the House of Peers; that that supreme Court of the Kingdom may be no longer called Master without a head.

1. C.S.P., 1648-9.

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(2) That the government of the Church may be first settled by the advice of a new assembly of Protestant Divines, indifferently chosen by the clergy of each county or diocese; and this Synod, that has sat so long to so little purpose unless to act the wills of those that packed them, may be sent home to their Lectures—and the four shillings per diem conferred on those who have more need of it, and better deserve it.

(3) That the common birth-right of us all, the Laws, may be restored to their former purity, and that we may enjoy them without corrupt Glosses and Comments of their Arbitrary Power, or unequal Ordinances and practices between them and their Committees.

(4) That our Liberties (purchase of our ancestors' blood) may be redeemed from all former infringements, and preserved henceforth inviolable; and that our ancient liberties may not lie at the mercy of those that have none, nor enlarged and repealed by votes and revotes of those that have taken too much liberty to destroy the Subjects.

(5) That we may have a speedy and just accompt of all our Monies and estates cheated or wrested from us by loans, contributions, taxes, fines, excise, or plunder; and that the estates of Committees, Sequestrators, and all State officers (being lately purchased and raised out of the ruins of honest and loyal subjects) may be resequestered, and be made liable to give us and the Kingdom satisfaction.

(6) That our Knights and Burgesses be recalled, as having broken their trust reposed by us in them; and that we may have free power and liberty to make a new choice of such Patriots as we can trust.

(7) That we may no longer subjugate our necks to the boundless lusts and unlimited power of beggarly and broken Committees, consisting generally of the tail of the gentry, men of ruinous fortunes and despicable estates, whose insatiate desires prompt them to continual projects of pilling and stripping us; and that we be not awed by their Emissaries—generally the most shirking and cunning beggars that can be picked out of a County.

(8) That, instead, we may be governed in Military affairs and Civil by men of visible estates and of unquestioned repute—well-beloved by us.

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(9) That the late imperious Governor of Lyme (Thomas Ceeley), and others of his office and broken condition, be no more sheltered under the wings of membership to glory in the innocent blood of the well-meaning Countrymen he has so unlawfully spilt; nor live upon estates they have thievishly taken from the rightful owners, but exposed to the equal Justice of known Laws; so that we may freely right ourselves and each fetch back a stolen feather.

(10) That all of us sequestered, imprisoned, plundered, or fined, or any way abused or stript of our estates, for allegiance or loyal adherence to His Majesty be restored to our estates without any more compositions, and leave to take any legal course for due reparation.

Petitions being useless we make absolute demands and have heretofore on less encouragement engaged our lives, liberties, and estates, on the same grounds under the slighted and unprosperous notion of Clubmen. Notwithstanding our sufferings then, our ends are still the same and we doubt not our endeavours will be more successful.

Subscribed by above 10,000 inhabitants of that County."

On 15 January, 1648, Sir Lewis Dyve had escaped out of prison. He gives his own version of this occurrence in a letter, written from France in the following month, to a friend in London; and published the same year. After having been kept prisoner for two years in the Tower, "towards the latter end of last Michaelmas Term I was by pretence of a Habeas Corpus, procured by the subtilty of my adversaries, by force and violence brought before the King's Bench Bar by Colonel Robert Tichborne (later a Regicide), the Lieutenant of the Tower, upon an action of debt; whereas I stood charged and committed before for High Treason by the Speaker." From the King's Bench Bar he was "immediately turned over to be a Prisoner at the King's Bench without any due process or form of law, not so much as one syllable being spoken unto me by those that sate there usurping the place of judges." Before the war he became engaged "for divers great sums of money for the Earl of St. Albans and for Sir Edward Stradling,[1] they making over to me lands of very great value: with the rents I received for which I not only satisfied the creditors with punctual payment of their interest; but in a

1. Ulick de Burgh (1604-57) uterine brother of Lord Essex, fifth Earl and first Marquess of Clanicarde was second Earl of St. Albans in the English peerage. Henry Jermyn was not created Earl of St. Albans until 1660; Stradling had been M.P. for Glamorganshire in 1640, and was taken prisoner at Edgehill.

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short time by Fines and other improvements made a shift to pay a good part of the principal debt, and by now might probably have cleared the greatest part of the whole had not the war broken out." These lands were by ordinance of the two Houses sequestered, and all the profits seized for the use of the State. "I imagine their motive in carrying me to the King's Bench was that there I might rot in prison for debt; whilst they take unto themselves not only the profits of those lands which are liable to pay the debts, but of all the rest of my estate." When Tichborne delivered over Dyve to his new Gaolers, he was brought that evening to Sir John Lenthall, Keeper of the King's Bench Prison and elder brother of the Speaker. Lenthall told Dyve he had heard him esteemed for a man of honour, and that "if I would engage my word he would esteem it the best security that could be given him." His frankness disarmed Dyve, who declared that were it to save his life, "he might be confident I would not break with him, until I should first give him fair warning by revoking it; provided always that he should put no guards nor keeper upon me, which I should understand as a disengagement of my word." Lenthall approving of this engagement as reasonable, Dyve went to provide himself with a lodging within the Rules. At first he went abroad openly; but the Speaker strictly charged his brother to keep a special care of his prisoner as a most dangerous person. Sir John, therefore, in a friendly way desired Dyve, for his sake, to forbear being seen outside the Rules for some days, "until the heat of this anger was overpast." To this Dyve agreed, and for some days did not stir out. The next thing he heard was that "the fittest place to secure me was in the Common Gaol. Two persons considerable with them advised me to make my escape now as I valued my life. The very night of the arrival of the warrant for my close commitment, Friday, 14 January, I went (as I was formerly accustomed to do) to visit Sir John at his own House; where, finding him sitting in conversation with his Lady and some others of his Family,"[1] Dyve in conversation with Lenthall told him that, out of respect for him, he had confined himself a close prisoner for a good while; but, having some special occasions to draw him into the town, next day, he intended to go in the evening, "which should be done with that wariness as no notice should be taken thereof."

Lenthall replied that he had intended speaking to Dyve the next morning by way of prevention; "for divers of the

1. Lady Lenthall was Bridget, daughter of Sir Thomas Temple, Bt. of Stow; and had eight daughters and six sons.

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House were so much incensed at my going abroad as he believed there would be an order for my close imprisonment." Sir Lewis appeared much moved at the news and told Sir John he hoped he would not be the instrument to execute so unreasonable and unjust an order, "having given him my word to be his true prisoner. Alas! said he, what would you have me do in case I am commanded? For, as I am their servant, if I disobey their orders they will thrust me out of my place and ruin me. By the same reason (said I somewhat tartly unto him) if they should bid you knock out my brains, or starve me, you must then do it. He desired me not to make such inferences, for he knew they would command him no such thing; but for keeping me a close prisoner—in that he was bound to obey them." Dyve considered it a fit time to revoke the engagement of his word; and that "he might suppose it done rather out of Choler than Design, I fell into a strange passion and in great heat told him I would no longer be engaged on my word; and so thrusting the chair from me whereon I sat, I made a short turn in the room, taking the candlestick in my hand which stood upon a side table and striking it with violence upon the Board did much bruise the fashion thereof; and all done in a breath, so as it seemed but one motion. The women there were somewhat amazed but Lady Lenthall, who holds it a high reputation to be thought a woman of spirit, what with the bruising of the candlestick and some words that fell from me—which she interpreted to the disparagement of her husband though I profess they were spoken with no such intent, grew suddenly in such a fury as passionate women are wont to express when thoroughly angered. The words that kindled her choler were, I remember, somewhat that touched upon my being turned from Jaylor to Jaylor—with whom being unwilling to have any dispute I went towards the door with intention to retire to my lodging; but, as it happened, her Ladyship at that time filled up the passage with her person, so as to pass by, I took her by the hand to remove her a little out of the way which she took for so great an affront that she presently cried out I had struck her. But the truth is had not Sir John and some of her daughters interposed between her and me, I verily believe it would have fallen to my share to complain of a beating; which I should have much better have borne from a lady's hand than the reproach she laid upon me of having struck her. I then became a stickler to persuade her to patience and to beg a pardon. We all grew after a time into a more sober temper, and then I took my leave of them both; and was from thence well guarded to my lodging." The next

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morning Dyve's kinsman, Sir John Wake, came to him and told him for certain that Lenthall had received an order from the House to remove him that night into the Common Gaol. Dyve thereupon desired Wake to request Lenthall that his removal might be suspended for a day or two until he could furnish his new lodging with bedding and other necessaries; but the answer was that Sir John durst not do it for fear of the displeasure of the House. When Dyve saw there was no remedy he sent to have the chamber made clean and aired with a good fire; and was told "it was a most nasty and filthy room, not fit for a Dogge to lie in." Whilst this preparation was making and a heap of coals which lay in the chamber being removed, the evening grew on, "and my fatal hour of removing to a quick burial." In the meanwhile Dyve bespake supper, and invited several gentlemen of his acquaintance in the Rules to sup with him to take farewell of them—not knowing when he would have the happiness to see them again. Four or five were pleased to come, all much lamenting his condition; by which means there was a necessity of passing to and fro out of his lodging, by reason his supper was dressed abroad. He sent for wine and disposed himself to be merry with his friends, not imparting his intentions to any creature; but always having a watchful eye how those set to guard him were placed—with a resolution to have forced his way through them if there had been no other remedy. But the darkness of the night favoured his attempt; so that, taking the nick of time when the supper was being brought in, he slipped from his company; got out of the gate unespied; and carried himself suddenly into a place where he knew he was welcome, "leaving my friends to be merry without their host." For some few days he lay concealed until he could convey himself beyond the seas. In May he was in Scotland, and was one of those Cavaliers whose surrender was demanded by the English government. He took part in the invasion of England; was present at the battle of Preston on 17 August, 1648; and was taken prisoner. The *Moderate* (no. 27) under 15 January, 1649, says: "Letter read from Sir Lewis Dives in France, (*sic*), directed to the General Council of the Army, desiring he might be exchanged for Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilborne (taken by pirates at sea when going into the North to settle his £3000 granted him by Parliament for his sufferings) and carried prisoner into France, which is contrary to the Law of Nations having in no wise acted against that Kingdom; and if they detain him long Parliament may, and ought as well, to seize their Ambassador, Agent, or other public person here, or so many of the King's

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party till he be released." Dyve had been fellow-prisoner in the Tower with John Lilburn, whom he succeeded in persuading that Cromwell and Ireton had made a private bargain with the King; "of which although he were not persuaded himself, yet he judged it for the King's service to divide Cromwell and the army." Lilburn, on 22 December, 1648, had obtained an ordinance, granting him £3000—in compensation for his sufferings—from the Star-Chamber; the money being made payable from the forfeited estates of various Royalists in the county of Durham. Under 31 January, 1649, however, Whitelock records that "Sir Lewis Dyve escaped last night, and Mr. Holder the Prince's Agent, escaped through the House of Office in Whitehall standing over the Thames." And "The Moderate Intelligencer" under the same date notices that "it was discovered that Sir Lewis Dyve, Sir Robert Stewart (sometime Governor of Londonderry) etc., were clearly escaped out of hold." The Tuesday pamphlet entitled with unconscious humour the *Moderate* was edited by Gilbert Mabbot, "the cobbler's son of Nottingham," who had been Rushworth's servant, and was for the time a licenser of the press: "an author that writes always for the Levellers." In No. 30 will be found the following: "whereas Sir Lewis Dives, Kt., and Thomas Holder, esquire, being prisoners in custody of the Marshall General of the Army for rebellious acting and for other crimes of high nature against the peace of the Kingdom, have lately made their escape—You are therefore to make diligent search, in all suspected places, for apprehending the said Dyves and Holder; and having apprehended them, or either of them, to give notice to the Marshall General at Headquarters. Given under my hand and seal. 31 January, 1646 (9).

FAIRFAX.

To all officers, governors, and commanders of Castles and Garrisons and to all Mayors, Bailiffs, and Sheriffs especially of Port towns; and to all whom it may concern.

Mr. Holder is a middle-sized man, of a fat body and full-faced, and of a brown hair, little of his face.

Dyve is also of a middle size, and hath a flaxen hair, in sad coloured apparel."

But Dyve, more fortunate than the Duke of Hamilton, was not recaptured; and served in Ireland up to June 1650. On 6 September, 1651, he dined at St. Germains with John Evelyn, who notes in his Diary that Dyve "entertained us with his wonderful escape out of prison in Whitehall the very evening he was to have been put to death, leaping down out

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of a jakes two stories high into the Thames at high water, in the coldest of winter and at night; so as by swimming he got to a boat that attended for him, though he was guarded by six Musketeers. After this he went about in women's habit, and then in a small-coal-man's, travelling two hundred miles on foot, embarked for Scotland with some men he had raised, who coming on shore were all surprised and imprisoned on the Marquess of Montrose's score, he not knowing anything of their barbarous murder of that hero. This he told us was his fifth escape, and none less miraculous; with this note, that the charging through 1000 men armed, or whatever danger could befall a man, he believed could not more confound and distract a man's thoughts than the execution of a premeditated escape—the passions of hope and fear being so strong. This Knight," adds the shrewd Diarist, "was indeed a valiant gentleman, but not a little given to romance when he spake of himself." On 3 December of the same year Evelyn records that "Sir Lewis Dives dined with us (in Paris) who, relating some of his adventures, showed me divers pieces of broad gold which being in his pocket in a fight preserved his life by receiving a musket-ball on them, which deadened its violence; so that it went no further, but made such a stroke on the gold as fixed the impressions upon one another, battering and bending several of them; the bullet itself was flatted, and retained on it the colour of the gold. He assured us that of an hundred of them, which it seems he then had in his pocket, not one escaped without some blemish. . . . . He told me that the second time of the Scots coming into England, the King was six times their number and might easily have beaten them, but was betrayed as were all other his designs and councils by some, even of his bed-chamber; meaning M. Hamilton (James, first Duke?), who copied Montrose's letters from time to time when his Majesty was asleep." Sir Lewis Dyve died, in his seventieth year, on 17 April 1669; and was buried at Combhay in Somerset.

The *Moderate* (no. 54) under 21 July 1649, contains the following letter from Weymouth:—

> Sir,—The Governor of this place proceeds effectually in the thorough Examination of the design lately discovered against this Garrison, Portland, Sandsfoot Fort, and all the rest of the Western Garrisons. They had intentions to put all the Soldiery to the sword, and other inhabitants that adhered unto them. He hath secured some Townsmen and other Gentlemen of the Country that were privy to the execution thereof; and many more

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will be found out daily upon his further Examination. It's most sad that friends should stand at such distance from each other, whilst the common enemy plot and contrive the destruction of both and increase in strength and power in the three Nations, by our own distractions; which I find must at last be composed in a brotherly way, else we must both resolve to perish by them; and when too late repent ourselves of this greatest folly, which will make us odious to God and ridiculous to man—all the world over." Under 30 July, 1649, the *Moderate* (no. 55) says: "There came a true relation of the design against Weymouth and Portland, sent up to the Council State by a Messenger from the Governor of Weymouth—The design was laid so, as that with 400 men from Jersey and 600 from France, having a correspondence with a party in the County of Dorset and other places near, they might secure Weymouth and the Isle of Portland for the use and service of Charles the Second; the persons that were by a special providence apprehended in prosecuting this cruel design, was one called King Gardner—a man who says he was ever true to the first Charles and resolves to be as constant for the second: there were also two of the Garrison soldiers, one Mortimer and Thorny; two islanders, the one's name Bunn, the other Roberts;[1] and one Mrs. Gallot, with half a dozen more. The Islanders do publicly abominate the Design and the persons guilty thereof; earnestly desiring Judgement to be executed upon all that had a hand therein. This plot was further manifested on Saturday last, when at least 40 sail of small boats did attend the Isle of Portland; but what will be the issue of it a little time will discover—only, I conclude that God's work shall stand against all opposition."

Under 9 January 1650, Whitelock records that in the night certain persons at Blandford had proclaimed the Prince of Wales, King of England; but that some of them had been apprehended and imprisoned. Under 29 January Sir Anthony Cooper says; "Myself, Captain James Dewy, and Mr. James Baker sat on a commission from the Council of State to give the Engagement at Blandford." Cooper had himself subscribed the same on the 17th instant at Salisbury. On 5 February Whitelock gives news from Weymouth to the effect

1. This Roberts is possibly identical with the Thomas Roberts, who on 3 December 1646, was ordered to be confined in the Marshalsea at Melcombe in company with the Rev. William Wake and others. Minute Books, 94.

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that Thomas May had been secured by the Governor there; and was to be sent up in custody to London for raising false rumours concerning Parliament and the General. On 23 February he hears from Weymouth that they were taking the Engagement there, none refusing it, and were busy in settling the Militia; and on 27 February that many of Prince Rupert's men were running away from him to the Parliament's Fleet. On 7 March it was reported that eight good ships sailed from Poole to Newfoundland, and two to Barbadoes.

On 1 April 1651, during the examination of Thomas Coke of Drayton in Shropshire mention is made of Dorset. "About a twelve-month or more ago," confesses Coke, "there was a meeting at Salisbury by two gentlemen of each of the six counties, concerning an association in the King's business .... Colonel Strangways one for Dorset." They agreed upon an association: Lord Beauchamp being designed for some command; and one Jonathan Trelawny of Cornwall to be Major-General. Cornwall offered to furnish 3000 Foot if the other counties would provide 1500 Horse. They all desired some foreign force landed, if possible, for encouragement; and, to that purpose, sent Mr. John Seymour to the King—who was sent by the King out of Scotland "to the western parts again before Christmas last." Coke heard all this from Seymour, who also told him "that if the King should fortune to give any discountenance to the present army and they should hear from him, they would speedily be in arms in the west; but without particular orders from the King they would not stir." The Scottish Commissioners at Breda desired Lord Robartes to be Lieutenant-General of these western counties; and had some hopes of Plymouth by that means. "One Captain Canes (Kaines?) a Dorsetman, told this deponent in Michaelmas Term last there was some design upon the garrison of Poole." On 11 April Thomas Coke says of Dorset: Mr. John Tregonwell, junior, and Mr. Thomas Tregonwell were recommended to the King at Breda as friends, whom he might make use of and who would appear upon occasion, and since in England. Mr. Napier, one of Dorset, told this Examinant that they were very good friends for the King's designs. Sir John Lawrence, the same that is said of Tregonwell, a man of much violence formerly. Sir John Weld is looked upon as a friend to the designs of the King. He turned from a Protestant to a Papist. Dorset generally looked upon as a country well-affected to the King."[1]

1. Portland MSS. I, 577, 588. Robert Napier of Puncknoll, son of Sir Nathaniel. Sir John Weld married Mary, daughter of William, Lord Stourton.

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After his total defeat at Worcester on 3 September 1651, Charles II, in the course of his wanderings, spent some days in Dorset. An attempt to procure a ship at Bristol having proved abortive, it was determined to try the southern ports; and, as a first step, to make for Trent Manor, near Yeovil on the Somersetshire border (now included in Dorset), where lived Colonel Francis Wyndham, "the Knight Marshall's brother," says the royal fugitive, "my old acquaintance and a very honest man." Lord Wilmot was sent on in advance; and the King followed with Mrs. Lane, still disguised as her serving-man. On arriving at Trent Charles was lodged in Lady Wyndham's chamber, with a secret hiding-place near in case of imminent danger. Wyndham went over to Melbury, and interviewed Colonel Giles Strangways; but the latter confessed with sorrow that "all of his acquaintance in Weymouth being vanished, and in Poole and Lyme he being a mere stranger" could do nothing but present the King with £100 in gold. Some of the victorious troops from Worcester having now reached the neighbourhood of Trent, the bells were rung and bonfires lighted; "one trooper telling the people he had killed me," says Charles, "and that was my buff coat he had on." Wyndham, venturing to Lyme, entrusted the business of transfretation to Captain William Ellesdon who, with the assistance of his brother John Ellesdon and Colonel Bullen Reymes, had conveyed over into France Sir John Berkeley. Ellesdon gladly undertook to find a vessel and proceeded to negotiate with one of his tenants, Stephen Limbry, the master of a small ship about to sail for St. Malo, who was told frankly that a passage was desired for a gentleman "who had a finger in the pye at Worcester." Ellesdon was to pay Limbry £60 on his return from France; and, meanwhile, it was settled that a boat should pick up the King at Charmouth, the ship awaiting it in Charmouth Roads on 22 September. Rooms were secured at the Queen's Head in Charmouth; and Charles, resuming his disguise as William Jackson and riding before Mrs. Coningsby—a cousin of Wyndham's—left Trent for the rendezvous. Calling on the way at Ellesdon's farm,[1] they arrived safely at the inn, where Limbry came with the good news that all was prepared, and that the long-boat would be at the appointed place about midnight. Unfortunately, however, two hours before that time the master went ashore for some linen. He had revealed something concerning his mission to his wife; and she—alarmed at the Proclamation of 10 September, this day published at Lyme, denouncing dire penalties against all who should shelter the King or his followers. and putting £1000

1. Elsdon's Farm, an old thatched house at Wild.

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upon Charles's head—promptly locked her husband in his chamber and refused to release him. The King and Wilmot waited at the inn in vain; and a messenger was despatched to Ellesdon, who strongly advised Charles not to stay longer in Charmouth. He at once left for Bridport, leaving Wilmot to follow later. It was none too soon. One Hamnet, a smith, being called upon to shoe Wilmot's horse, declared that "its shoes had been set in three several counties, and one of them in Worcestershire." The ostler gossiped about the company that had been there, how they sat up and kept their horses saddled all night; and being himself a soldier, one of Captain Massey's or Macy's men, he suspected the truth and set off for Bartholomew Westly or Wesley, then Minister of Charmouth, to acquaint him with the circumstances. Wesley was at his morning exercise and was "something long-winded"; and the ostler, "unwilling to lose his reward at the gentleman's taking horse," returned to the inn. After Wilmot's departure, Hamnet the smith repaired to Wesley, who came with all speed to the inn and thus accosted the landlady Margaret Wade: "Why, how now, Margaret! You are a maid of honour now." "What mean you by that, Mr. Parson?" quoth she. Then he: "Why, Charles Stuart lay last night at your house, and kissed you at his departure; so that now you can't but be a maid of honour." This roused her anger. "If I thought it was the King I would think the better of my lips all the days of my life; and so you Mr. Parson, get out of my house." Wesley and the smith now applied to Mr. Butler of Commer (Colmer?) J.P., for warrants; but he failed to share their suspicions, and refused to act. The ostler, however, in his turn had taken the information to Captain Massey at Lyme, who started off to Bridport in pursuit. Charles had reached that place in safety, and put up at "the George." The town was full of "redcoats, Cromwell's soldiers, being a regiment of Colonel Hayne's viz: 1500 men going to embark to take Jersey"; but Charles and his small party rode boldly through them, and were not molested. Wilmot on arriving, put up at another inn; and at once sent a message urging immediate departure. So, after a hasty meal, the King quitted Bridport, and was soon joined on the road by Wilmot. After going a short distance they wisely quitted the main road and turned into Lee or Lea Lane[1]—a mile east of Bridport—making their

1. At the angle formed by the juncture of Lee Lane and the high road a block of Bothenhampton stone commemorates the "Miraculous Divergence." The appropriate lines from Fuller's 'Worthies' are added:—

"When midst your fiercest foes on every side
For your escape God did a Lane provide."

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way through Bradpole and Watford, and along the rushy banks of the Brit, to Broadwindsor. They thus escaped Massey who, after inquiries at Bridport, had pushed on to Dorchester. Here the fidelity of Rice Jones and his wife of "the George" provided Charles and his friends with shelter, 23 September. "Yet here the face of danger was again discovered unto them; for they had not been housed much above half an hour before a company of troopers, to the number of 40, came hither, with an intention to quarter in this and other houses adjacent. This accident might have proved fatal to his Majesty (the soldiers everywhere being proudly inquisitive about strangers) had not God in His mercy incapacitated them by cutting out work of another nature for them. For having a woman in their company who, not long after their coming thither, fell in travail and was delivered of a child, the officers and other inhabitants of the parish, having notice thereof, contested so long with them about freeing their parish from the burthen of its maintenance that sleep and drowsiness had rendered their heads unfit for anything but their pillows; upon which, while they securely slept, his Majesty, together with his attendants, arising some hours before day and taking the opportunity of that time of silence, retired themselves undiscovered unto Trent," 24 September. But there things soon began to wear an ominous appearance. There were movements of troops at Sherborne, and suspicious rumours in the neighbourhood. After Colonel Robert Phelips of Montecute had vainly endeavoured to procure a vessel in Southampton, it was decided to make for the Sussex coast; and Charles left Trent for Mrs. Mary Hyde's house, Heale near Salisbury, while Colonel George Gounter proceeded on a successful errand to Shoreham. Charles, whom his enemies described as "a tall black man six foot and two inches high," sailed from Shoreham and landed safely at Fécamp in Normandy on 16 October. Including his visit to Lyme and Bridport, the King was at Trent for about nineteen days.[1]

On 3 March, 1655, it was reported that Colonel Sexby, being supposed to be equally guilty with Major Wildman in his intended design, was like to be secured in the west; and

1. Account by Pepys, dictated by Charles himself. Blount, Part II. Mrs. Anne Wyndham's "Claustrum Regale Reservatum." It was a Dorset skipper, Capt. N. Tattersal, whose business it was to sail a collier brig, the *Surprise* between Poole and Shoreham, who carried Charles and Wilmot to Fécamp, and received the £60 originally destined for Limbry. Gyrtoppe's House, in Allington, is so named from Sir Nicholas Gyrtoppe who, in 1360, was Chantry-Priest of St. Michael's, Bridport. A pretty but groundless tradition accounts for the name by declaring that here Charles had to "girth up" Miss Juliana Coningsby's saddle trappings.—Memorials of Old Dorset, pp. 14, 238.

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at Hartley Rowe a party of Horse seized on his portmantua with some writings of concernment therein, and likewise a suit of extraordinary arms; but he himself escaped. On 23 January, 1655, J. Bingham had written to John Thurloe from Vauxhall. At Creech Grange, Colonel Robert Lawrence's house in the Isle of Purbeck, were Colonel Raymond with others of note of Somerset; and had a cabal there every night. The Cavaliers have kept great Christmasses after the usual time with sets of fiddlers—a fine way to draw in the people in time of need. Major Edmund Uvedale of Horton (sometime Royalist Commander of Langford Garrison) kept open house for all comers: he never did so before. Major Butler kept no house but hath meetings in secret at Mr. Thimbelbie's,[1] a papist by Minchington near Cashmore, four-and-a-half miles from Blandford, and at Cashmore Inn; but is now gone to Hatch by Buckland. At young squire Hyde's at Horton, eight miles from Blandford, is one Bragge, a parson put in by Giles Greene. He it was that betrayed Portland Castle to the Cavaliers in the first war: at this fellow's house is tabled King Gardner (Thurloe knows him), and one Thornhill (Bingham wishes he knew whether it be that man spoken of in the news book, taken up as one of the plot). At Thimbelbee's house met on Tuesday night last John FitzJames, Mathus (*sic*) of Woodsford; Sir John Webb of Canford's son; three other unknown young blades—well-horsed, habited, and each a man waiting on them; young Willoughby, Lady Capel's butler—a notable rogue for parts and courage; and old Willoughby of Chetered; with blades who came from about Beaminster (and, as in his last letter, several meetings and drinkings at that Cashmore Inn), whose faces the neighbours ne'er saw before. Every Tuesday "we must have a cock match at Wimborne and the head of that game is your cousin Litchett,[2] who will be made a stale by wiser than himself if not prevented. Divers unknown blades prevent that cocking game. It's near Poole, which could be made an island (as Thurloe knows) in a short time. "Our association is broken into Somerset. I hope it will not go beyond church matters. We have had lately bellum episcopale. I hope we shall ne'er see that of clericale. Our old scout T. L. is not yet returned from Blackmore; but there's roguery for certain; and so there is about Beaminster.

1. Can this be Father Richard Ashby, the Jesuit, whose real surname was Thimelby? *vide* D.N.B. II. 166.

2. Thurloe's second wife was Anne, third daughter of Sir John Lytcott of East Moulsey in Surrey.

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One tells me just now Colonel Lawrence's house is a wicked place; if that be true that's now whispered me, we are now betrayed: I durst not yet affirm it; and that is, that at Lullworth was a barque brought in arms and powder; and so to the other end of Purbeck, near Corfe town—and all landed by night. I'll ride about it myself." About this time in a Catalogue of those Members of the last Parliament who "were for the godly learned Ministry and Universities" occur the names of William Sydenham and John Bingham for Dorset.

On 7 February 1655, Sir John Copleston and Captain Unton Croke write concerning the movements of Adjutant-General William Allen. Sir John Davis, Bt. reports that Allen, when last in London with the Protector, roundly told him his mind and did nettle Cromwell extremely; and that he departed from him in a huff without any leave, immediately took horse, and came out of Town. About the end of November Allen met at Exeter a kinsman of his wife's, one Mr. Reynell[1]—chosen a member of the last Parliament, but had deserted. He told Reynell they were quiet in Ireland as to the common enemy; but there were many discontented there as well as here. He said there was talk of disbanding from there; that he was pitched upon to inform a Committee concerning it and other affairs of Ireland, but he was resolved to say nothing in it. He said there might be mischief; besides the danger of disbanding any there. There could not be 5000 drawn into the field; and there were 40,000 to be kept under. He did highly commend Lieutenant-General Ludlow, and said he was come or coming into England; and that he intended himself to be in Ireland in February, but would first go to London. Reynell telling him he was ready to act in the country as a J.P., though he could not as a Parliament man; for that the best way—as he thought—to be secured against the common enemy was to acquiesce in and under the present Government. Allen answered he haply might think so likewise; but there were many of another mind and the Protector might have over-ruled (governed) all, according to the interest of honest men—without taking so much power to himself, which did displeasure many. All

1. One Carew Reynell was in 1655 sent to Exeter Gaol on a charge of complicity in Penruddock's rising. On his father petitioning the Council to pardon him (born 1636) on account of his youth, General Desborough was ordered to send him abroad v. D.N.B., xlviii, 36. Allen, married Mary, daughter of James Huyshe of Sand and Deborah, daughter of Richard Reynell of Credy-Wiger, Devon, and co-heir of her brother Peryam Reynell. James Huyshe engaged actively in support of the royal cause and compounded in 1646.

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who, since his last coming from Town into these parts, conversed with him do report him highly dissatisfied with the present government. Divers strangers, especially from Somerset and Bristol, came to his meetings; which are often on week-days. He rides commonly with a kind of vizard on his face, with glasses over his eyes; and this he did on 5th of last month, being Friday—riding to a meeting at Luppitt within this county (S.E. Devon, near Upottery). But what did not a little cause suspicion of Allen was the coming at that time of Hugh Courtenay (that had been, or is, an officer in Ireland) to Mr. Prowse's house, a Cavalier of good estate: where the said Courtenay scarce spoke anything but treason, most bitterly reviling the present Government and His Highness; said he was then going to London, where and thereabouts he was sure to meet hearts and hands enough to carry on the Anabaptistical Interest; that Cromwell's government should not stand many months; and that deliverance was at hand. That same day, 7 February, Allen himself writes from Sidbury, Devon, to Cromwell. He has been charged by Cromwell with disingenuity; and Captain Croke thought it was for words spoken at an Anabaptists' meeting. He has a deep sense of his present restraint knowing it causeless as to the matter alleged; "but my God, before whom you and I shall before long nakedly appear, will in due time clear my innocency and judge such dealings righteously." Allen denies saying Cromwell feared him. "I may now say in that you wrong me: if you had, you say, you could have taken my commission; but it seems that was too little without my good name also, which, although I'm but a poor man, is to me precious; and I cannot but say it is an ill reward for thirteen years' faithful service." As for his design of making proselytes here, Cromwell must know that Allen had had more advantageous places and opportunities for such a work, if he had intended it. Cromwell is pleased to say Allen has little to say for his dissatisfactions; or else he dissembled when he was last with him. Truly he knows he is not much given to dissemble his judgement. He must not judge him if Allen said but little; since he pretty well knows the reason of it: Cromwell gave him but little time, taking up the whole almost himself; of which the writer then complained. He is aware that endeavours have been made to make a man an offender for a word, if possible: how just that is, or acceptable to the Lord, let Cromwell judge from Isaiah 29, 20, 21. Cromwell is also pleased to tax him with having as light an esteem of the Lord Protector as of C.S.; though neither any word in Allen's previous letter, nor any action of his ever gave him ground

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for such a surmise. What his esteem has been of Cromwell in some vertical forsaking days he believes the other can remember; and he can truly say, if he has erred, it has been, Allen fears, in esteeming too highly of Cromwell. "The different esteem I yet have of your lordship from the other in part is this: I could freely engage against the other as formerly; but I durst not lift a hand against you, nor join with or advise the doing of it . . . . I shall remain here doing your pleasure though I am ill-accommodated having no money nor clothes for me, my poor wife, nor little one; but the will of God be done, and yours also. The Lord grant you may find more mercy from Him in the great day than I have had from you in this. I could humbly beg a liberty to go to hear the word, if it might be." At the same time Allen wrote to Colonel Daniel Axtel and Dr. Philip Carteret; thanking them for their "sympathy and care of me in this little hour of my distress." On the same day also, 7 February, Captain Unton Croke[1] informs the Lord Protector how he had successfully confined Allen at Sand, the house of his father-in-law Mr. James Huyshe in the parish of Sidbury, Devon. Croke fears his last letter, covering several of Allen's, may not have reached Cromwell; and, if this be so, there has been "some ugly practice used in diverting the intelligence; and also an endeavour to render me negligent and remiss in my duty towards your Highness." He will then presume to repeat the substance of his former despatch. As soon as he received the Protector's commands for securing Allen's person, which came this day 8 days ago in the evening, within 2 hours after Croke set out from Exeter towards his father-in-law Mr. Huyshe's house, where he heard the Adjutant was, to which place he came about day-break; and having inquired of some servants of the house whether he was there, they told him he was and in bed. As soon as Croke heard this he resolved, according to what the High Sheriff and he had agreed upon the night before—imagining it might conduce much to the advantage of his Highness, to seize on his trunks and search for papers; thereby to discover his design, and know who were his correspondents. But unhappily he had sent them up to London a few days before; so Croke was deprived of

1. Colonel Unton Croke of Marston, Oxon, M.P. Oxford City 1659, lived at one time in the old house (a little south of Pembroke College) originally built by Robert King, last Abbot of Oseney and first Bishop of Oxford. Sidbury is some 15 miles east of Exeter; and the estate of Sand is still in the possession of the Huyshe family. Allen dates from Sand the preface to his memoir of Deborah Huish or Huyshe, his wife's younger sister who fell into religious despondency but subsequently recovered a true view of the Christian Faith as expounded by Allen.

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his intention. And here, if he could quarrel at anything in his apprehension, it was at this action; where the writer was necessitated to send two or three soldiers to enter his chamber with the first that carried him news of Croke's arrival; lest he having notice, if he had any papers these might carry them away. Some few letters were found, which the writer enclosed in his last letter to Cromwell. They were writ to him from some discontented spirits; and many dissatisfactory clauses were contained in them. The soldiers wore their swords by their sides and, alighting from their horses, took their pistols in their hands; but that the least violence was used, or any words given, or anything that looked like an affront the writer denies; and well knows Allen cannot lay anything to the charge of Croke or any of his men . . . . The writer confined Allen to his father-in-law's house; he giving a note under his hand that he would there remain until his Highness's further pleasure was known. To-day Croke sent him Cromwell's letter, and desired him to remember his promise to continue for the present where he was. All that can be made out against him is that to two persons of very good quality in this county in his discourses he vented these words: to the one he said (and that in a high bravado) that he was not ashamed to say he was dissatisfied with the present government, and that he had declared as much to his Highness, and added that in his discourse with Cromwell he had very much nettled him; and having put his Highness into "a chafte" he left him, took his horse, and came into the country without taking leave. To the other gentleman he said (when asked about Ireland) that they were free from the common enemy; but there were those that were discontented there as well as here . . . . All the country rings of his dissatisfaction which he spares not to tell everywhere, especially at the meetings of the Baptized Church where he resorts; but doth it so cunningly that Croke cannot yet discover him further, although without question his work has been in these parts to dissatisfy these people. Croke sent all over Dorset and Devon inquiring after Colonel Sexby and Courtenay, but as yet cannot hear of them; but Cromwell need not doubt his care and vigilance. The writer has faithful scouts in all parts of this county, who correspond with him. He has acquainted the Baptized Church in Exeter with Cromwell's favour towards them, and enclosed their letter of thanks.

On 19 February, 1655, G. Forsington informs Cromwell from Salisbury, that he is proceeding to Marlborough to confer with Major Butler, and to interrogate Mr. Cox, a native of that town, concerning Sexby. Two days later Unton

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Croke tells the Protector he is still searching for Sexby throughout Devon and Dorset. On 5 March there is further information afforded concerning Colonel Sexby from Weymouth, by Captain Unton Croke. The Major, Captain Hurst, the Governor of Portland, Captain Green who commands a frigate, and Cornet Brockhurst who belongs to Jersey, confessed to Croke that the soldiers demeaned themselves very civilly without giving offence to any; and the reason why they were detained was purely upon this account, that they came to search for Sexby without an order in writing. The soldiers came to Weymouth on 20 February about five oclock in the evening; having made some enquiry at a distance as to whether Sexby was in the town or no. They were told that if he were in the town, he was at Captain Arthur's house (who is the grand customer of that place, but a man esteemed of no good principle); for there he was servant to a lady to whom for many years he had professed friendship; and many people thought that it still continued. One soldier, throwing aside his arms, addressed himself to the said Captain's house in the quality of a countryman; and knocked at the door—whereupon a maid-servant came to him. He asked her whether Sexby were in the house or no; for he had a desire to speak with him. She replied she could not tell, but would immediately inform him; and so went in and called Mrs. Ford, Sexby's supposed mistress. When she came she demanded the soldier's business: he told her he had a message and a letter to deliver to Sexby. She desired to know from whom: the soldier answered from a very good friend of the Colonel—one Hugh Courtenay. Mrs. Ford then said the Colonel was not within; but that, if he would leave the message and letter with her, she would see that they were delivered—so that a time and place might be appointed for them to meet. The soldier told her that unless he could see him, he would not deliver the letter; and so departed. Immediately after this Mrs. Ford calls one Dudley to her (who is deputy to Arthur and acts all things under him), and tells him there were troops in the town, enquiring after Sexby: she wished him to inquire, if he could, what was their business; and, if he could learn it, she desired to be informed before any soldiers came down to the house to make search after him. (These words Dudley himself confessed to Croke). Dudley promised so to do; went up to the inn where the soldiers quartered; and entered into discourse with them. He told them he knew their business and what they came about; that it was to apprehend Sexby. For his part he loved the Protector so well he would assist them in that

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business. He said Sexby was in Weymouth at Arthur's house; and that, if they would be wise and keep his counsel, he would carry them to his very chamber door. But he told them they must search very well: for the house was a large one with many by-places in it; so that without a strict scrutiny little good would be done. The soldiers were very joyful at this news and intended that night, although it was very late, to search the house; but, when they were ready, Dudley's mind changed. He denied all he had said, and refused to go with them; so that for that night the business seemed to be quashed. Ere this the news had spread through Weymouth that soldiers had come to apprehend Sexby; whereupon Cornet Brockhurst, Captain Lambert, Major Harding, and Mr. Waltham (the two last, Croke is credibly informed, are high-flown men in their principles and direct friends to Sexby and Joyce[1])—these four much questioned why it was that soldiers should come to look after any man without a written order. Some of them examined the soldiers, who confessed the design; and—notwithstanding that they made out what they could, to whom they belonged, from whence they came, and what their business;—yet they thought it convenient to secure the soldiers; and that night some of Captain Lambert's seamen were placed in the house, where the soldiers were, to take care none should come to them, nor they go to any. Major Harding said that if Sexby had been in their hands, they having no written order, he would endeavour to rescue him out of their hands. He said also Sexby was so well qualified, and had done such good service for Cromwell, that he wondered any should come to look after him in that manner. Next day the soldiers were had up before the Mayor whom by the instigation of the aforesaid gentlemen, thought them very fitly secured until such time as he should send for Captain Hurst, Governor of Portland. He desired them to repair to their quarters; and entreated Cornet Brockhurst and Captain Lambert to bear them company, which was to watch over them. About noon Captain Hurst comes. They incited the Captain to proceed against the soldiers, as they had done the Mayor before. He concurred with them; so the soldiers were then disarmed, and made prisoners indeed. Thus it appears that if Sexby were in the town, he had liberty enough to make his escape.

1. Cornet George Joyce, who in June, 1647, seized the King's person at Holmby House, was on 17 June, 1650, appointed Governor of Portland and in August given a commission as Lieutenant-Colonel in a regiment to be raised by Colonel Heane. In September, 1653, he was imprisoned and cashiered for conspiracy.

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But it is the general saying in the town that Sexby has not been in Weymouth near a twelve-month. Captain Arthur's wife, a very godly woman, did avow to Croke she had not seen him in a much longer time; and Mr. Thorne, pastor of the gathered church in Weymouth, affirmed that he was confident there was much knavery in the information of Dudley, and that what Mrs. Arthur spoke was true. Croke finds that the Mayor and Captain were very innocent from any design in this business: they did it merely at the request of others. Neither can Croke learn that either of them have any relation or near acquaintance with Sexby; but some of the other gentlemen have. Croke cannot discover what the principles of the Captain are. They are not much taken notice of anyway; but Croke is sure by his discourse that he desires to be quiet and does not appear to be of a turbulent spirit. Croke pressed him to discourse of present affairs: but he was very wary. When asked his thoughts of Major-General Thomas Harrison, his prisoner; he was very affectionate towards him in his expressions—often saying he was a good man. He told Croke that Harrison had desired liberty of him to speak upon some places of Scripture sometimes to Hurst's soldiers, which he had granted him; and he did usually preach to them. There is no commission-officer but himself in the Castle; otherwise Croke had discoursed with more. The Captain said he had little acquaintance with Sexby; but he knew Joyce very well, and hinted to Croke as if he owed all his preferment to him. Hurst said also he was in London about three weeks since, and desired to speak with Sexby about some business; but could not, for he was then told that Sexby was with Cromwell and that he had much conference about the plot; but that he heard Sexby was very free and gave satisfaction. Hurst told Croke that Harrison wondered to hear Sexby should be suspected. He thought him only a decoy for Cromwell, because he observed all those that Sexby had been with were secured; but he himself at liberty, though pretended to be searched for. Harrison also added that Sexby was with him; but he knew him to be a treacherous fellow, and would have nothing to do with him. Sexby in the sequel, more fortunate than his fellow-conspirators in the joint rising of the Royalists and Fifth-Monarchy men, succeeded in escaping to Flanders.

On 14 March, 1655, William Goffe, the Regicide, writes from Taunton to Cromwell's Secretary, W. Malyn. On Tuesday last, about two in the morning, Captain Pike—postmaster at Crewkerne—gave us an alarm at Ilminster, assuring us that General Wagstaffe, Captain Penruddock, and near

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1000 more of the late King's party were embodied at Salisbury; where they took the Judges, and did much mischief; and were then come to Sherborne. Whereupon Goffe hastened to Taunton, where he met Colonel Pyne, Colonel Ceeley, Sir Thomas Wroth, Colonel Gorges, Major Sampson, Captain Barker and divers gentlemen more, with a considerable company of such as were formerly of the Militia. But he had not been long at Taunton before Goffe saw his hopes of the enemy's ruin quite frustrated; which he must very much impute to the unhandsome carriage of Colonel Gorges, towards Colonel Pyne and some others, refusing to join with Pyne in anything relating to this present business. Gorges took upon him the charge of the town, commissioned thereunto by the magistrates thereof (so he is pleased to say): whereupon arose this great inconvenience; for Colonel Ceeley, with about 40 officers and soldiers, being resolved to alarm the enemy who then lay at Chard, having come to the outguard of the town was denied passage by the guard; they alleging that Gorges had so given order that none might pass without his licence. "Whereupon we halted there about a quarter-of-an-hour; and in the meantime sent to know of Gorges what his meaning was, who then gave a ticket for our passage. But Ceeley took this so unkindly (he being the elder Colonel) that he refused to march by the other's leave; and thus we were altogether disappointed of what probably might have been easily effected, I mean the ruin of our enemies, who were not above 160, as I am since very certainly informed; and in a very trembling posture." Their horses are many of them very good, but the riders very ill-accoutred for the most part: yet notwithstanding these discouragements, their purpose is to pursue to-morrow with what Horse they can make; and, if possible, join with the Sheriff of Devon (to whom they have written to that purpose) that so they may, being united, if not take them—at least disperse them; which Goffe hears they begin to do already. "Truly, sir, I am heartily sorry to see these divisions amongst us; and though I cannot say Colonel Pyne and others fully comply with the present government; yet I am verily persuaded they were very hearty in this present work; and I am sure have been formerly very good instruments for securing these parts and for any public good. And therefore I cannot but be troubled that Colonel Gorges, a man but of yesterday who hath not so fully borne testimony against the Cavaliers in former times, should so much insult and grieve the spirits of these gentlemen." Goffe observed further yesterday that Gorges took some distaste to Colonel Richard Bovett; because he, upon the alarm, entered the Castle of Taunton and secured

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it with some of the company that formerly served him in the Militia; and refused to turn out his men and deliver the possession thereof to Colonel Gorges. In Goffe's opinion what Lieutenant-Colonel Bovett did was merely for the preservation of the place, without any sinister end; for, to the writer's knowledge, Bovett was exceedingly forward in furthering any design against the enemy and in reconciling divisions in Taunton. On the same day Captain George Bishop writes from Bristol to John Thurloe. They heard on Monday night that some of the enemy quartered at Shaftesbury, and others at Sherborne; and so in parties at divers places to enforce their numbers, what they can, in that disaffected county of Dorset—than which there is not one greater in England. On Tuesday they were at Dorchester; broke up the gaols, and horsed the gaol-birds; and 'tis said from thence they went to Weymouth, where they reported they expected the landing of some ammunition and arms from France; although Bishop rather thinks it is (if it be so) to look for ammunition in such a port-town. For their numbers he cannot get a particular account, all he has being from travellers; and Thurloe knows how uncertain for the most part is such intelligence. There were not 100 Horse of them in Salisbury; and yet report brought them 1000. They are said by some to be 2000, others 1000, some 500; they have no particular rendezvouses, but disperse themselves, and lie beyond measure. He also hears that many went with them out of Sherborne and other places; and that in and about Taunton honest men are embodying together against them. Major-General Sir Joseph Wagstaffe had entered Salisbury on 12 March; seized the Judges on circuit and sheriff in their beds; but had been prevented from hanging them by the opposition of Colonel Penruddock and the county gentlemen. On 15 March it was reported at Westminster that on the previous day Wagstaffe, with about 300, had lain at Yeovil. "'Tis thought they intend to escape as many as can by water into Wales; but this is hardly possible for them to do, at most not above 20 of them. There is no stirring in Wales, nor any in arms that we know of except these in Dorset." On 14 March Colonel William Boteler writes to the Lord Protector from Salisbury on his march towards Shaftesbury at 9 o'clock in the morning: "this morning Colonel Dove is come hither from the enemy on his parole. He left them near Yeovil, and thinks them above 300 . . . . The Judges I have set at liberty here; and they were like men that dreamed to see us so suddenly here." On the same day Nathaniel Hole informs Colonel John Clerke from Basingstoke that "one Captain Butler of Dorset, whom the enemy asked to rise with

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them and they depended upon him, refused; and told them he would not act anything against the public. Also in Dorset, where they expected 3000 or 4000, they all refuse to rise with them. So I understand most of them are the scorn of the county." On the same day also Robert Aldworth and James Powell write to Thurloe from Bristol: "Those rogues, that rose up at Salisbury, were at Blandford on Tuesday, where they proclaimed Charles the Second, and read their commission to take up arms for him. They are gotten into the most rotten and corrupt places of the nation as Blandford, Sherborne, Yeovil, etc.; but we hope Major Butler is in pursuit of them.[1] We cannot hear of any persons gone in to them out of these parts; and do verily believe they will miss of those numbers they pretend to meet withal." On 17 March General Desborough writes to Cromwell from Wincanton. The enemy was routed on Wednesday last (by Captain Unton Croke) at South Moulton in Devon. Desborough intends to divide his troops so as to apprehend those who have fled: viz, his own troop is to be sent to Beaminster; Captain Scotton's to Bridport; Major Blackmore's to Crewkerne, etc. He has written to the Sheriffs of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall to apprehend all suspicious persons; and to the Justices of the Peace to enquire as to whom have been absent during the last ten days. Some notes in Thurloe's hand-writing relate to Penruddock's rising at Salisbury on 12 March. Collier said he saw Mr. St. Loe between Blandford and Yeovil, who boasted he had 40 men for them; that he had horses and arms for them not far off; and that they must set back to back, and fight it out. That St. Loe had, as he remembered, no pistols before him; but pistols in a portmantle, which his men carried. St. Loe says he lives in Dorset; and was going from his house to Knighton within seven miles of Salisbury, to hire some lands of his uncle St. Loe who dwells there. As he was going he met with two or three scouts, one of whom had the Sheriff's livery, who forced him to go along with them as a prisoner to a body of Horse, commanded by Sir Joseph Wagstaffe; where he met with Penruddock, Grove, and several other of his friends who told him they were for the King. He says he desired them to dismiss him; but, they refusing, he sent home his man to acquaint his wife, who returned to him again; and so marched with them to Blandford—where he confesses, he said to the people that he was Penruddock's Captain, but en-

1. According to "Perfect Proceedings" at Blandford on Monday afternoon, the crier refused to call Charles II King. From Blandford the Royalists rode to Sherborne, where they stayed two hours, and then to Babylon Hill, entering Yeovil at 1 p.m. on Tuesday.

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listed none. He says he was at Penruddock's on the Friday before the rising, where were Max the apothecary and Dr. Whitwell; and being asked what discourse they had, says he heard them talk of what sport they would have on Monday; and speak of what they would do with the Judges. And on his asking what they meant by this Penruddock told him he should see on Monday, if he would march into the country. St. Loe says he went with them as far as Sherborne; and then left them. His man, when he returned, brought with him two pair of pistols as ordered. He says Mr. Penruddock was several times with him; and desired him to take up arms. He confesses he knew of this business half a year ago; and that Penruddock told him there should have been a general rising all over England upon St. Valentine's day.

At the Council at Whitehall of Friday 23 March it was resolved that a Commission of oyer and terminer in the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, and Devon should be prepared and directed to Francis Thorpe, one of the Barons of the Exchequer; John Glynne, serjeant-at-law; William Steele, serjeant-at-law, Recorder of the City of London; John Hagget, one of the Justices of counties Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan; Sir John Evelyn; Robert Wallop (the Regicide); Alexander Popham; John Sadler, one of the Masters of the Chancery, and Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge; Thomas Estcourt, one of the Masters of the Chancery; William Stephens, doctor of laws; Richard Norton; George Cooper (Shaftesbury's brother); Nicholas Greene; Richard Lucy (first Baronet of Charlecote); Thomas Boureman; John Dunch; John Hildesley; William Willoughby; Lislebone Long (Speaker in March 1659); John Gorges; John Browne of Frampton; John Trenchard of Warmwell; John Bingham of Bingham's Melcombe; William Hussey of Shaftesbury; Walter Foy; James Dewy of Bloxworth; Robert Pelham; Edward Butler; Arthur Upton; John Drake; James Erisye; Henry Hatsell; Edmund Fowell; John Scarle; Thomas Saunders; Robert Bennet; John Blackmore; Robert Shapcott; Anthony Nicoll; John Moyle; Richard Carter; Thomas Ceely; John Fox, Mayor of Salisbury; Francis Swanton; William Jephson; Nathaniel Whetham; Robert Aldworth; or any five of them. They were to be sent down to prepare for the trial of the prisoners in the west. On 28 March Desborough sends Thurloe a list of prisoners.[1]

1. Out of 109 names, 24 were from Dorset. Oxenbridge Fowell of Cerne Abbas, gent, was one of them. Wagstaffe's servant, Arthur Collens of Isle of Purbeck, was examined in London.

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Those from Dorset are the following :—

At Exeter, 22 March.

Thomas FitzJames of Henley, gent.
(Sixpenny Handley)
James Huish of Kimridge, gent.
(Kimmeridge)
Simon Barnard of Blandford, tailor.
William Hallet of Netherby, gardener.
William Wake of Blandford, clothier.
Christopher Haviland of Lankey, yeoman.
Nathaniel Galpin of Blandford, weaver.
Edmund Wynmouth of Sherborne, miller.
Robert Sager of Sherborne, felt-maker.
William Martin of Yeovil, tailor.
John Pinson of Sherborne, chapman.
John Russell of Blandford, weaver.
Henry Sampson of Sherborne, husbandman.
Richard Broadgate of Blandford, tapster.
James Combe of Blandford, cooper.
Richard Broadgate of Blandford, husbandman.
Richard Andrews of Sherborne, baker.

At Taunton.

John Frampton of Blandford.
John Elkins of the same.
George Oliver of Blandford, felt-maker.
Charles Thomas of the same, carrier.

Desborough at the same time assures the Protector that he has not found it as easy, as he thought it would be, to settle the Militia in those parts to his satisfaction. He has sent Captain Dury to attend Cromwell for Dorset. On the same day Major-General Boteler informs Thurloe from Marlborough that he sent up not only Mr. St. Loe of Fontmel by Captain Horsington; but also one from Shaftesbury who had personally acted with the rebels. On 29 March St. Loe was examined by Thurloe in person. He said about a quarter of a year ago Penruddock came to his house; told him there was to be a general rising upon St. Valentine's Day; that then the King himself would come; that all the country would join them; that Sir William Waller would head the City, Penruddock Wilts, and other gentlemen the other counties; that the levelling party in the army were discontented, and would oppose the Protector. St. Loe went afterwards to Penruddock's house; where he met one Mr. Thornbury, whose father was sequestered; and there St. Loe and Penruddock discoursed.

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Penruddock said Colonel Bennet and some others of their party were taken in London; which had disappointed them, and their day was put off. St. Loe had a third meeting at his own house with Penruddock and his brother; who said the business was much dashed; that they should have met at a great horse-race at Salisbury on about 15 February; but it had been forbidden. He went to Penruddock's house on the Friday before the rising; was told all was ready for the rising on Monday; and was asked whether he had furnished himself with arms. St. Loe answered that he had not, because he thought the business was over; but Penruddock pressed him to go home and get ready. This he did; came to them before they reached Blandford; went with them to Sherborne; and there left them. He said Penruddock was before this with Grove and several others in Wilts and Sir Henry More, to have fallen upon the Horse at Marlborough; but the Horse keeping a strong guard they were discouraged. Their design was for 12 men to go in a cart, who were to have seized upon the horses in the stables; whilst those without fell on; that Mack of Salisbury was to have been chief in the business, and it was to have been some weeks before. At Blandford they spoke of several gentlemen whom they said would come in; and went, among others, to Mr. Henry Butler of Handley's house; but found him not. Penruddock told St. Loe Lord Hertford was engaged in the business. Examined again on 31 March, St. Loe said Hertford's chaplain was often at Penruddock's; and Penruddock told him they had had much correspondence about the rising. Heneage Finch, second Earl of Winchelsea was to rise in Kent; keep Rochester; and seize Colchester—where a great party was to rise with him. And this, Penruddock said, Lord Hertford had sent him notice of. He also said there was a great meeting at Salisbury, either at Lady Phillips's house or at the King's Arms; where were Penruddock, Mr. Reeves, Mr. Grove, Mr. Mompesson, Mr. Greene (junior) of Mere, and some others, concerning a general rising. And there they had directions what to do from Lady Phillips, who came from London a little before and had often been in France and elsewhere with the Queen. St. Loe was told by Penruddock that Captain Twyne, who lives near Blandford, was engaged; as also Captain Kirles of Woodcotes, Dorset; and Robert Freke of Upwey. On 12 April, in the afternoon, the Grand Jury at Salisbury brought in a true bill for treason against John St. Loe. On the same day Colonel William Butler writes to Thurloe: "I writ formerly to His Highness concerning St. Loe, whom I sent by Captain Horsington to have been delivered to the Keeper of the gaol

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here (Salisbury); but much to my admiration (surprise) he carried him up to London. There is as evident proof against him as against any man for his being in the late rebellion; and he was once Captain of some of the Clubmen in this county. I have him here prosecuted, and he will be outlawed to-day. I hear Horsington keeps him in his house, and is a great friend of his. I hope His Highness will be persuaded that, next to Penruddock, scarce a man among them deserves less favour." On 29 March John Dove, the Regicide and High Sheriff of Wilts, had informed Thurloe from Salisbury that he had had some of these gentlemen named by John, second Lord Lovelace, before him. He had examined young Mr. Tregonwell; found he and his servants never were out; and that Lovelace, when brought face to face, did not know the gentleman. So Mr. John Tregonwell is clear as to this business; has engaged to His Highness in a £2000 bond, to appear when called on; and not to act anything against the Protector or Commonwealth. "The County of Dorset, I hear, have a commission for the Militia. I fear some may stop the sending one thither, on pretence of ease in the country. Be confident, that if it be delayed, it may prove dangerous." John Bryne of Beaminster stated that about the middle of June there had been a great feast at John Strode's of Parnham; where were Lord Poulett and several other strange gentlemen. Mr. Brigidius Avianen, Minister of Stoke Abbott, told Edward Butler—a J.P. in Dorset—that a little before the late rising he gathered, from parson Paul's words, that there would be very suddenly some rising of the Cavalier party. William Goudge of Stoke Abbott declared that John Gallop of North Bowood, Netherbury, said he would not refer the umpirage of a difference between himself and Thomas Goudge of Stoke Abbott into the hand of any man, who would allow of anything that the State had taken by sequestration; and that Parliament had undone England by sequestering men's estates. The difference, it is said, was about rent paid into the State by Thomas Goudge by an order from the Committee of Dorset upon the sequestration of Paul Godwyn for delinquency; but the informant desires that Gallopp may not be meddled withal, until after the assizes, by reason of a trial Gallopp and he (William Goudge) are then to have. Some information concerning the above persons may be gathered from other sources. At Sherborne Easter Sessions for 1650 upon the petition of the inhabitants of Piddletrenthide, John Bryne, for many extortions and intolerable abuses by colour of law, was committed to the County Gaol without bail or mainprize for 3 months; until "he shall put in two sufficient

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sureties for £50 each and himself £100 for his Majesty's (*sic*) own use, upon condition he shall in future well behave himself." In December 1648, William Goudge of Wellhouse, Stoke Abbott, yeoman, having compounded for his delinquency in £150 is to be allowed quietly to enjoy his personal estate. Captain John Gollop or Gallopp may probably be identified with the John Gallopp of Burstock who was in arms in 1647. A kinsman William Gollop was the sequestered Rector of Stoke Abbott. Thomas Goudge of Wellhouse was, in December 1648, judged sequestrable for having sent his son and a horse into the King's army; and also for having fortified the tower of Stoke Abbott with arms and ammunition to withstand the Lyme forces. Dr. Paul Godwyn had been sequestered for deserting his Cures of Beaminster and Netherbury; and was replaced by Jerome Turner and Joseph Crabbe "two able and godly ministers."[1]

The names of prisoners condemned for high treason etc., at the general gaol delivery holden at Exeter Castle on 18 April, 1655, include the following:—

On first indictment—Thomas FitzJames, late of Handley, gent—found guilty by verdict of petty jury.

On second indictment—Robert Harris, late of Blandford, cordwainer—found guilty by verdict of petty jury.

On third indictment—William Wake, late of Blandford, gent—confessed fact upon his arraignment.

Christopher Haviland, late of Langton, labourer—confessed fact upon his arraignment.

Nicholas (Richard?) Bradgate, of Blandford, yeoman—acquitted by petty jury.[2]

On 28 May, the Protector appoints Desborough Major-General of all Militia forces within the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wilts, and Gloucester. On 16 June, Desborough informs Thurloe from Exeter that of the troops he has only settled those in Wiltshire and Dorset, one in Somerset; "and these three here; and I hope well-officered." In Richard Wagstaffe's letter to Thurloe, from Bedford on 18 June, among persons sent up last week occur the names of George Geary and "Mr. Nayleyr, a surgeon to Sir Lewis Dyve, who lives in Bedford—a most desperate

1. Minute Books, 225, 239, 473, 483, 573. Hutchins II, 113. 'Roberts' 'Social History,' 143.

2. All five were condemned to death. William Willoughby, a Dorset prisoner tried at Sarum, was an old man, and friendship had caused him to try to rescue one of the Royalists. Finances of Monthly Assessment Commissioner were thrown into confusion by the seizure, during the insurrection, of £12 from Blandford, Sherborne and elsewhere.

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fellow." On 9 July occurs the examination of Richard Rowe of Homisham, Wilts, turner. He was employed by Squire Willoughby, of Westnowell, at his house for about two months before the rising at Salisbury; and about fourteen days before said rising observed a meeting of divers gentlemen there to hunt the fox, which meeting continued for a week. They danced at night, having a fiddler with them. Most of them wore swords. Amongst them were Captain (Henry) Butler of Handley and his brother, Mr. Hollis of Monkton, Mr. Langford and others. He observed Butler and several others there a little before the hunting match. John Strong of Dunhead, Wilts, also stated that Captain Robert Grove of the same parish, and formerly a Cavalier, was absent from his house for 5 or 6 days at the time of the rising; and was at the house of one Molines[1] near Sherborne, a reputed Cavalier, on the Sunday before the rising. On 16 May John Penruddock had been beheaded at Exeter, in company with Colonel Hugh Grove. He had argued that his offence was not legally high treason, and that he had surrendered on articles promising him security for life and estate. But his plea was overruled; and Unton Croke denied the engagement he was alleged to have made. Penruddock's wife was Arundel, daughter of John Freke of Iwerne Courtenay and Melcombe. On the last day of July 1655 the office of Receiver-General of Revenue belonging to the Commonwealth within the counties of Southampton, Wilts, and Dorset was granted to Edward Butler during the Protector's pleasure.[2]

The Diary, attributed to Thomas Burton, M.P., Westmoreland, records that on 22 December 1656 the Petition of Captain John Arthur was read in the House. He had done good service. Firstly, had taken up arms in Dorset, until he was betrayed and taken prisoner by Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper: secondly, had laid out £2000 and over; this he borrowed, paying 8% for it which comes by single interest to £1500. He is threatened daily with arrest for the sums aforesaid, being unable to pay them.

Mr. Dennis Bond: "The Committee of Dorset gave him public faith for it. He is very poor, and has suffered much for you. I desire it may be referred to Lord Salisbury's Committee."

Captain Adam Baynes, M.P., Leeds: "I am against the petition and all of this kind; for the poor people's sake; who

1. Perhaps Edward Mullins of West Hall, Folke.

2. Thurloe, III, pp. 122 to 688 passim. Clarke, III, 25, 28. After Sarum trials, the Court—on its way to Exeter, stayed at Dorchester spending Sunday 15 April there. Gower and Benn preached appropriate sermons.

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increase their charge by staying here, and undo whole families as in the Long Parliament. I know you are not able to satisfy them."

Mr. Robinson: "Sir A. A. Cooper, by whom this gentleman suffered, may satisfy him: for we are not able, at present, to do it. We shall put the poor to charge by attending; and do them no good. I wish it were referred to the gentlemen that serve for Dorset, to find out a way to satisfy petitioner."

Mr. Butler: "Sir A. A. Cooper has done you good service; and the petitioner doth not say his sufferings were by him."

On 25 July 1657, it was reported that "yesterday Colonel Sexby (disguised in a very poor habit with an overgrown beard) was taken on ship-board going out of the nation; and after a short examination by His Highness was sent prisoner to the Tower." He had drawn up, under the name of William Allen, an apology for tyrannicide entitled "Killing No Murder." which he ironically dedicated to Cromwell himself. This was printed in Holland and sent over about May, 1657; and in June the author had unwisely followed his pamphlet to England. Edward Sexby died in the Tower on 13 January 1658, "having been awhile distracted in his mind and long sick."[1]

On 28 August 1658, Sir John Copleston writes to Thurloe. He hears from Charles, Lord Fleetwood, that a ship is ready at Weymouth for transporting the men Copleston has now raised. They will be there next Monday; and he hopes to ship them on the following day. He sent a man yesterday to see what, or whether any, provisions were on board: if he is to provide them himself, it will mean at least a day's delay to him. He has, but with much difficulty, taken up of the Collectors of excise and customs here £200; and according to Thurloe's order, charged the same on him. He has promised that Thurloe will make speedy payment, which he begs him to do. He doubts this sum will scarcely suffice; especially if the provisions, which according to Thurloe's allowance is 4d. for each, are to be paid for by the writer. He is sure that the last men he raised, as well as these, have been not only very troublesome but chargeable to him. But if he may be serviceable in any measure to the carrying on so good an interest, he will be ready not only to lay out what he has—but his life also in it. He will hasten away these men as soon as possible. On 4 September he again writes to Thurloe. He has been at Weymouth, and shipped there 91 soldiers. They had a very good wind and are, he believes, ere this at Dunquerque. Out of the £200 he charged on Thurloe he has laid out £132 3s. 0d.

1. Burton I, 204. Clarke III, 114.

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So there remains in his hands £67 17s. 0d., which the Secretary shall be paid as he shall require.

	£	s.	d.
The soldiers had	80	0	0
The conductors	20	0	0
The purser for provisions	20	0	0
Platform for soldiers to lie on ...	3	15	0
For boats to carry them on board ...	2	3	0
For their quarters at Chard	4	18	0
For bread and beer at their shipping ...	1	7	0
	£132	3	0

Copleston is troubled that they fall so very short of the number. There were about 240 enlisted; but a man cannot be certain of these people until they are shipped; and in harvest is no good time to raise men; and here's a report that the French in a late engagement dealt very treacherously (or cowardly) with the English, so that many were lost. This was written by Mr. Prideaux and some others. Copleston is exceedingly sorry to hear of His Highness's indisposition of health. His most earnest prayer is that the Lord will "preserve him to this poor nation, and the interest of his people." [1]

The defeated party did not always, of course, live at peace among themselves. Thomas Strangways bequeathed in 1648 to his son George, his farm at Muston; leaving his eldest daughter, Mabel, executrix. She rented the farm of her brother; stocked it at her own cost; and towards the procuring of which stock engaged herself in a bond of £350 to her said brother, Major George Strangways. He, thinking her a confirmed spinster, entrusted her with the bond; his part of the stock; and such utensils in the house as belonged to himself—the more readily in order to avoid sequestration. Suddenly the lady fell in love with Mr. John Fussel, an eminent lawyer, who had not only served under the royal banner but had passed a long while in gaol on account of his principles. At this time he lived at Blandford, and was a widower. Strangways, on hearing of the intended marriage, in fear of the lawyer's subtilty informed his sister that he would kill Fussel were she to marry him. Mabel, in her turn, declared that George unjustly detained much of the stock lawfully hers; and denied the forementioned bond, saying it was a forgery of her brother's. The marriage was consummated; and Strangways complained

1. Cromwell had died at Whitehall at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of 3 September, the day before the writing of Copleston's letter. Thurloe VII, 363, 372.

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of the endeavour to defraud him of part of his estate, as well as of money due by bond. Fussel, both for prosecuting his own suit against his brother-in-law and for other causes, being in Town in Hilary Term had his lodging one story high at the sign of the George and Half-Moon, three doors further without the Bar than the Palsgrave's Head Tavern. Here sitting writing at his desk, with his face towards the window, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening of Friday, 11 Feb. 1659, Fussel was shot in the forehead and mouth by two bullets, and was found dead by his clerk. Strangways was apprehended on the suggestion of his step-nephew, young John Fussel; and Major Thompson stated that he had that day borrowed a carbine for the use of the accused. George Strangways then confessed the fact, denying the intention of killing Fussel both before the justices and in a letter to his brother-in-law Major James Dewy, M.P.; but refusing to plead on his trial—in order to preserve his estate and prevent a public punishment—he was in 8 or 10 minutes pressed to death in the dungeon of Newgate on 28 February. He was under 50 years of age at the time.[1]

In August 1659 occur the examinations at Shaftesbury of some twenty-five persons who were accused of having been concerned in a plot against the Government. John Williams, Butcher of Shaftesbury, confesses he was informed by Luke Cave, Blacksmith of the same place, of the projected rising, and that the King was in England or coming. William Chamberlain had a commission from Charles II and was raising a company. Leonard Lush was one, and would have his master's four horses. Two gentlemen named Mohun at Mr. John Chaldicote's were to join, Thomas Courtney, and Edward Burt who made holsters. Cave told him George Scudamore of Motcombe was to be one of them. Bristol and Windsor were to be delivered to them. This very night (31 July) Chamberlain and his troop were to go out of the Churchyard to the rendezvous at Stonidge. There were more about Sherborne whose names Williams didn't know. Mr. John Bennett and his brother Matthew were with Chamberlain last week; and all the stables in the town were at their command. Cave advised him not to discover the plot to Mayor James Baker. Luke Cave declares that William Chamberlain asked him if he would be a soldier and go with him; and told him the king was to come in with a great army of twenty or thirty thousand; that they would have £2000 brought them, but did not say from whom; and promised Cave a horse and a pistol.

1. Tract, Dorset 11.

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Afterwards Chamberlain accused Cave of discovering the plot; but he denied it. Christopher Haviland, servant to John Ryves of Ranston, Shroton, deposes he was sent by his master yesterday (Sabbath) to Captain Henry Butler of Handley to desire him to meet him to-day (1 August) or to-morrow, at Fern-ditch (Mr. Tregonwell's house) to course a deer; but found him not. Walter Exton of Ashcombe states that on Saturday night last (30 July) Captain Hugh Fry and Leonard Lush came to his house; and that there were bundles of saddles, etc. left in his house. Captain Hugh Fry of Shaftesbury says he merely rode a few miles on Saturday with Lush in the direction of Handley and Hinton. William Chamberlain states that he himself carried a saddle, and William Dowland led a horse with him and carried four saddles furnished for war to Ashcombe woodside; where Dowland delivered them to one that seemed a Bailiff and received £6—five in gold. Chamberlain sent 2 saddles to Bruton; and 2 saddles were bespoken by Mr. Hoskins near Sherborne. He denies that he has received a commission from Charles Stewart; that he raised a company; and that he knew aught of any garrison being surrendered. Morgan Bennett of Shaftesbury confesses that, when drinking with Fry, the latter asked him to be a trooper for Ireland with £10, a horse and arms; and that he consented. Leonard Lush, servant to Walter Barnes of Shaftesbury, who was Steward to Lords Petre and Stourton, says that on Friday last, after he came from Dorchester, William Chamberlain told him there was to be a rising on Sunday night last (31 July) all over England; that a rendezvous was to be at Stonidge in Wilts; that Chamberlain and Captain Bushe of Handley were to be there; that from thence they were to go to Gloucester; and that Windsor Castle was to be delivered up at the same time. They were to march from Gloucester to Bristol and seize upon it; and there were to be two commanders for every county—Captain Bushe being one for Dorset. Chamberlain also told him that £2000 were to be brought in to pay the soldiers; but he did not say from or by whom. He affirmed Captain Bushe had a commission, and that he (Chamberlain) was to have one. On the same Friday night Chamberlain delivered Lush a bridle, saddle, breast plate, and crupper; and wished him to put them up for Bushe's use. Next day Chamberlain brought him one pair of pistols; and desired Lush to carry them to William Tucker, junior, of Shaftesbury to have them fixed. Robert Davies, on 7 August, says that about 3 weeks since or more there came from Sir Anthony Cooper's, Mr. Robert Ernley, Mr. Butler, a Colonel dwelling about London, and another; and that Major Ernley

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went to Handley and was met at the door by William Palmer of Cranborne. Others examined were George Scudamore of Motcombe, who says he refused to go with Chamberlain; Elizabeth Andrews, Edmund Brett, and John Cale of Shaftesbury; John Stawk of Cann; Thomas Sandford, the schoolmaster at Gussage St. Michael; Thomas Moseley of Mere, Wilts; and Captain John Knowles of the same; Christopher Dowden, chamberlain at the Lion in Shaftesbury; Messrs. Andrew Shewley, Thomas Weston, and William Weston, the younger, of Stalbridge; Thomas Mayne of Shaftesbury; and Messrs. William and Robert Bolton of Wimborne who assert that Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper "did speak much in commendation of Sir George Booth that he was a very honest man." Sir George Booth, Bt., afterwards first Lord Delamere, took an important part in the August plot. He was constituted commander of the royal forces in Cheshire, Lancashire, and North Wales; and only in this district was the plot partially successful. He seized Chester; but was defeated by Lambert at Nantwich Bridge. Booth escaped from the field; but was seized disguised in female attire at Newport Pagnell, and thrown into the Tower. Although this plot was externally a failure it had undoubtedly no small effect in hastening the Restoration.[1]

A newsletter of 6 December 1659 states that Quarter-Master-General Courtney and Adjutant-General Allen are going as Commissioners to the Fleet. In January 1660 General Monck writes to the Speaker, desiring him to restore Colonel Redman to his regiment from which he was unjustly put in Ireland by instigation of Colonels Barrow and Axtell; "and Adjutant General Allen (noe good friend of yours) appointed to have itt." On 10 March Denzil Holles, M.P. for Dorchester, was made Custos Rotulorum of Dorset. On 16 April a Declaration was made by the Knights and Gentry of Dorset, who were in his late Majesty's army. Upon due consideration of the dangerous jealousies promoted, partly by a malicious faction of Separatists; and partly by the unwarranted liberties of an intemperate sort of people, falsely calling themselves Royalists; they think it expedient to declare their resolution to adhere "to the largest Assurances of Amicable Agreement, and Correspondence imaginable." They look upon themselves as obliged by an indispensable tie of religious charity to compassionate and forgive one another, as they expect to be forgiven. And they further declare that they are so far from justifying those

1. Clarendon MS. 63, ff. 64, 94, 297, 302. In August 1659, Sir A. A. Cooper was arrested in Dorset, upon the evidence of a boy, who stated he had carried a letter from him to Booth. On 12 September after hearing their Special Committee's report, the Council unanimously acquitted Cooper.

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unchristian animosities which reign in divers turbulent spirits, even of their own party, that they disclaim any society with men of such wild principles. And, moreover, to all honest purposes they will never put any difference between such as shall now unite with them, with regard to the Public Peace, and those who first engaged in the same persuasion with them. They submit all "to the Resolves of Parliament" and sign the document; viz.—Sir Hugh Windham, Sir Gerard Napier, Sir John and Giles Strangways, John Hardy, Henry Coker, Edward Hull, Henry Butler, Maximilian and Robert Mohun, Henry and James Hoskins, George and Nicholas Strangways, Robert and Bruen Lawrence, Arthur Fookes, George Browne, Major Uvedale, Robert Chamberlaine, Robert and John Strode of Slape, Humphrey and John Bishop, Robert Culliford, George Cary, George Penny, Thomas and George Turberville, Thomas Paulet, Capt. Hoare, Major Dolling, Hugh Hodges, Richard Willoughby, John Pesing, John Gillingham, William Elsing, Robert Ernsley, John Dawe, John Fisher, Ellis Collins.

On 29 May, his birthday, Charles II made his solemn entry into London—when at Whitehall, George Monck the King-maker was invested with the Garter and sworn of the Privy Council; and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, the future Achitophel, was also made a Privy Councillor. An order of Knights of the Royal Oak was projected by Charles II as a reward to such as had distinguished themselves by their loyalty. The Knights were to wear a silver medal with a device of the King in the royal oak; but the scheme was laid aside lest it should create animosities. The whole number designed was 617; and the names of those in Dorset destined to receive this honour, with the value of their estates, were as follows:—

	Per annum. £
John Tregonwell, Esqr. of Milton Abbas ...	1100
John Still, Esqr. of Shaftesbury	1000
Colonel Robert Lawrence of Creech Grange ...	700
William Thomas, Esqr.	600
Captain Henry Butler of Handley	600
Woolley Miller, Esqr.	1000
Sir John Weld Knt. (brother of Humphrey) ...	1000
Colonel Giles Strangways of Melbury Sampford ...	5000
Thomas Freke, Esqr. of Ewern Courtney ...	4000
Colonel Humphrey Bishop of Chilcombe[1] ...	800
Sir John Turberville, Knt. of Bere Regis ...	1500
George Pitt, Esq. of Stratfieldsaye, Hants ...	4000
——— Baskerville, Esqr.	1000

1. M.P. Bridport 13 Car. II, and dying was replaced by George Bowerman.

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On 12 June 1660, a thanksgiving for the King's Restoration with 219 signatures was embodied in the humble address of the nobility and gentry of Dorset. It was presented to Charles at Whitehall by the Earl of Lichfield, Sir A. A. Cooper, Sir John Strangwayes, Col. John Fitz James, Col. Coker, Col. Giles Strangwayes and divers others.[1]

1. Hutchins I, Introduction. Clarke IV, 165, 252. Tract, Dorset 12. Tract, Dorset 13.

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CHAPTER XIV.

Finance—The Dorset Standing Committee and its work (1643-1660).

ON 4 March, 1643, an ordinance had been passed for the speedy raising and levying of money by a weekly assessment upon the Cities of London and Westminster, and every county and city of the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales; and the Lords directed that the names of William Savage, Thomas Tregonwell, Richard Brodrepp, John Hanham, William Sydenham junior, and Robert Butler should be added to the Committee in Dorset for raising money by weekly assessment. On 21 March the further names of Richard Rose, Thomas Ceeley, and John Henley, Esquires, were to be added to the Committee. On 31 March an ordinance of Parliament was made for the sequestration of the estates of delinquents, and the appointment of County Committees for that purpose. This was explained and enlarged by another ordinance of 19 August. The names of the Committeemen were:—

For the County of Dorset—Denzill Holles, Sir Thomas Trenchard, Sir Walter Erle, Knights; John Browne, Thomas Tregonwell, John Bingham, John Hanham, John Trenchard, Dennis Bond, Richard Brodrepp, William Savage, Robert Butler, William Sydenham, junior, Richard Rose, John Henley, Thomas Ceeley, Thomas Erle, Esquires;

For the town and county of Poole—Henry Martin, Mayor, George Skutt, William Skutt, Anthony Waite, William Williams, Aaron Durell, Richard Mayer, and Haviland Healey, Aldermen;

For the town of Dorchester—The Mayor for the time being; John Hill, and Richard Bury.

On 3 May the two Houses, finding that the monies rated upon the counties by ordinance for weekly assessment were not returned with such expedition as the emergent and present necessities required, appointed two or more persons of trust in

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each county to take especial care therein. The names for Dorset were those of Sir Walter Erle and Colonel John Fitz-James of Leweston. On 7 May Committees were appointed in the several counties for taxing such for their fifth and twentieth part as had not contributed or lent upon the propositions, or not according to their estates and abilities. The Committee for Dorset consisted of Sir Thomas Trenchard, Sir Walter Erle; John Browne, John Fitz-James, Thomas Tregonwell, John Bingham, John Faunham (*sic* Hanham), John Trenchard, Dennis Bond, and Richard Rodriffs (*sic* Brodrepp), Esquires. Three days later the persons appointed by the ordinance of the preceding 3 May were ordered to use their best endeavours for the discovery of any other monies levied, or to be levied, by any Act of Parliament, ordinance, or subsidy, not yet brought in; and especially by the Act for speedy contribution towards the relief of Ireland, and an ordinance of 30 January for a new loan and contribution for the same purpose. On 1 June divers persons having been misnamed in the ordinance lately passed for the raising and levying of money, the following were appointed Committees for executing the said ordinance:

For Dorset—Richard Brodrepp, Richard Rose, John Henley, Esquires; Thomas Cheeke and William Kerridge, gentlemen.

On 27 June came the ordinance for taking the Vow and Covenant throughout the whole kingdom; and on 3 August an ordinance for the speedy raising and levying of money, for the maintenance of the army raised by Parliament, by a weekly assessment upon the several counties for two months. Dorset was to supply £437 a week: the town and county of Poole, £5 a week. The Committee for the county consisted of Sir T. Trenchard, Sir W. Erle; John Browne, John Fitz-James, Thomas Tregonwell, John Bingham, John Hanham, John Trenchard, Dennis Bond, William Savage, Richard Brodrepp, William Sydenham junior, Robert Butler, Richard Rose, Thomas Ceeley, John Henley, Esquires; John Hill of Dorchester, Esquire, the Mayor for the time being, John Fitz-James, Edmund Ogham; Masters Sampson of Blandford, William Hussey of Shaftesbury, Francis Chettle of Blandford, and John Whiteway; Robert Rose and William Kerridge. The Poole Committee were Henry Harben, Mayor; George Skutt, Alexander Waite, Anthony Waite, William Williams, Aaron Durell, Richard Mayer, and Haviland Healey, Aldermen. On 6 September the Commons ordered that the Deputy-Lieutenants and Committees of Parliament in any county might examine witnesses against scandalous ministers; and

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those who had left their cures and joined with the forces against Parliament. It was on 1 July 1644, that there appeared an ordinance appointing a Committee for the western counties with comprehensive powers. It was entitled: "An ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled for enabling the Committees herein named to put in execution several ordinances of Parliament in the Counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, the Cities of Bristol and Exeter, and the town and County of Poole." Taking into consideration the necessity of speedily raising monies for the maintenance of the Army and Garrisons in the said Counties and Towns the two Houses appoint the following persons to be Committees:—

For the County of Dorset—William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury; Thomas Bruce, Earl of Elgin; Denzill Holles, Esquire; Sir Walter Erle, Knt.; John Browne; Edmund Prideaux; Thomas Erle: Thomas Moore; John Trenchard; Dennis Bond; William Whitaker; Roger Hill; Giles Greene; Richard Rose—Esquires; Sir Thomas Trenchard, Knt.; John Fitz-James, Junior; John Bingham; William Savage; Robert Butler; Richard Brodrepp; William Sydenham, Junior; Francis Chettle; Thomas Crompton; Elias Bond; Bartholomew Hall; Thomas Ceeley; Robert Rowe; Henry Henley, and John Hill—Esquires; William Kerridge and John Bury, Gentlemen.

For the Town and County of Poole—John Bingham, Esquire, Governor; George Skutt, senior; Aaron Durell; Haviland Healey; William Skutt: and John Mellmoth.

These persons, or any three of them, are authorized to put into execution in the Counties of Dorset and Poole the following ordinances:—

(1) for administering the National Covenant;
(2) for the fifth and twentieth part;
(3) for sequestrations;
(4) for the weekly assessment to be put into execution for three months from the date of this ordinance.

The said Committees are to do their utmost for the preservation of the Counties of Dorset and Poole from spoil and plunder; and all power formerly given to any persons, other than such as are named in this ordinance, for putting into execution any of the forenamed ordinances in Dorset or Poole is hereby repealed and made void.

This was followed on 19 August 1644, by an ordinance associating and putting into a posture of defence the five

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western Counties, the two cities, and Poole; and creating their Standing Committees.[1] This ordinance was followed by another of 18 October 1644, for an assessment in England and Wales; "for the present relief of the British Army in Ireland, to continue for twelve months from 1 September, 1644." The weekly assessment on Dorset was £72 6s. 8d.; on Poole 16s. 8d.; and the Committee appointed to collect it is the same as that named for the County on the previous 1 July, with the omission of Lords Salisbury and Elgin, John Bingham, William Savage, Robert Butler, Richard Brodrepp, William Sydenham the younger, and William Kerridge, and the addition of John Bruen of Athelhampton. The Committee for Poole remains unchanged.

On 23 September 1646, the existing Dorset Minute Books begin; and thenceforward until 1650, with the exception of from 9 July to 10 November 1647 inclusive, the operations of the Committee can be fully traced. On 25 January 1650, an Act was passed, "for the better ordering and managing the estates of Papists and Delinquents," to continue for two years from the 23rd instant. By this Act the County Commissioners were required to cease from dealing with sequestered estates, the management of which now devolved upon the Committee for Compounding, or their nominees. On 7 February 1650, Edward Cheek, Samuel Bull, and Captain James Dewy, of Bloxworth, M.P., were appointed Sequestration Commissioners for Dorset. This Act sounded the death-knell of the operations of the County Committee, and it is shortly after this date that entries cease to be made in the Dorset Minute Books. The displaced Commissioners throughout England and Wales were ordered to surrender all their books and records to their successors. Various difficulties, however, occurred in executing this order:—

(1) In some instances such records had been seized, destroyed, or lost during the wars;
(2) Sometimes they were needed by the late commissioners to make up the accounts demanded of them for the period of their stewardship:
(3) Sometimes they been so carelessly kept that they could not pass into other hands unless transcribed, and no allowance was made for the expense of transcription;
(4) Those Committees guilty of malversation in their dealings were very reluctant to give up papers which might lead to their detection;

1. **See Appendix.**

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(5) Certain of the accounts given in were in such confusion that fresh ones had to be demanded;
(6) In a few places—as Carlisle, Shrewsbury, Pembrokeshire, Carmarthen, Haverfordwest — plague had broken out and debarred access to records.

These difficulties led to so many delays and refusals that the Committee for Compounding, on 23 July 1650, ordered a fine of £20 to be levied on each one of the County Commissioners or their agents who refused to deliver up the records, the fines to be augmented unless they were promptly delivered. Stringent letters, insisting on the exaction of these fines, were issued to all the Counties; and produced many replies. The County Committees were generally slow in levying this fine. It was not easy to find out in whose custody the records lay: the late Commissioners were generally their friends and neighbours; some members of the New Committee were also on the old; and they were reluctant to enforce a harsh measure, which might be carried out against themselves—in case of future changes of Commissioners.

Cheek, Bull, and Dewy remained the nominees of the Dorset Committee in London until 14 March 1654, when—in consequence of an Act of the previous 10 February appointing Commissioners to manage and dispose the estates of Delinquents and Recusants—their commission was made void, and the Commissioners for Sequestration wrote from Haberdashers' Hall to Dewy, as follows:—

"You will perceive that the ordinance of 10 February rather gives us new limited power than confirms the old, and gives us a different title. It is also expected we should lessen the charge of management of sequestered estates. We have therefore made void the commission in your and all other counties; and, having had experience of your faithfulness, we have chosen you to act under us and appoint you as subcommissioner in your County to manage estates and receive rents after 24 March 1654, and all arrears, for which we shall allow you 12d. in the pound on all you pay in; but you are to be at the whole charge of management and payment, observing our instructions and giving security to the treasurers at Goldsmiths' Hall for payment. You are to receive all the late Committee's books and papers, allowing them recourse to them to perfect their accounts; also to receive counterparts of leases, orders for letting estates, &c, and give a speedy account of your proceedings." On 31 May 1654, it being found necessary to have more than one person in each county

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to examine witnesses in cases of claims upon sequestered estates, Dewy was desired to send up the name of a Justice of the Peace, or late Commissioner in Dorset, who would willingly join him in examination—he himself being always present. He survived the Restoration, and his tombstone in Bloxworth churchyard records his death on 28 February 1675, aged 68. It may be assumed that these Dorset Minute Books eventually fell into Dewy's hands; and it seems probable that from him or his personal representatives they ultimately passed into the possession of an ancestor of Mr. Bankes of Kingston Lacy and Corfe Castle, their present owner.

The functions actually discharged by the Committee, as evidenced by the Minute Books, were of a comprehensive character comprising matters civil, military, and ecclesiastical.

(1) In regard to sequestrations the Committee order the seizure and scheduling of the real and personal estates of persons accused of delinquency; summon the accused before them; and hear and determine the truth of the charge, subject to appeal to the Committee of Lords and Commons for Sequestrations. They have power to commit to custody for contempt of their orders. They also determine whether the accused, though sequestrable, shall be discharged on account of the meanness of his estate as being below the value of £200. They order, at their discretion, the payment of one-fifth for the maintenance of the wife and children of the culprit—sometimes with a proviso annexed. For instance, in the autumn of 1646, Mrs. Elizabeth Collier (wife of Captain Henry Collier of Hermitage) is allowed the fifths—provided they do not exceed the value of £100 per annum; and Mrs. Chase (wife of Gamaliel Chase, sequestered Rector of Wambrook) is allowed fifths of both her husband's personal estate and his living, and is further permitted to become tenant to the said living—she giving security for payment of the rent. They let the sequestered lands from year to year, and grant licence of sale: on 9 February 1649 Richard Gildon of Gillingham is permitted to sell a copyhold tenement in the said parish; provided that he pays the fifth part of the money received to the County Treasurer, and that the yearly rent payable for the same tenement to the State be not lessened notwithstanding the said sale. They allow courts to be held for transfer of copyholds: they secure a fifth of the

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fines paid on such occasions; as in the case of a tenement in Cheselborne, early in 1649, when Henry Lord Arundel of Wardour is ordered to pay a fifth: and they direct what remuneration shall be paid to the stewards of the courts; as in November 1646 when those of the Sherborne and Bridport Divisions are ordered to receive 20s. for every Court Leet or Court Baron, to be deducted by them out of such monies as they shall there receive. They appoint woodmen to deal with sequestered woods—at the beginning of 1647 John Bater is continued as woodman of Hooke Farm at £40 for the year, to come out of the profits from the woods thereabout; they, also, appoint "general woodwards" as Henry Russell of Coscombe and William Raymond; and authorize the cutting and sale of wood.

(2) In matters of finance the Committee are seen to exercise a general power of control over payments made by the County Treasurer. They pledge the public faith of the Kingdom for repayment of sums lent or wages due, and for cattle supplied to garrisons; grant compensation for damage, as in the case of Thomas Smedmore at Hamworthy, near Poole, for works and fortifications made upon his grounds;[1] alter the assessment of parishes, as in the Hundred of Winfrith 21 January 1647; and settle rating disputes as in the exemption of Wimborne Minster and School in October 1648. They compel the payment of the fifth-and-twentieth part, or otherwise deal with it, and the third part due from Papists' estates; send out warrants for collecting the £20,000 per month for Ireland, and call to account the collectors of the £60,000 per month.

(3) Other functions of a varied nature appear in the settlement of disputes, as that between Mrs. William Marshall of Bridport, Mr. William Chilcott of Watton Farm, delinquent, and Mr. John Fooke, concerning the said farm, and that between Mr. Thomas Clarke of Mapowder and Mrs. Frances Romayne anent Breglands in the parish of Hazlebury Bryan in 1646; administration of the Negative Oath and the National Covenant; and the prohibition

1. Smedmore of E. Lullworth is on 3 Dec. 1646 ordered £12 a year out of the sequestered estates of Allen Trym of Hampreston and his wife and of Mrs. Alice Dove, recusants; and promised on the public faith £100 at 8%.

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of suits at law in certain cases. The Committee are also seen ordering the admission of Samuel Gauden, an impotent man, to the Town Hospital of Wimborne in April 1647—Sir John Webb, Knt. of Canford, delinquent, to refrain from molesting the same, and to pay him "the accustomed money due unto the said Hospital." One of their most interesting acts is the instruction for the probate of wills, which had fallen into confusion. They had granted unto Robert Lewen of Wimborne both the proving of wills and granting of administrations within the county; but, finding that the business really consisted of two distinct offices—judge and register, on 15 August 1646, they appointed John Cobbe of Dorchester, public notary, to the office of register with Lewen's consent. On 3 October, Cobbe is ordered to collect all records belonging to the Archdeaconry or County of Dorset; bring them to Dorchester; and there store them. On 24 March 1647, Thomas Barnes of Wimborne Minster, public notary, notwithstanding any former order or grant of the Committee, is confirmed in the office of register to the Archdeaconry; granted to him in 1630 by Richard Fitzherbert, late Archdeacon.

(4) In military matters the Committee are seen directing the levying and disbanding of the County forces; paying officers and men, or more frequently making promise of payment; defraying the cost of repair of arms—as (1646) in the cases of Morgan Cobb, gunsmith, promised the remaining £5 os. 3d. due to him for mending and fixing 46 muskets, John Burdall the remaining 32s. owing to him for stocking, etc. some of the same, and John Roberts of Dorchester at 8% £12 for arms and fixing of arms when the town was a garrison; the charge of horses—in October 1646, the Constables of Tollerford Hundred are to collect £32 for 4 horses raised for service of the State, £18 to be paid the owners and £14 to Commissary Penny, to satisfy for other horses so raised, for care of wounded soldiers; and for remuneration of surgeons. They also direct rates to be levied in Hundreds and Tythings for conducting soldiers in their passage: for instance in September 1646 the Constables of Whitchurch Hundred are ordered to raise £7 9s. od. to cover the expense incurred in impressing and conducting soldiers for the recruit of Fairfax's army;

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and in the following month Simon Bovett, late Constable of the said Hundred, is to be paid £9 8s. 6d. due to him, for the same. Soon after the issue of the ordinance of 1 July, 1644, the Dorset Committee entered upon its work. The earliest reference to a former order, which occurs in the existing Minute Books, relates to the year 1644. It is stated that on 4 August in that year, Colonel FitzJames, by order of the Committee advanced £77 more than he received for the encouragement of the soldiers, both Horse and Foot, when they went to besiege Wareham. It will be observed also that the greater number of sequestrations had already taken place in Dorset before the date when the Minute Books begin.

The following persons are seen to be actually sitting on the Committee in the period covered by the books:—

Captain John Arthur, of Sydling, Governor of Portland and Vice-Admiral; John Ashe; Colonel John Bingham, of Bingham's Melcombe, M.P. for Dorset and Governor of Poole; Dennis Bond, of Lutton and Dorchester, M.P. for Dorchester; Captain Elias Bond, of Wareham, his brother; Colonel Richard Brodrepp of Maperton; John Browne, of Frampton; Richard Bury of Dorchester, County Treasurer; Colonel Robert Butler, Governor of Wareham; Francis Chettle, of Blandford St. Mary, M.P. for Corfe Castle; Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Coker, of Mapowder, Governor of Weymouth; Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper Bt., of Wimborne St. Giles; Thomas Crompton; Captain James Dewy, of Bloxworth, M.P. for Dorset; Thomas Erle, of Charborough, son of Sir Walter; Colonel John FitzJames, of Leweston, M.P. for Dorset and for Poole; Walter Foy; Captain John Fry, of Tarrant Gunville, M.P. for Shaston and a Regicide; Bartholomew Hall; Colonel Henry Henley, of Colway, M.P. for Dorset; John Hill, of Dorchester, M.P. for that town; William Hussey of Shaftesbury; Thomas Moore, of Hawkchurch, M.P. for Heytesbury; Richard Rose, of Lyme Regis, M.P. for that town; William Savage, of Bloxworth; John Squibb, of Winterborne Whitchurch; Colonel William Sydenham, of Winford Eagle, M.P. for Dorset and Melcombe Regis, and Governor of Weymouth; Sir Thomas Trenchard, of Wolveton; John Trenchard, of Warmwell, M.P. for Dorset, his brother; and Captain John Whiteway, of Dorchester. Three are mentioned by name as Sheriffs of the County—John FitzJames, 1646; Robert Coker, 1646-7; and

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William Savage, 1647-8. Some of the members rarely attended. Robert Row, a former member, but then deceased, is mentioned in a minute of 19 November, 1646; when his widow is ordered £48 still owing to her for money lent and cattle supplied by her husband to Weymouth, in the time of siege. The officials serving under the Committee were Richard Bury, the Treasurer, who was also a Committeeman; Samuel Bull, his assistant; and Richard Stephens, acting as their clerk at a salary of £40 per annum.

The Sequestrators for Dorset were:—

Blandford Division—William Raymond, Morgan Blandford, with others.

Sherborne Division—George Young, Roger Bartlett, Nicholas King, Samuel Cook.

Shaston Division—Christopher Weare (dead by 1652) Robert Meteyard.

Dorchester Division—Henry Russell, senior and junior.

Bridport Division—John Crabb, John Bishop, Nicholas Sampson.

Besides these the names of other Sequestrators are also found in the minutes—James Baker, George Filliter, Nicholas Wakely, Thomas Hughes, Frederick French, and one Pinny. The Sequestrators were paid 40s. a week each; their clerk was Joseph Derby until superseded by Edward Keynell on 24 October, 1646.

The Collectors in each Division were: *Blandford*, George Filliter; *Sherborne*, Joseph Mitchell; *Shaston*, John Polden, who was replaced by James Baker on 11 December, 1646; *Dorchester*, Samuel White; *Bridport*, Nicholas Sampson. The Solicitors for the County were James Baker and Gilbert Lowder, and were paid 6d. in the pound out of the estates of delinquents sequestered while they were in office. Stephen Thomas served as Marshal to the Committee, being paid at the rate of 10s. a week—having previously had 7s. The necessity for the employment of so many officers having ceased, the Sequestrators of the Sherborne Division were abolished by Minute of 11 December, 1646, to remove the grievance felt by the county at their excessive number; and on 20 January, 1647, it was ordered that two Solicitors be continued for putting into execution the ordinance of sequestration throughout Dorset, and in each Division one Collector.[1]

On 6 September, 1642, the two Houses had declared that delinquents were to bear the expenses of the war; and on

1. **Minute Books, Introduction—passim.**

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15 October of the same year, that the revenues of Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, and of all notorious delinquents who had taken up arms for the King, were to be sequestered for the use of the Commonwealth. On 27 March, 1643, the two Houses passed an ordinance sequestrating the estates of all who gave assistance to the King; and on 9 October an ordinance directed that the lands and houses of such members of either House as had absented themselves, or of other persons who neglected to pay the Parliamentary taxation, should be let, in order that the rent might serve as a security for the repayment of loans. Meanwhile an ordinance of 19 August had mitigated the sentence of 27 March so far as to set aside a sum, not exceeding a fifth of the sequestered income of the delinquent, for the benefit of his wife and children. On 30 January, 1644, the Houses at Westminster, being anxious to attract deserters, offered pardon to all Royalists who would submit before a certain date. To this offer was affixed the condition that those who took advantage of it should compound for their delinquency by the payment of a sum to be assessed on them towards the relief of the public burdens. Thirteen persons who submitted on these terms were allowed to compound by paying a sum usually equal to two years' purchase of their estates; and after the expiration of the term fixed, special leave was given to others to compound in the same way. It was not until 4 October, 1645, that this method of dealing with Royalists was made general. All who would submit before 1 December were to be admitted to composition. This limit of time was afterwards extended, and thus every opportunity given to all desirous of making their peace; save those whose names were on the list of persons exempted from pardon. Delinquents who wished to free their estates had accordingly to present themselves before the Committee for Compounding at Goldsmiths' Hall. This Committee, which was at first composed only of members of the House of Commons, was modified by an ordinance of 6 February, 1647; after which date it consisted of members of both Houses, with the addition of a few persons who were not members of either House. The first step required of the delinquent appearing before this Committee was the taking of the Covenant and of the Negative Oath, by which he bound himself never again to bear arms against Parliament. After this he had to declare the full value of his estate, any misstatement rendering him liable to a heavy fine. These preliminaries having been accomplished, delinquents were arranged in classes. Members of Parliament might be deprived of half their estates; whilst undistinguished

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Royalists might escape on payment of a sixth part. The rates exacted, however, varied from time to time.[1]

John Digby, first Earl of Bristol, was one of the principal Royalists who suffered sequestration in Dorset. In the propositions for peace presented at Oxford on 1 February, 1643, he and Lord Herbert of Raglan were named as the two persons to be removed from the King's counsels and to be debarred from holding any office or employment. In the propositions laid before the King in November, 1644, his name appears on a long list of those who were to expect no pardon. After the surrender of Exeter, on 13 April, 1646, Bristol petitioned to be allowed to compound for his estate by paying a composition and to remain in England; but his petition was rejected, and on 11 July the Houses ordered a pass for him to go beyond the seas. His Countess—Beatrix, daughter of Charles Walcot of Walcot, Salop, and widow of Sir John Dyve of Bromham, Beds.—was allowed the fifths from the Sherborne estates. Captain Edward Masters is to be allowed £10 worth of firewood out of Whitfield Wood, sequestered from Bristol; and in 1647, £20 out of Bristol's rents, in payment of his arrears. An annuity of £20 quarterly is to be paid, out of Bristol's rents, to Arthur Everard; and a similar annuity to John Squire. At first the Sequestrators of of the Division are ordered to treat with Lady Bristol with regard to her farming her husband's estate, with the exception of Sherborne parsonage; but on Ladyday, 1647, a large portion of the estate is leased to William Sampson, yeoman of Sherborne, at a rent of £600 per annum. On Ladyday, 1649, the entire estate is leased to Katherine, Lady Brooke—daughter of Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, and widow of Robert Greville, second Lord Brooke—at a yearly rent of £566 13s. 4d. George, Lord Digby, afterwards second Lord Bristol, shared his father's forfeiture; and at the end of 1645 was assessed at £4000; but in March of the following year his lands in Gillingham Forest are described as yet unsequestered. In April, 1647, at the request of Lady Ann Digby—wife of George Digby, and younger sister of Lady Brooke—and in commiseration for her children the sum of one hundred marks a year is ordered to be paid her, out of Lord Bristol's rents, from the following Midsummer. On 1 August, 1649, the farm of Candle Wake Court, sequestered from George Lord Digby, is allotted to Mrs. Joan FitzJames of Lewestón in satisfaction for a debt of £1100 and seven years interest due to her from Digby.

Sir John Strangways, Knt. of Melbury Sampford and his

1. Gardiner I, 100, 244. III, 197.

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son Colonel Giles Strangways were duly sequestered. Robert Seager of Fordington is mentioned as holding an estate from Sir John; John Seager as renting Stinsford Farm sequestered from the same; and John Munden as renting Burton Farm in like manner. Lady Strangways is allowed to rent all Sir John's estate, for a year from Ladyday 1647, at £1000 over and above the fifths already allowed her. She is allowed the charge she has been at for the quartering of soldiers; and is also compensated for the wood sold by the Committee from off the estate. The parsonage of Abbotsbury is excepted from this grant; and is let at the same time to William Foy for one year at £100. On Ladyday 1648, Thomas Cooper of Melbury Osmond is to hold all Sir John's estate for one year at £900—over and above the fifths paid to Lady Strangways and her daughter-in-law, Mrs. Giles Strangways; and other sums owing to the former lady. On 7 May 1648, the Commissioners for Compounding order the taking off of the sequestrations of the several estates of Sir John and Colonel Giles Strangways; and the delivery of their hereditary lands to the said gentlemen. George, son of Nicholas Strangways late of Abbotsbury, submitted to Colonel William Sydenham at Michaelmas 1645. Being then very lame and sick he could not travel to London to enter his submission before December. On 17 October 1646, he is fined £20.

John Paulet, fifth Marquess of Winchester, was committed to the Tower on 18 October 1645; and his estates were ordered to be sequestered. An order was made for allowing him £5 a week out of his property on 15 January 1646; and on 23 December £3 10s. is ordered to be paid him out of his Dorset estates. Lady Winchester (Honora de Burgh, daughter of Richard first Earl of St. Albans and fourth of Clanricarde) was sent to join her husband in the Tower; and a weekly sum of £10, afterwards increased to £15, was ordered to be paid her for the support of herself and her children—provided that the latter were educated as Protestants. By the Act of 16 July 1651, a portion of his estates was sold by the trustees for the sale of forfeited estates. In January 1656, he was a prisoner in execution in the upper bench for debts amounting to £2000; and petitioned Cromwell for relief. On 15 March 1660, the sale of his lands was discontinued by order of Parliament, and after the Restoration Winchester received them back; but he never succeeded in obtaining any recompense for his heavy losses and damages. On 2 February 1648, Paul Minterne is ordered to collect all rents etc. from Lord Winchester's estates in Dorset at a yearly fee of £8 6s. 8d. They are specified as the Manor of

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Hooke with its members, Poorstock, Nether Kencombe, Batcombe, Steepleton, West Chickerell, Frome Vauchurch; and also Ashley Farm and Ashton, Mangerton, and Waddon: Hooke Manor House is to be kept in repair. Hooke Farm was rented by Henry Minterne; and on 19 May 1647, trees are to be cut down to repair "the mansion house, mill, and pound" at Hooke. In October 1646, £60 are to be paid out of Winterbourne Steepleton South Farm to Captain Richard Channing for his good service at Corfe. This same Farm is let from Ladyday 1647, for one year at £120 to Captain Richard Lawrence; who in the following May is fined £10 for harassing and disturbing John Churchill of Dorchester, the tenant of the North Farm at £60 for one year from Ladyday 1648.

Henry, third Lord Arundell of Wardour, recusant, on paying £35,000 at the Restoration was confirmed in all his family estates, many of which had been sold by the Commonwealth to Humphrey Weld. In 1647 George Foord who rented part of Tarrant Keynston Farm at £16 of Robert Collice, the farmer, is mentioned as having had a great quantity of corn eaten up by Captain Fiennes's troops. In May John Gould of Compton Abbas is ordered to deliver up the Farm there for the use of the State. At the end of December Edmund Keynell of Hazlebury Bryan is granted two closes in East Pulham Manor from Ladyday 1648, for one year at a rent of £30. Arundell was allowed to grant small estates to tenants approved of by the Standing Committee. The Committee for Sequestrations had allowed Cecily, Lady Arundell her fifth in August 1646; and she had received all her husband's Dorset rents up to £220 for one year ending Ladyday 1647. She was granted the same for one year from Michaelmas 1648. The property included the Manors of Melbury Abbas, Fontmel, Long Critchell, Farnham and Stubhampton, Hampreston, Cheselborne, and one tenement in Marnhull. She was allowed all the rent grain for the year; but was to pay a third of a third to Blanche, Dowager Lady Arundell; discharge the King's rents on the Manors; and, saving her fifths, was to abstain from touching the woods on the estate, which were reserved for the use of the Standing Committee.

Humphrey Weld of Lullworth Castle, on the outbreak of hostilities, contributed 4 pieces of cannon for Parliament; and for so doing had his houses made Royal Garrisons; was obliged to flee to Oxford, where his mother had a small estate; and was sequestered. At the end of 1647 Weld was restored to his estates by an order from Goldsmiths' Hall and his mother Frances, Lady Weld (widow of Sir John Weld and daughter of William Whitmore) was promised £678 16s. 1d.

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at 8% owing to her. In November 1648, Weld is assessed at £800, his fines being put at £1981; and, in March of the next year, he is to be dismissed as being within the Oxford Articles, and on 27 August 1650, he is again assessed at £400. He was eventually Governor of Portland Castle; and, dying about 1685, was buried in Henry VII's chapel, Westminster. From Michaelmas 1646, Robert Stickland is to hold Belhuish Farm, East Stoke, for one year at £40; he also was tenant of Wynfrith Newborough Farm on Weld's sequestered estate. At the end of 1647 St. Andrew's Farm, East Stoke, is tenanted by Bartholomew Cockram, to whom it was let on the first sequestering of Weld's estate by Captain Thomas Hughes, Governor of Lullworth Castle—to whom all Weld's rents from lands thereabouts had been granted for the maintenance of the garrison. John Salter leases lime-kiln grounds with Westwood and Trendlecombe Farm; David Baker leases Burnegate Farm; and William and George Smedmore, of East Lullworth, hold Lullworth Park. In February 1648, Weld is forbidden to sue Richard Gaylard for £27, which he had paid for 3 tons of lead from the Castle bought of Captain Hughes; but in May he is exonerated from arrears out of divers rates, which had arisen "since his first sequestration until he compounded." In July, Henry Salter is to command at Lullworth Castle, and enlist ten men for the same at the cost and charges of Weld. At Michaelmas 1647, the Castle was let for one year at £80 to George Compton; who, having been at costs and charges in quartering soldiers and repairing the premises and having been disturbed therein by Weld, is allowed to substract £5 from his quarterly £20 rent paid to the owner for the same.

Brune Dackomb, second son of Edward Dackomb, declared that—holding his estate within the Borough of Corfe Castle by Castle guard—he was compelled by Colonel Lawrence, Governor of the Castle, to go into it; and that though he never bore arms he was there detained prisoner. On its surrender he was sick of fever; whereof he languished three months after. In November 1648, he was assessed at £100; fines £370; and it was stated that, as Mayor of Corfe, he had forced the townsmen to defend the Castle whilst the garrison attacked the Parliament troops; that he has £80 a year; was sequestered, and only paid £20. In February 1651, it was stated that at a fight near Corfe he raised men; forced them to march; and assist Colonel Wyndham against Major Sydenham. On Ladyday 1647, all his estate in the Isle of Purbeck is to be let to him at a reasonable rate; in February, William Gibbs of Corfe Castle is to hold a Farm and Mill in Corfe for

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the next year sequestered from Mr. Brune Dackomb. At Michaelmas 1648, Robert Seamore and Robert White are to hold Brune's sequestered estate in Purbeck for a year at a rent of £30. In January 1646, his brother Henry Dackomb is to be repaid at 8% the £50 he lent, being the 25th part of his estate; and is declared non-sequestrable.

John Tregonwell, senior, of Winterborne Anderson, recusant, was sequestered at the end of 1645 for leaving his house. He lent £500 to the enemy; but Ashburnham threatened him "with imprisonment and plundering, and that his bones should lie by it," unless he contributed five times that amount for the King; so he was obliged to retire from his usual place of abode, being 80 years of age and very infirm. His house, stock, and goods were taken away by the Parliament forces; but he never acted against Parliament. He begs stay of the felling and selling of his timber. On 9 June 1646, his fine is put at £3735: on 6 August it is paid, and his pardon passed by the House. In the same month he is assessed at £1500. On 4 November if he pays in £450 to make up £750 to £1200 he will be discharged: on 4 December if he pays £450 to-morrow, he shall have the Public Faith for it, and also for £250 formerly paid; if the like be granted to any other delinquent. On the previous day, 3 December, the Dorset Standing Committee excuses James Hayward his rent of £8 for meadows on Tregonwell's estate leased to him by the Blandford Sequestrators; because, the owner having locked the gate, more than £3 worth of Hayward's hay has been spoiled. In February 1651 John Tregonwell, junior, of Milton Abbas begs the discharge of two-thirds of the Manor etc., of Milton and Lewke, settled in 1623 by his father—wherein his mother joined, and of the Manor of Bagbere, Stickland, etc., and the moiety of Houghton—purchased by his father for himself and heirs—from which the petitioner's mother (Katherine, daughter of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague) now claims as jointure £400 a year; to which she can produce no title in answer to his bill in Chancery, and yet has caused sequestration of two-thirds for her recusancy. This petition was referred to the County Committee. Old Tregonwell and his elder son were neuters; but his younger son Thomas Tregonwell of Anderson is mentioned as a Colonel of a Regiment of Horse in Anthony Wood's list of fifty members of Pembroke College, Oxon, who were officers in King Charles's army. Thomas, though he apparently appears as a Committeeman in 1643, compounded for £600. The elder John and both his sons had been, like their ancestor Sir John Tregonwell the canonist,

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members of Broadgates Hall (since 1624 Pembroke College) Oxon. Henry Hastings of Woodlands, whose daughter Dorothy, relict of Sir John Ryves of Damory Court, had remarried with Thomas Tregonwell, was in 1651 assessed at £1000, but respited; because under judgment of Parliament. In 1645 Woodlands, valued in 1641 at £300 a year, was sequestered; but Hastings afterwards compounded for it with £500; and in November 1648 the sequestration was suspended. Robert Freke of Hilton states, in November 1645, that he had been Lieutenant-Colonel to Thomas Tregonwell; but laid down arms at the coming of the Irish two years ago. He is £2700 in debt and durst not come to London. His fine is fixed at £600. John Tregonwell, junior, of Milton had married Jane, third daughter of Sir Thomas Freke of Shroton; and her elder sister Alice was the wife of Sir George Hastings, eldest son of Henry of Woodlands. In April 1648, John Freke of Hilton, the son, states he took oath and Covenant before December 1645; and that he has no estate but a possibility of one after his father's demise. Their fine is reduced to £412 12s. 1d.; and in October their sequestration is suspended. In May 1643, having contributed £50 on the propositions of Parliament they were protected from plunder and spoil; at the beginning of 1647 Robert was assessed at £400; and in May his assessment was discharged as he appeared greatly indebted. His late mother, Mabel Freke, lent £50 on the propositions; and paid £10. The fine for his delinquency was £106, which he paid. He was patron of the parsonage of Piddletrenthide; which, on Ladyday 1648, was let to Thomas Loder for one year at £100, for the use of the Ministers of the County.

John Jeffrey of Mapowder, at the end of 1645, states he was but a month in arms against the Parliament; and freely took the Covenant. He sold his estate to Colonel Thomas Ceely with power of re-entry, if the purchase money was not paid. Ceely continued to hold the estate without paying the purchase money. At the beginning of 1655 Ceeley petitions Parliament considering his losses and services, especially in the memorable siege of Lyme by Prince Maurice: he was ordered a reward of £2000, for which he was engaged to several delinquents then in arms; but could not obtain the passing of the order. These delinquents have since compounded; and he has been forced to pay £100 to John Harvey, £350 to Richard Bragge; and John Browne detains lands of his, worth much more, on a mortgage for £400. He has often appealed to Parliament, the Lord Protector, and Council; but could get no relief; and now the bond is returned into the Exchequer,

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and his surety sued for payment; although the £1100 is repaid to Jeffery, who now sues him for interest. Ceely begs relief and indemnity; and if, in justice, the bond must be levied, begs it may be in his person and estate—and not that of his friend. The case is referred to Reading. In 1652, Jeffery had made additional composition for lands mortgaged by Ceeley for £1100; when the latter was obliged to sell them to pay him the £1100; but could not get back the bond, unless he paid £225 for rent from date of the revoked order in 1649. Jeffery's supension from sequestration had been ordered in January 1648. In July 1646, Lieutenant John Paris, or Parry, of Chardstock, begs a moderate composition, having lost £150 in debts taken by Ceeley, as Governor of Lyme, which was most of his estate; and he has a large family. In 1641 he had contracted with Gamaliel Chase, B.D., Vicar of Yarcombe, Devon, for the sale of lands at £150; but Ceeley, taking Paris to be a delinquent, had imprisoned Chase for the said sum. In November, Paris's sequestration is discharged. At the beginning of 1649, Joan Paris, his wife, never having obtained any fifths is to receive £30 as the fifth of the said £150.

In April 1646, John Churchill, a lawyer of some eminence, of Wotton Glanville, within 4 miles of Sherborne, states he was nominated a Commissioner for the King; that last April he advanced £300 for the Parliamentary garrison at Weymouth; and in November took the National Covenant and Negative Oath, and paid £100 for his personal estate. He is 60 years of age; and unable to travel. In August he is fined £440; and next month his sequestration is suspended. Assessed in May 1647, at £300, he is discharged as having originally paid that sum. His son, Winston Churchill of Ashe, Devon (his wife's home where their son John, first Duke of Marlborough, was born in 1650) has been a Captain in the Royal Army. In December 1649, Captains Thomas Chapman and Humphrey Dymock, who are eventually granted their arrears from the concealed estates and debts discovered by them, certify that Winston Churchill in December 1645, was in arms against Parliament; shot through the arm by forces under Colonel Starr; and in Royal Garrison at Bristol. Sir Henry Rosewell of Ford, Devon, owes him £150; and Colonel William Fry of Yardley £1200. In March 1650, Rosewell petitions that the seizure of his coach and horses for the debt may be taken off: he will give security for the £150, if Churchill is adjudged a delinquent; and it is proved he owes the money. This is granted. On the last day of July, Churchill is declared sequestrable. In December John, Winston, and Elizabeth Churchill are to show cause why 1000 marks given her by her

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father, the late Sir John Drake, as her marriage-portion should not be sequestered. On 25 April 1651, as by agreement between Lady Drake and John Churchill on the marriage of their children, Elizabeth's portion of £1500 was to be paid to John Churchill and he to settle lands worth £160 on her; so that Winston has an interest therein, and desires to compound for it: it is ordered that the £33 received from Rosewell be paid to John Churchill; and all seizure on Fry and Rosewell discharged. On 12 November, the examiner Carey is to deliver to William Fry, executor of Sir John Drake, his books and accounts; as he needs them in a suit in Chancery with the Churchills. Winston Churchill compounded for £4446 18s.

Hugh Hodges, late Attorney of Common Pleas, of Sherborne, recusant, is in May 1647, assessed at £150. Next year he is found as tenant of Sir John Hele's sequestered estate; but divers tenants refusing to pay, the Standing Committee in December authorize Captain Porte and his assistants to compel them to pay Hodges his dues. In November 1649, his assessment is discharged; he having paid £26 8s. od. in the country, and being much in debt.

Josias Cooth, mercer, of Sherborne, has his sequestration suspended at the end of January, 1646. In April 1647, William Mojor of Motcombe is relieved from paying £22, a year's rent of a tenement he held of Cooth, on paying one fourth of the same to the County Treasurer. In 1651, Cooth is assessed at £30; and ordered to pay £30.

In May, 1650, Colonel Bullen Reymes of Mapowder's assessment of £100 is discharged; as he compounded on the Exeter Articles, and is comprised therein. William Coker of Mapowder, sequestered at the beginning of 1647 for acting as a commissioner for Charles, declares he has not so acted for two years past. The fine proposed is £280. In August, 1649, he has the public faith for £100 lent upon the propositions of Parliament in February, 1643. Henry Coker of Mapowder is sequestered in February, 1647, for serving against the Parliament as Colonel of a troop of Horse. He, however, rendered good service by deserting the King; whereupon not thirty of his troop of 400 continued in arms a month afterwards. His estate does not exceed £200 in value. He is fined £20.

Robert Lewen is to hold two-thirds of the Manor of Canford and Hundred of Cogdean, sequestered from Sir John Webb Knt. of Canford recusant, from Michaelmas, 1646, for one year at £160. Webb is allowed the remaining third by ordinance of Parliament. Lewen is allowed the same, upon the same conditions, for the two following years; but is to

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lease Canford Farm to Captain Richard Gould from Michaelmas, 1647, for one year. In January, 1647, Sir John and Mr. Webb are to be secured as dangerous malignants; but in the following month Sir John Webb, lately committed to the Provost Marshal upon suspicion of being privy to the plot for surprising Poole, on giving his bond for £500 is to be released.

In September, 1646, John Hunt, tenant of some of Mary, Lady Bankes' sequestered estate, is to pay £30 out of the first rents after Michaelmas equally between Thomasine, Tabitha, and Hannah, daughters of Captain Robert Turpin, executed at Exeter by the King's party. An order of 27 February, 1647, suspends the sequestration of Lady Bankes; and Henry Bryne is to be paid £40 out of the arrears of her rents—John Hunt and William Etterick, tenants of the said estate, to pay the same forthwith.

In 1646, Maximilian Mohun, senior and junior, of Fleet are declared delinquents. The father is a prisoner at Weymouth, and cannot compound unless released. In September, Richard Stephens, afterwards Clerk to the local Committee, is paid £10 in consideration of letting go Fleet Farm to Mrs. Mohun as tenant, and towards satisfaction of his service done in Weymouth garrison.

Edward Keynes of Compton Pauncefoot, Somerset, and Alexander his son, of Radipole, Dorset, recusants, have their estates sequestered. The son has not fought since the surrender of Weymouth—the Mayor and Aldermen of which claim Melcombe Common. In October, 1646, Mrs. Sarah Keynes, wife of Alexander, is allowed the fifths of her husband's estate—out of which £10 are to be annually deducted towards the maintenance of their daughter, Sara, who is to be bred up in the Protestant religion. From Lady-day, 1647, John Adams of Corton is to hold Radipole Farm for a year at a rent of £140; and this let is renewed in the following year. In March, 1648, Robert Hunt, who as tenant in 1645 and earlier at Radipole of Alexander Keynes owed the latter £160 and his father Edward £40, is acquitted of the aforesaid debts—having paid the same to the Treasurer of the State. In the beginning of 1650 Thomas Adams, junior, is granted Radipole Farm for one year from the following Lady-day at a rent of £120.

In the cases of Sir Edward Lawrence of Creech Grange, Isle of Purbeck, and Robert his son, under October, 1646, £10 are ordered to be paid to Anthony Pelham, Minister of Turnerspuddle, out of the impropriate parsonage of Affpuddle —sequestered from Sir Edward Lawrence. In March, 1647, Christopher Bull, Minister of Winfrith, is to hold the impro-

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priate parsonage of Winfrith—sequestered from Sir Edward—from this Ladyday for £70 a year; the rent going, as was usual in such cases, for the increase of the maintenance of the County Ministers. At the same time William Foy is granted the parsonage of Affpuddle for one year at £115. In May James Bewnell of Spetsbury is to hold Grange Farm for one year from last Ladyday, timber excepted, for £60; and John Churchill, Minister of Steeple in Purbeck, is to be allowed tithe of all wood under 20 years growth from Sir Edward's sequestered woods in the parish of Steeple. In September David Baker is to hold the impropriate parsonage of West Lullworth, sequestered from the late Sir Edward Lawrence, for one year from this Ladyday for £40. In December, Grace, Lady Lawrence (Sir Edward's widow) is to be allowed the capital messuage and farm of Steeple Creech, settled upon her; but Nathaniel Child, being the tenant until next Ladyday, is to pay the rent thereof since last Michaelmas to the said Lady. At the same time William Foy is to hold for a year from next Ladyday for £140 the parsonage of Affpuddle. In January, 1648, Nicholas Combden of Affpuddle is to hold for one year from next Ladyday two tenements, sequestered from Robert Lawrence, at a rent of £24; and Robert Lawrence's sequestered estates in Dorset are to be let for a year from next Ladyday to George Williams of Puddletown, gentleman—Mrs. Jane Lawrence receiving her fifths from the same. In February George Williams is to hold for the same time from the same date the farms called Grange and Waddam, part of Lawrence's estate, for £70. In March Gray Martin is to hold a tenement in Affpuddle for £4 10s. 0d. a year. In June Lady Lawrence, assessed at £20 in lieu of her fifth of an annuity of £100 a year paid her out of Chilcombe Farm now in possession of Elizabeth Bishop, widow, refused to pay; wherefor the £20 was levied upon the goods of Mrs. Bishop, who pays the said annuity to Lady Lawrence. Now, therefore, as Lady Lawrence threatens to sue Mrs. Bishop for the said £20, the Committee forbid the former to annoy the latter. At the same time Robert Harvey and Robert Parham of Winfrith, having paid £5 in May, 1646, then due for one year's rent in 1643 out of £100 from the parsonage of Winfrith, are sued by Lady Lawrence on account of the said £5; but are released by the Committee from the said £5. In August the impropriate parsonage of Winfrith Newburgh, Dorset, is to be devoted to the maintenance of the Minister at Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire, as originally ordained (25 Feb., 6 Car. I) by Viscount and Lady Campden, and by Sir John Cowper Bt., and Lady

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Cowper. In the same month Walter Combden is granted a tenement in Affpuddle from Michaelmas next for a year at £8—saving Mrs. Lawrence's fifths; and William George is to hold thirteen acres of arable land in Affpuddle for a year at £6. In August, 1649, the sequestration lying on the Rectory of Affpuddle is to be taken off, and the rent paid to the feoffees in trust. Robert Lawrence is assessed at £400. In November, 1651, there being executions against him and he lying in Middlesex, an order is granted for a Commission to the County Commissioners of Middlesex to examine as to his debts; and then he is to be heard. On 24 March, 1652, Robert Lawrence begs discharge of his assessment of £400 on the Act of Pardon, not being sequestered. This is granted.

In April 1649, William Ellesdon of Lyme Regis compounds for his delinquency, having been a Captain in the royal army. He surrendered in December 1644 to Colonel Sydenham, the Governor of Weymouth, and gave £40 for the use of Parliament. He is fined at one-sixth, £33 6s. 8d. On 1 June 1648, Anthony Ellesdon, merchant of Lyme Regis, is ordered to hand over all the arms and ammunition committed by the Committee of the Army into his custody to Richard Alford, Mayor of Lyme, who is to convey them by boat to the Governor of Weymouth. In October 1649, on payment of £35 Anthony is to enjoy the sequestered estate of one Salter of Exeter. The same Richard Alford, Patron of the living of Halstock, on 30 October 1646, petitions the Commissioners for the Navy and Customs. He states he has shown good affection to Parliament by payment of all loans and assessments, and by the action he took during the siege of Lyme—when several of his ships were fired by the Cobb. Another ship, the *Mary*, in which he had a third part, being on a voyage from France to Topsham during that place's defection was taken by the Parliament Fleet and brought into this port; where she was condemned as a good prize upon the ordinance of 30 July 1643, although the voyage was made without the petitioner's knowledge or consent—he then being besieged in Lyme, and so could not know it. He prays he may receive relief out of the Customs and Excise for his losses, as have other well-affected persons in a like case. This petition is endorsed with the words "attended to." Gregory Alford, delinquent, of Lyme was fined £10: one of these names was Mayor of Lyme on Monmouth's landing, and immediately set off for Exeter to apprise the Duke of Albemarle of the fact. John Hardy of Woolcombe Matravers, Melbury Bubb, gentleman, was in January 1647 declared non-sequestrable upon payment of £130. In October 1650, it is

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stated he was with Maurice in the West; and picked up a bullet shot from Lyme near the Prince. In November, his estate is ordered to be seized. He corresponded with Maurice; entertained the King's soldiers; drank health to that party; had warrants from the Governor of Sherborne Castle to raise money; sent plate to Bristol when a royal garrison; sent a horse, men, and arms to the King; and caused bonfires to be lighted when Dorchester was taken by his forces. On his plea proceedings are taken against him on depositions sent from the County Commissioners, on which he is acquitted. It is ordered that Solicitor Fowle examine proofs and report. Thomas White of Morton is mentioned in July 1650, as in arms in 1644; being an officer in Colonel Barnes's regiment under Prince Maurice at Lyme. On 6 December 1643, Parliament ordered that £2000, the fine of Sir Edward Henden, Baron of the Exchequer, should be employed for the defence of Poole and Lyme. On 26 January 1644, £500 of Baron Henden's money is to be paid for Lyme and Poole according to order; and on 20 February £250 of Henden's fine is ordered for the service of Lyme. The messuages of John Turner in Charmouth, Whitechurch, and Wootton-Fitzpaine forfeited by him were bought by Captain John Lea of Bridport and Richard Knight from the Treason Trustees.

In April 1647, Christopher Weare of Shaftesbury is to have his property restored to him from among the Cavalier Captain John Price's goods. A horse and 31 head of cattle were taken from him by Price, who also compelled him to give a bill for £150. With regard to John Foyle of Shaftesbury and Kimpton, Hants, it was stated in November 1646, by Sir Francis Douce that, when Hopton was in Winchester to keep it a garrison for the King, by Foyle's compulsion and that of the High Sheriff of Hants he (Sir Francis) with Sir John Mills, Sir Thomas Budel Bt., and Sir Gerard Fleetwood entered into four bonds of £600 each to Foyle, late steward of Lord Winchester, and to Gabriel Lapp of Wilts. That during the late war Foyle lent the King money, for which Douce and others were compelled to enter into a bond for his security; and also sent Charles horses and arms. In October 1647, Foyle's estate is to be secured until further orders; he having contributed £700 to the King. In May 1648, his sequestration is discharged, there being no proof of delinquency against him. Foyle was dead by 21 November 1648, as the lands and tenements held by him within the Manor of Melbury Abbas (the property of Lord Arundell) were then vacant.

In April 1649, George Bowerman of Ile Brewer's Church, Somerset, is granted the impropriate Rectory of Netherbury,

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sequestered from Mrs. Strode, from Lady-day last for a year at £310; but £110 of this is to be paid to Mrs. Strode according to a composition she has made with the Committee of Goldsmiths' Hall. In October 1650, it is stated that Bowerman was in arms for the King at Taunton and elsewhere; that he has only a powdermill at Evershot, into which he has substituted George Strode, son of Joan Strode of Stockwood, a captain in the royal army.

In January 1647, Nicholas Smart of Wyke Regis being sequestered was to pay £180 as his composition for his personal estate, which he did. At the beginning of 1651, being 72 and very infirm, he prefers to submit to composition; although the only charge against him is that, his house being by the sea-side, he went ten days to Abbotsbury, afterwards a royal garrison. In March he is fined at one-sixth, £382 3s. 4d.

It is stated in 1651, that William Fileol of Marnhull, in the last Kentish insurrection raised a troop of Horse against Parliament; persuaded others to assist; and declared he would sacrifice his life for King Charles, and die a Cavalier. He was in Sherborne, Blandford, and other garrisons; and caused the committal of several who served Parliament. On 24 March 1647, the Baylywick of the Liberty of Sherborne is granted to Walter Foy, Committee-man. It had been formerly enjoyed by Sir John Walcott of Castleton-in-Sherborne, sequestered, by grant from Lord Bristol. It is stated in March 1649, that John Eastment of West Carmel, Somerset, left home; went to Sherborne Castle; and encouraged men to steal horses from the Parliament forces under Major Sydenham. In November 1648, Israel Haines of Blackmore and Sturminster Newton, is said formerly to have been in arms; to have £60 a year; and never to have been sequestered. In March, 1651, it is further stated that he was at Sherborne when it was a royal garrison, and frequently went forth with parties of Horse. He rode with Charles on his march to the West; commanded the Club-men; and had his cattle and stock removed to avoid paying £50 as ordered by the County Commissioners.

In November 1648, it is declared that John Turberville of Bere Regis had been formerly in arms, setting forth four men and horses under Hopton; and that he has £200 a year unsequestered. He is said to have caused Lullworth Castle to be made a royal garrison; to have headed a Foot company thither, and to have quartered there; to have been in arms at Sherborne when Lord Bedford lay before it, and to have occasioned some to take the King's part; and to be worth £600 a year. In 1645 he is said to have raised a troop of Horse for Charles; and to have served with Sir Francis

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Fulford in Wareham garrison. In June 1651, he petitions that he paid £300 in 1643 for the Parliament service, and £400 since in cattle, corn, etc. for the relief of Wareham garrison; but was questioned by County Commissioners for something done in the first war, discharged on hearing, and has lived quietly since. He begs, if found guilty, to compound for one year's value of lands, and one-twentieth for personal estate. On 20 May 1652, Turberville's discharge is granted.[1]

The estates of Morgan Cave, Thomas Loope, and Thomas Coombs, suspected of a design of raising a new war, are seized by 18 November, 1653. In March 1654, occurs the discharge from sequestration of Henbury Farm, and one-fourth of the court-leet and profits of Longborough Hundred; also of the messuage called Bucknell in Purbeck, and Culeare in Bere Regis, forfeited by Thomas Loope and bought from the Treason Trustees by William Cox, merchant of London. Margery, wife of Loope, was paid her fifths in 1647.

George Kirke of Charing Cross, Gentleman of the King's Robes and Bedchamber, enjoys some of his lands in Gillingham Forest unsequestered in March 1646. In February 1648, John, Thomas, and Richard Shephard together with Luce Gilbert are to enjoy Kirke's estate for a year from next Lady-day, viz: 250 acres or so of the old enclosures at 8s. an acre, and 200 acres or so of the new enclosures at 6s. an acre—paying to Kirke £13 6s. 8d., being so much compounded for by him. After the Restoration he was Groom of the Bed-chamber and Keeper of Whitehall Palace to Charles II. He was father of the notorious Percy Kirke, Colonel of 'Kirke's Lambs.'

In October 1646, Robert Culliford of Encomb in Purbeck, is discharged in respect of Colonel Bingham's engagement with him freeing him from all former crimes upon condition he would engage himself and his neighbours against Corfe Castle, which he did. His bond of £100 is received; £40 of which is to be paid to Captain Thomas Hughes towards the discharge of his engagement in demolishing Corfe Castle. In November 1648, Culliford is accused of having been in arms at the taking of Wareham; and of having £350 a year in stock; of having been sequestered and freed, only paying £100. In February 1649, he is accused of having called the Parliament prisoners rebels; of having had one plundered and sequestered; of having frequented Royal Garrisons; and of having called the Parliament prisoners, rogues, rebels, and Roundheads. In November 1651, he is accused of having been active at the

1. **Sir Troilus Turberville, LL.D., of this family, Capt.-Lieut. of the King's Life-guard, was slain in these wars.**

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taking of Wareham for Charles by the Irish rebels under O'Brien; of having sheltered in Corfe Castle in 1643 when the enemy came to his house; of having been chief of Dorset Clubmen against Parliament; and of having signed the petition to the late King when Corfe Castle was taken, against Sir W. Erle. In May 1652, Culliford's discharge is granted—with the usual provisos—on the Act of Pardon; the prosecution of delinquency against him having been through malice and to answer sinister ends.

Under 20 June 1648, is entered a bond of George Ryves of Blandford to the Speaker in £500, conditional on his personal appearance during three months before the Committee at Derby House within 20 days after notice being left at his house at Blandford; and in the meantime he is not to do aught prejudicial to the State, then his obligation to be void. In 1650 George Ryves of Ranston or Randleston was assessed at £100; and on 14 February 1651, on perusal of the estate and deduction for debts and payments in the County his assessment is discharged on payment of £8 more. One of these names founded Almshouses in Blandford by will in 1685. Under 18 July 1648 is entered a bond of Major Edmund Uvedale to the Speaker in £1000 for appearance during three months, upon warning left at his house in the parish of Gussage All Saints, before Derby House. Exactly two years before he had been fined £50, as of Horton, having been the royal commander of the Langford House garrison, and having deserted shortly after its surrender; and he may be identical with the Uvedale of Cranborne, who later in 1648 compounded at Goldsmiths' Hall for "having violently rescued a prisoner from the Parliament's soldiers."

In January 1647, for the better maintenance of the Minister of Gussage All Saints, Henry Butler is to pay £27 out of the impropriate parsonage of Handley which was originally payable to the Dean and Chapter of St. George's, Windsor. In April, Butler's sequestration is suspended; he having compounded the month before. In November, Thomas Hooper, gentleman, is to hold certain ground called Thorney in Handley parish—sequestered from Sir Thomas Reynell of Handley, and Weybridge (Surrey)—for one year from next Christmas at a rent of £20. In December 1648, Henry Butler is to be compelled to pay the rent of £27 aforesaid from the impropriate parsonage of Handley. In March 1649, it is stated that an estate was formerly granted by Thomas, Lord Arundell of Wardour, to Thomas Shergall of grounds in Handley parish for 99 years on 3 lives at £20 per annum. Henry Butler, having possession as assignee of Shergall, has

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now no title. Sir Thomas Reynell and Henry Butler are delinquents; but only the ancient rent of £20 is sequestered; although the lands are worth £100 a year, and Butler and others have enjoyed the same for 6 years at the rent of only £20. Shergall petitions that the land may be let to his son Henry (one of the three that served Parliament) for 2 years at £80 a year and half the corn sown—those who have kept cattle or land to pay £30 of the £80. In September Reynell, having compounded for £1600, may enjoy his Manor of Handley, etc., and the Manors of East Pulham and Thorneton undisturbed—paying the said sum out of them. In December 1653, Reynell is to show cause why the whole Manor of Handley should not be sequestered for his non-accounting.[1]

Thomas Bennet of Pythouse compounds with the Parliamentary Committee of Wilts, sitting at Falstone House, Bishopston, on 1 November, 1645; having given his bond to pay £20 in plate and £40 in money on 22 May. Of this £7 was paid at once in three horses which Capt. Ward received for his dragoons. He had formerly paid £44 to Colonel Edmund Ludlow; and had also lent £100 in order to sustain Ludlow's garrison at Wardour Castle, receiving in return a warrant for his protection and indemnity for the future. He receives receipts for the plate at 4s. 8d. per oz., and part of the money; the rest to be paid at Margaret's day next. He had disbursed for his $\frac{1}{2\frac{1}{6}}$ etc. £67. Bennet admits that, being aged, he lived in the King's quarters; that he had been overruled to sit in some Commissions for the King rather than forsake his house, wife, and 13 children; that he had held correspondence with and given intelligence to the enemy; and that by menace of the country people he had been enforced to show himself at Club-meetings. On 9 July 1646, his fine of £2000 was accepted; he having borne arms with the Clubmen and sat with the judges at Salisbury upon an illegal commission in 1643, for the trial of such as adhered to Parliament. His estate in lands is valued at £669 a year, whereof £25 12s. 4d. is in old rents; and the reversion thereof is settled upon his son, 10 years since, upon his marriage etc. in lands for 22 years to come £39 6s. 8d. per annum, out of which there is yearly issuing the sum of £193. On 18 September 1646, £1000 is accepted upon reviewing the whole case. Bennet is stated to have ridden as a trooper in Colonel Strangways' regiment. He had submitted before 1 December

1. Minute Books, passim. C.C.C., passim. P.C.A.M., passim. MSS. of Mr. John Benett-Stanford of Hatch House and Pyt House. Wilts. Arch. Mag., p. 327. Falstone Day-Book, (J. Waylen).

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1645; and presented his first petition in the following July, having taken both oaths.

As has been seen above, the County Committee, during its existence, exercised a general power of control over financial matters in Dorset under the auspices of the central Government. In 1641 the sum of £400,000 had been raised on the Kingdom; the proportion of Dorset being £7775. By an ordinance of both Houses in 1647 for raising £600,000 a month for the maintenance of the forces for Ireland, Dorset was charged monthly of £935 10s. 10d. the town and county of Poole £9 16s. 7d.; the Commissioners being Charles, Lord Cranborne, Sir Walter Erle, Denzil Holles, Thomas Moor, John Trenchard, Dennis Bond, Thomas Grove, Roger Hill, Giles Green, Richard Rose, Sir Thomas Trenchard, Dr. John Bond, John FitzJames, junior, Francis Chettle, Elias Bond, William Hussey, Thomas Ceeley, Henry Henley, Richard Bingham, William Sydenham, senior and junior, John Whiteway, George Thornhull, John Bingham, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Richard Brodrepp, John Foy, Charles Erle, John Squibb, Walter Foy, Lewis Williams, John Arnold and others. During the war, in two years only, Dorset and Poole contributed £24,780. In 1650, the county of Dorset was assessed at the sum of £2243 6s. 8d. per mensem for the maintenance of the army; of which the Hundred of Beaminster then paid £112 3s. 6d. The acting Commissioners were William Hussey, Edward Thornhull, Richard Bury, James Mew, Robert Pelham, Edward Cheek, and John Lea. During the Civil War, Parliament laid monthly assessments of £70,000, sometimes of £120,000, upon the several counties of the Kingdom. This custom was continued by the Government after the Restoration; and by Statute 12, Car. II, the sum of £70,000 a month was directed to be raised according to the proportions, and in such manner, as by an ordinance of both Houses made in His Majesty's absence. The proportion of the County of Dorset was £1311 10s. 6d., that of Poole £10 14s. 0d.; which was nearly equivalent to a land tax of two shillings in the pound. The increasing burthen of taxation is exemplified in the following letter:—

Tanner MS. 59, f. 345.

Right Honorable,—Haveing received a letter from both Houses for the speedy collecting of the Assesments sett by ordinance of Parliament towards the reducing of the kingdom of Ireland, and finding both the first and last Assesment (in regard of our weake condicion) wholy yet unsatisfyed amounting to 6000*li* and more, though for our

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own particulars we are most ready to forward soe good a worke, yet in the condicion wee now stand, the burthen of free quarter by our owne souldiers is soe intollerable already, that if it be not removed by settling the pay of our troopes and garrisons out of the excise or otherwise as your wisdome shall think best, the burthen of both together cannot possibly be undergon as we conceive. And for our owne partes we assure you that wee are reduced to that Egiptian pressure as to make brick without straw, our weekely Assesments being expired, our 5th and 20th parte exhausted, and our sequestracions come to so low an ebb as will noe way doe our worke. Our humble desire therefore unto you is that as speedily as you may our troopes and garrisons may be regulated, and a constant pay setled for them which is soe necessary as without it wee can noe longer subsist. And if you would be pleased to add this farther favour thereunto that the composicion of one or more of our grand delinquents might be left to our poore exhausted county to ease them of their Assessments for Ireland, we should ever think our selves obliged for the same, otherwise the present collection of soe greate a summe being at once imposed must needs hazard the sinking of those that are already gasping for breath.

And haveing thus tendred the estate of our poore plundred county, that since the ceasing of the late troubles, have been a thorow fare for all passengers upon free-quarter, doe rest ready with our best care and diligence to put in execucion your commands, nothing doubting but that we shall receive such favour from you as may enable us to subsist to serve you, which is the humble and onely request of,

Your Honour's earnest and most humble servants,

JOHN BROWNE
RI. BRODREPP
JOHN FRY
WATT. FOYE
JOHN HITHWILL
RI. BURIELL (BURY?)
JNO. WHITEWAY
ELIAS BOND.

Blandford,
June 17, 1646.

(Committee at Blandford to Lenthall.)

On 15 November, 1648, the Derby House Commissioners certify the Commissioners of Excise in Dorset that they have had occasion to employ Francis Harvey in Ireland about

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some special service of great concernment to this Kingdom. They are not therefore to let his absence from his charge of Commissioner of Excise "to be in any way prejudicial to him during his employment abroad, nor suffer any loss in the profits of the excise while thus employed by our command." On 14 March, 1650, it was reported that tumults had arisen at Poole and Shaftesbury about the Excise. At the latter place they rescued prisoners; took away from the officers goods distrained for the Excise; but were quieted by a small party of soldiers sent to them.[1]

There appears to have been no obsidional money, properly so-called, struck in Dorset during the Civil War. But during the time that Weymouth was garrisoned by Charles—September 1643 to June 1644—the coins attributed to that place were struck. The mint-marks of Weymouth are a castle, a lion passant, and a helmet; the first two forming part of the arms of that place. A half-crown in the National Collection is thus described: *Obverse*—Carolus D.G. Mag: Brit: Fran: Et: Hib: Rex; m-m. castle, King on horseback to l. crowned and wearing lace collar, armour and long scarf; the horse has no trappings and the sword is held upright in r. hand; below, grass and W. (for Weymouth). *Reverse*—Christo: Auspice: Regno; m-m helmet. Square garnished shield of royal arms crowned, AR. 1.4. Wt. 215.0. Varieties of the half-crown have no grass under the horse and are without the mint-letter; and on the reverse the shield is oval, and sometimes garnished with a lion's skin and placed between C.R. Another rare variety has for reverse type the "Declaration" and the dates 1643 and 1644. Hitherto (1899) only half-crowns have been attributed to Weymouth; but as there are shillings and sixpences with similar mint-marks and reverse type and of the same fabric as the above, it is probable that pieces of those denominations were also struck there. Two medals connected with Dorset history may be mentioned here. Colonel Giles Strangways was imprisoned with his father in the Tower, and heavily fined. At the Restoration he represented Dorset in Parliament; about which time the following silver medal was struck by John Roettier of Antwerp, then one of the engravers to the Mint:—

Obverse—Bust to r. in Roman dress. Ægidius Strangways De Melbury In Com. Dorcestr. Armiger—ian R.F.

Reverse—The White Tower of London, with Royal banner; above, sun. Decusque Adversa Dederunt: in exergue, Incarceratus Sept. 1645. Liberatus Apr. 1648. Size 2.4.

1. Roberts' 'Social History,' 123. Hutchins, I, Introduction. C.S.P., 1648-9.

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Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, created Baron Ashley, 1660 and Earl of Shaftesbury 1672, was, after the Restoration, Chancellor of the Exchequer, a member of the Cabal Ministry and, in 1672, Lord High Chancellor. He died in 1683 aged 62. A silver medal was struck by George Bower to commemorate his acquittal on the charge of high treason, 24 November 1681 :—

Obverse—Bust to r. in cloak. Antonio Comiti De Shaftesbury. G.B.F.

Reverse—View of London, sun appearing from behind a cloud. Laetamur: in exergue 24 Nov. 1681. Size 1.55.

This piece is the subject of John Dryden's poem "The Medal; a Satire against Sedition," which is said to have been suggested by the King himself. Dryden calls it the Polish medal in allusion to a current subject of banter against Shaftesbury, that he aspired to be elected King of Poland when John Sobieski was elected to that throne in 1675.

"Never did art so well with nature strive,
Nor ever idol seemed so much alive;
So like the man, so golden to the sight,
So base within, so counterfeit and light.
One side is filled with title and with face;
And lest the King should want a regal place,
On the reverse a tower the town surveys,
O'er which our mounting sun his beams displays.
The word, pronounced aloud by shrieval voice,
Laetamur, which in Polish is Rejoice,
The day, month, year, to the great act are joined,
And a new canting holiday designed.
Five days he sate for every cast and look,
Four more than God to finish Adam took.
But who can tell what essence angels are
Or how long Heaven was making Lucifer?
. . . . . .
A martial hero first, with early care
Blown, like a pigmy by the winds, to war;
A beardless chief, a rebel ere a man,
So young his hatred to his Prince began.
Next this, (how wildly will ambition steer!)
A vermin wriggling in the usurper's ear,
Bartering his venal wit for sums of gold,
He cast himself into the saint-like mould;
Groaned, sighed, and prayed, while godliness was gain,
The loudest bag-pipe of the squeaking train."

The issue of "Money of Necessity" in Ireland extended from 1642 to 1647, the period of the so-called "Irish Rebellion." It is very similar in character to the English siege-money of the same period: much of it being of mere pieces of irregular-

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shaped metal, rudely stamped with a value or other mark. The primary object in issuing this money was for the relief of the Government and the payment of the army, which was sent to repress the rebels. The rebels, on their side, had already struck money at Kilkenny. On 5 January 1643, an Act empowered Lord Inchiquin, Vice-President of Munster, to issue silver coins of various denominations, struck from plate; which the well-affected were directed to bring to the mint at Dublin, and for which plate 5 shillings per ounce was offered. Payment of this, however, was to be deferred, but interest at the rate of 8% a year was to be paid as an inducement to the people to bring in their riches. This "Inchiquin Money" consists of crowns, half-crowns, shillings, nine-pences, six-pences, groats, and three-penny pieces in silver. The gold coins of this issue, known as the pistole and double pistole, are of great rarity; and are apparently the only gold pieces in the whole Irish series. Although this money is called after Lord Inchiquin, he does not appear to have being in any way concerned with the issue; for at the time he was engaged in suppressing the rebellion in the south of Ireland. It is practically certain however that the Cork money—shillings, six-pences, and farthings in silver, and halfpennies and farthings in copper and brass—was struck by Inchiquin's order during his brief sojourn in that City in May 1647.[1]

The Minute-Books of the Dorset Committee throw some light, not already alluded to, on the state of the garrison-towns during the war and afterwards. For instance, at the beginning of 1647 George Bartlett of Dorchester is owed by the Treasurer 44s. which he paid for iron to Mr. Hill, used in fortifying the town; John Bunn of Fordington is owed £16 for the loss sustained by him through the demolition of his house and stable near Dorchester when the town was a Parliamentary garrison; Thomas Cussens, armourer of the same place, is to be paid £7 for arms and the mending of arms; and £100 is to be repaid the Mayor and Burgesses for the maintenance of the Hospital and supply of the poor, the said sum being part of the stock of the Town Brewhouse plundered during the war. The Dorchester Archives contain notices of offenders who have not gone regularly to church, or who have spoken against the Minister. On 8 February 1630, J. P. Nycholls is brought before the Mayor. R. Adyn deposes that he offered speech concerning Mr. John White's preaching. He is therefore committed for trial. On 16 March, 1632,

1. Grueber's Coins, pp. 120, 235, 238; and Grueber's Medals, pp. 28, 52. British Numismatic Journal II, pp. 333, 353. (The Obsidional Money of the Great Rebellion. By Philip Nelson, M.D).

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W. Capper is informed against before the Mayor for saying that "he cared not for Mr. White. He was able to answer twenty such coxcombs as he." In 1656, Philip Hewlett, having absented himself from church, is, "upon the next complaint to be sent to Bridewell." In 1658, Samuel Cole is fined for the same fault, "but for want of money sett by the heeles" (stocked); Katherine Barlett, widow, "did absent herself from church last Lord's Day in the morning; she is to pay 2s. 6d. and in default to be set in the stocks;" John Samwayes "has not been for 5 weeks, and, having no money, is to be stocked." Travelling on Sundays was also punished; and for walking abroad during sermon-time a pair of "swete-hartes" are convicted. In 1656, Richard Abbott, tailor, is punished for working at his trade on the Lord's Day; and Charity James is fined 5s. for carrying coals and stones to his kiln. In 1655, Nicholas Day, Thomas Churchill, John Pride, Leonard Gawler, John Reynolds, and Hugh Eastmond are severally fined 10s. Children were convicted of playing games on the same day; such as "spur-point" and "nine-stones"—probably 'nine-men's-morris.' The Churchwardens received the conviction-money for the profanation of the Lord's Day, and dispensed the same in small sums to the suffering poor.

In May 1647, Thomas Corbin of Dorchester, carrier, is to be paid 13s. 3d. for his good service in carrying ammunition and other provision for Parliament to Corfe Castle when besieged by Sir W. Erle. In October 1646, Robert Tyto of Poole is to be paid £20 out of the rents of Thomas Arundell, recusant, of Corfe Mullen towards the repairing of his losses sustained by the firing of his houses near Poole, which was ordered by a Council of War to hinder the enemy's approach. At the beginning of 1647 Elias Bond of Eagleston is to be paid £121 5s. 0d. for £20 lent upon the propositions of Parliament, and £101 5s. 0d. for 27 cows and fat cattle of his driven into Poole by Major Sydenham. In October 1646, George West of Wareham, a Parliament soldier, is to be paid £20 towards rebuilding his house "wherein the Parliament party kept their guard, who in time did ruin and burn up the same house;" and John Trenchard, M.P., the sum of £150 for timber carried into the garrisons of Weymouth and Wareham from his woods at Bestwall and Warmwell. In December, Margaret Collins, widow, of Corfe Castle parish, is to be paid £74 17s. 0d. for money lent for horse-bedding and other provisions for the garrison of Wareham and elsewhere; and in February 1647 she is to be paid £12 for 3 fat cows and 6 fat sheep of hers driven into the garrison of Wareham. In April,

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Mrs. Mary Perkins is to be paid £8 5s. 6d. for so much disbursed by her for bread for the use of the garrison of Wareham since it was reduced from the Irish. In January 1647, Zachariah Browse and Ruth his wife, late the wife of Jeremiah Pond who was most cruelly and unjustly put to death by the command of Sir Lewis Dyve and his goods taken away, are granted a piece of ground called Sergeant's Mead, being part of Lord Bristol's sequestered estate at Castleton, Sherborne, for one year from next Ladyday. In October 1648, Randall Cooper, pewterer of Sherborne, is adjudged sequestrable because he confesses to have set forth a horse under Sir John Hele; and to have taken away with others the County powder from Parke's powder mill, and to have carried it—being 160 pounds weight—into Sherborne for the use of the King; and is also on Sir Lewis Dyve's books charged to have taken the King's protestation, and to have delivered in a list of such as forsook Sherborne to Dyve as traitors and rebels. By 21 November, Cooper had compounded for his personal estate for the sum of £50. In April 1648, Susanna, widow of Henry Knight who had been cruelly executed by the Royalists for his good affection to Parliament, is to receive the £20 promised to her by instalments.

In June 1648, the Treasurer is ordered to pay Edith Harvey and her orphan brothers and sisters £20 for the rent of their cellar in Lyme Regis; which had been used, for these four years past, as a public magazine for arms and ammunition. In April 1648, Edward Waye of Yarcomb, Devon, is to be paid £10 for good service in the sieges of Taunton and Lyme —wherein he not only hazarded his life, but also lost the greater part of his estate. Lady Pole, having been allowed to search for and recover such of her cattle as have been carried off, is forbidden to retain in January 1647, any oxen belonging to Colonel Ceeley. In the Lyme-Town Accompt Book occur the following entries:—

CONSTABLE'S CHARGE IN 1657.

Paid Edward Norwood for going to Wooton and Uplyme to get a man to whip Emanuel Lincoln	0	0	6
Paid ditto for going to Charmouth to conduct E. Lincoln thither	0	0	3
Paid a man to whip the said E. L.	0	1	0
1662 paid towards whipping of the cutpurse woman	0	0	6
1662 paid the Barbadoes Boy for whipping a strange woman	0	0	6

It is evident that a man's fellow townsmen were chary of acting as his executioners in fear of subsequent vengeance.

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Presentment of the Court-Leet, 8 May, 1660:—

There are no butts within the parish of Lyme Regis, and there have been none here for the space of the last three months; for which the inhabitants of the parish have forfeited the penalty in the Statute, *viz.*, 20s.; but, nevertheless, it is ordered that the inhabitants shall make and set up butts before the next Court, under further pain of 20s.

On 10 March, 1620, occurs an order for the outlay of £40 on repair of the Weymouth "Town boat" and Harbour. The "Mouldhead and Jetty" are to be carried on by general contribution of labour. On 17 May, 1622, new carriages were ordered for the guns at the "North" (Nothe) and Bulwark; also two Murtherers; and a new Beacon. At the end of June, 1626, the walls of the Blockhouse are ordered to be built up with stone, and a Purbeck stone platform made for the two guns on the "North" (Nothe) as war with Spain is feared. Weymouth, Poole, and other Dorset towns are to send two ships with 12 guns each and three months provisions. The complement of men is to be two to every three tons. In August Charles commands the neighbouring J.P.'s to assist in fortifying Weymouth. The Dorset contingent appears to have been reduced from three ships to two. There exists an estimate for 8 guns, 6 cwt. of powder, 20 cwt. of shot, etc.; also one platform for Weymouth side, and one for Melcombe side; in all £200. Mayor, etc., on Melcombe side offer £20 towards above outlay. On 13 July the Constable of the Tower asks the Mayor of Weymouth to find out why two ships that ought long ago to have sailed from Plymouth, victualled at Weymouth, and proceeded to Portsmouth, have been delayed. In October comes an order from the Privy Council to Lord Suffolk, the Deputy-Lieutenants, Sir Anthony Ashley, and others (including the Mayor of Weymouth) saying that about 1000 soldiers—with 100 pioneers, carts, etc., and a convenient number of nags to mount shot on—from Devon and Cornwall are to be quartered in Dorset. The men are to be under Martial Law, and to be billeted at from 3s. a week for a private to 7s. for a lieutenant. The regiments of the Sergeant-Major, the Earl of Essex and Colonel Brace are appointed for Dorset. Persons billeting soldiers are to have 3s. 6d. per week per man. At Weymouth and Melcombe there are 2½ lasts (a last = 12 barrels) of powder; 2½ tons of match; and 2½ tons of lead. On 9 August, 1633, H. Waltham is to be Captain of the trained-soldiers in Melcombe in place of T. Giear, resigning through age; J. Cade, Lieutenant; and Owen Hollman, Antient (Ensign). In December, 1634, Francis Gape, the Town Clerk, is to ride to London to

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petition for an abatement of the £220, called for from Borough of Weymouth towards "setting forth a ship of war for H.M.'s service." In October, 1636, the Mayor and others are to ride to Blandford to meet the Sheriff and divers Mayors about ship-money. In November, 1645, the Mayor, etc., petition the Dorset Committee against a threatened exaction of £4 a week for support of the Parliament's army; whereas, through damage during the siege, quartering of soldiers, and the "extreme poverty for want of trade as in former times" they can hardly maintain themselves. They are told to make a fortnight's payment, and to appear at Dorchester to receive an answer. At the beginning of 1641 they had petitioned the King and Privy Council for powder for the ordnance "which are 15 Demi-Culverins and 7 Sakers—of which 14 are H.M.'s and eight the Town's." Captain Arthur, Collector of Customs, accused Alderman G. Churchey, saying that "he hath coloured foreigners' (not Freemen) goods," invoicing them to himself when mostly for his brother who was not a freeman; and thereby evading Petty Customs. This Mr. Churchey confessed, but urged the heavy price he had paid for his freedom, *viz.*, £30; and that a "parcel of Reddings" had been seized for the garrison soldiers, and never paid for. On 2 September, 1646, Churchey was fined £50; but in August, 1649, after a seizure of goods, compounded for £21 10s. 0d. In August, 1646, Mary Chiles says that the week after the siege, last February twelvemonth, William, a middle-aged merchant with flaxen hair and yellow beard, lodged in her husband's house, having with him £300 in gold and silver. Chiles wished to kill him and get the money, alleging "that it was no matter for killing of a man now 'twas time of war." He struck him on the forehead while asleep, killing him at once: then they both dragged the corpse downstairs into an outhouse; and thence, with a horse, "to the works by the northside of the Blockhouse;" there they carried it down by a breach to the end of the Jetty, and threw it into Mr. Pitt's pool. They then went home; where Chiles "struck fire, told the money, put it into his pocket, and then both went to bed." Against this self-accusation Judith Finch deposes that "the same night that the Forts of the Town were surprised by the enemy, W. Courtney of Taunton Dene" entrusted her with about £100 and some wares—which, after the alarm was over, he received back. He told her that during the siege he was at J. Chiles's house; and she says she saw him a quarter of a year after, and has heard from him lately. Robert Bindell deposes to being at Chiles's with Courtney. Lastly, Courtney himself deposes to being at Chiles's house at the time in

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question with J. Mercombe of Taunton, carrier, who was alive on Monday last. He is mentioned, apparently, because his complexion was more like that described by Mrs. Chiles than Courtney's was. At this frequented "house of entertainment" the two men slept "on straw or Bean-helme." In October, 1654, J. Chiles is amerced 20s. and affeered to 10s., for the careless use of candles in his stable; and for being "a common disturbance to his neighbours at night." In December, 1646, the Town Clerk, in answer to the Committee who rate the town at 12s. a week for the County Troop, is to point out the cost to the town in quartering the garrison. In January, 1647, Mrs. Rebecca Giear of Melcombe, widow, is to be paid £221 10s. 0d. for 2¼ years rent now due for the magazine-house of Weymouth. In April, 1647, Roger Cuttance of Weymouth, mariner, is to be paid £150, because Colonel Sydenham, on his coming as Governor of Weymouth, caused a line and breast-work to be drawn through his garden and took down his stable; and in 1644 fired two of Cuttance's tenements for the defence of the town. In May, Philip Bugden, who had married Mrs. Flory, is to be paid £40 for fir-boards bought of Flory by Capt. Thomas Hughes; and carried by him to Lullworth Castle; and afterwards, by order of Colonel Butler, to Wareham garrison. The Commons order £1000 towards the repair of the Piers and Harbour. The Mayor, etc., therefore order the work to be proceeded with; J. Lockier being superintendent at 6s. 8d. a week. On 4 February, 1648, Captain J. Lockier "brake his leg," and Richard Bolt succeeded him. In January, 1648, Robert Coker, late Sheriff and formerly Governor of the town, and Colonel James Heane, the present Governor, are admitted Freemen. In September a Protestation is made by divers townsmen against malignants in office: Alderman Rose had been Sergeant, and Gabriel Cornish Master of Ordnance for the King; G. Churchey had aided Royalists and was "daily sequestrable;" the last two had voted for the first. Cornish resigns his seat in the Town Council on 3 November; and at the beginning of 1649 the Royalist Aldermen resign in writing, *viz.*, G. Churchey (brother-in-law of Francis Gape, late Town-Clerk), James Giear, H. Rose, Richard Harrison, J. Hodder, and Alexander Clatworthy. These, with Fabian Hodder, were restored and their successors removed on 13 October, 1662. In October, 1649, Dennis Bond, M.P., is to be paid £88 for a certain plot of garden ground in Melcombe, "dispalled and ruined by means of the line and forts built upon it for defence of the garrison." At the beginning of November the Governor is to receive £10 "to fill up the new work so far

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as the second post behither the work westward directly over athwart the jetty." In April, 1651, Constable Coven is to ride into Hants with Colonel Joyce; by whom and Colonel Heane a grant of thirty trees in "the late King's Forest," given to them by Parliament, has been made for the Bridge. In August "whereas through decay of trade, and wars, the Town Duties have been much diminished; and the outlay about soldiers, paving streets, and rebuilding the marsh-wall destroyed in the siege, has been great—the Corporation are obliged to borrow £70 of the Poor's Money at interest." In October, Sergeant Thomas encroached on the Town land, by the Chapel-Fort, and threatened to beat the passers-by. He is amerced 10s. and "soe affeered." In 1653, an order is made that two ordinaries are to be provided weekly at some public-house for the lecturers. On 14 October, Colonel Heane,[1] Captain Babbidge and another, depose they were assaulted as they "were running through the Ally of the White Hart;" and that Heane was called "Traitor" by Philip Bartlett. On 28 October occurs a memorandum of the sale of the stones of Cold Harbour Fort, save the great ashlar stones, and those westward kept as a boundary against the sea; also of most of the stones of the New Fort; those of Mountjoy Fort; those of the "North Fort in Weymouth," and "the healeing stones" there; and the stones at Chapel Fort "except the now building there and the 4 pillar stones." The total received was £51 1s. 0d. There was a "New Fort upon the jutty" in October, 1656. Early in 1661 Colonel Bullen Reymes, late M.P. for the Borough, brings a royal patent for £100 per annum for ten years for the repair of the Harbour; and a copy of the Lord Treasurer's order for this to be paid out of the Customs. In September, £100 are borrowed from William Sydenham of Wynford Eagle for carrying on the Harbour Work until the grant for the Customs shall be made.[2] The losses sustained by the twin towns during the Civil Wars amounted to £20,000 as a certificate from the Justices, in the Parliamentary Roll, testifies. In 1649, the inhabitants petitioned Parliament for £3000, to enable them to enlarge Melcombe Church, build a new bridge, and free the harbour from rubbish. The visits of George III eventually assisted Weymouth to recover from the depression caused by the injury received during the Civil Wars, the

1. Heane was slain near St. Domingo by being lanced through the body on Wednesday, 26 April, 1655, v, Thurloe III, 506.

2. Minute Books, passim. Roberts' 'Social History,' 162, 243, 246. Moule's Old Dorset, 192-3. Moule's Weymouth Doc's., pp. 77-183. Memorials of Old Dorset, 166, 170.

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removal of the wool trade to Poole, and the loss of the Newfoundland trade. Two tracts of 1645 are illustrative of the credulity of the time. The good ship *Bonaventura*, coming from France home to Weymouth, sighted a whale which being shot at struck upon the shore within three miles of Weymouth and died. Upon opening the monster the body of a Romish Priest was disclosed with pardons for divers Papists upon him. The whale was seen on Sunday, 19 October; the pardons were for John Flower and Humphrey Vaux, Englishmen, and for John Muskery, William Preston, Patrick O'Neil, and James Macgennis, Irishmen; and the names of the sailors present who were ready to "make attestation of this most wonderful truth" were William Lelo, Master of the ship, Thomas Chibnall, Boatswain, Francis Sero, and Thomas Taylor. Possibly these ancient mariners, like Mrs. Gamp, dimly remembered the Book of Jonah. Certainly it was the fashion for seventeenth-century Oxford Dons to present a representation in stained glass of the Prophet, and the fish that swallowed him, to their respective College Chapels.

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CHAPTER XV.

Ecclesiastical Affairs—The Dorset Standing Committee and its work (1630-1660).

AMONG the petitions to Sir John Lambe, as Dean of the Arches Court of Canterbury between 1633 and 1644, occurs one from the parishioners of Church Knowle in Dorset, apparently of 1636; which relates that William Bartlett, B.A., Vicar of Yetminster, about 8 years since obtained for a sum of money not only the resignation from but also the presentation to the parsonage of Knoll, and after induction placed in the same as Curate, Thomas Jacob—a litigious and debauched character—who molests the poor petitioners in sundry frivolous suits. Upon proof of simony, Valentine Minge, M.A., since obtained presentation from the King and was inducted; but Mr. Bartlett and his Curate will neither agree each to retain his own tithes in hand, nor else pay them into the Ecclesiastical Court until the cause be decided by Lambe—but demand the whole with threats of many suits against the petitioners if they receive them not. The twenty parishioners who sign the petition pray Lambe to grant sequestration to churchwardens to receive tithes until the suit between Messrs. Bartlett and Minge be concluded. Valentine Minge, in his own petition, declares that Dr. George Coke, Bishop of Bristol, superinstituted him; and on 24 March he was lawfully inducted; and on 25 March read himself in. Being served with inhibition and citation out of Court of Arches he surceased officiating and delivered the key of the church to Bartlett; who now doth prosecute an appeal in Arches, and has preferred articles in the High Commission Court against the petitioner. In order to put Minge to unnecessary charges and inconvenience Bartlett procured a messenger to be sent with letters missive or an attachment against the petitioner into Dorset, who lives in the diocese of Lincoln. Understanding the same through friends

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Minge hastened to London and took oath before Lambe to answer the articles; and tendered bond according to the rules of the Court. Minge prays Lambe to give order that he—for the peace of the Church and good of the parish of Knowle—may officiate the cure; the profits being sequestered until the cause is decided. Also that the charge of letters missive be laid upon Bartlett; and the petitioner discharged thereof. William Bartlett was deprived of his Rectory by the ordinance against pluralities, and of his Vicarage by the County Committee; was plundered, and imprisoned at Westminster in 1646; and sequestered from a temporal estate. On 4 November 1646, the Dorset Standing Committee appointed, on the petition of the parishioners, the Rev. Thomas Browne to Yetminster—translating him from Bere Hackett. A week later Bere was annexed to Yetminster. On 11 February 1647, arrears of tithe are ordered to be paid to Mrs. Rose Bartlett. On 20 April 1649, the Rev. Samuel Ball, then minister of Church Knowle in the Isle of Purbeck, is ordered to pay Mrs. Rose Bartlett her husband's full fifths of all tithes etc. to which he is entitled. On 20 March 1650 the Rev. Thomas Hall is appointed to Knowle. In 1648 the Rev. Thomas Jacob was Vicar of Affpuddle.[1]

As early as 1621 the House of Commons expelled Mr. Thomas Sheppard, M.P. for Shaftesbury. "for explaining that *dies Sabbati* meant—not the Sabaoth, as they called it, but Saturday," and suggesting that, as David danced before the Ark, the legality of dancing was a question which the Bishops might decide before it was absolutely forbidden. The names of fifteen counties which preferred petitions by 9 November 1640 are known. The substance of the Dorset Petition was given by word of mouth by George, Lord Digby. "There was given to us in the County Court," he said "at the day of our election a short memorial of the heads, that we might represent them to the Parliament: (1) ship money; (2) pressing soldiers, and raising monies concerning the same; (3) monoplies; (4) the new canons, and the oath to be taken by lawyers and divines, etc.; (5) the oath required to be taken by church officers to present according to articles new and unusual." On 8 February 1641, Digby said, "If we hearken to those who would quite extirpate Episcopacy, I am confident that instead of every Bishop we should put down in a diocese, we should erect a Pope in each parish." On the following day Sir John Strangways declared that a parity in the Church would necessitate a parity in the Commonwealth. This

1. C.S.P. 1644-5. Minute Books, passim.

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argument provoked Cromwell into such a warmth of expression that there were cries from several to have him to the bar. Pym, Holles, D'Ewes all supported Cromwell on the mere point of order, and protested against the call; but they said nothing as to his views.

The Committee for Compounding, which sat at Goldsmiths' Hall, at first consisted only of members of the House of Commons; but it was modified by an Ordinance of 6 February 1647, after which date it consisted of members of both Houses, with the addition of a few persons who did not sit in Parliament. The first step required of the delinquent appearing before this Committee was the taking of the Covenant and of the Negative Oath, by which he bound himself never again to bear arms against Parliament. After this he had to declare the full value of his estate; any misstatement rendering him liable to a heavy fine. These preliminaries having been accomplished, delinquents were arranged in classes. Members of Parliament, for example, might be deprived of half their estates while undistinguished Royalists might escape on payment of a sixth part. The treatment of the Cavalier gentry was, however, better than the treatment of the Royalist clergy. The gentleman might have to sell or mortgage part of his land, or to cut down the woods which were the pride of his estate, in order to pay his fine; but after this his account with the Parliament was closed, and he was free to enjoy what was left to him.[1] The clergyman—noted either as a Royalist, or as attached to Episcopacy or the Prayer-Book—was ejected from his living, and was thus deprived at one blow of his means of livelihood; excepting so far as he profited by the fifth of his late income, payable to his wife and children in the same way as to lay delinquents whose property was sequestered—although in his case it was payable not by the Committee of Sequestration, but by his successor in the incumbency. That this fifth was grudgingly paid, and sometimes absolutely withheld, has often been asserted; and it is highly probable that the charge was in many cases well founded. As far, however, as can be judged from the fragmentary evidence which has survived, the dispossessed clergy often obtained their rights from the Committee for Plundered Ministers; which, although it had been originally instituted to provide benefices for the Puritan clergy driven from their livings by the King's forces, ultimately acquired a practical supervision over the financial side of

1. Lord Poulett petitions against an order of the House of 7 August 1648, for cutting down 2000 oaks on his estate. Portland MS. III, 164.

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ecclesiastical affairs, and frequently intervened to secure the payment of the fifths. In each county there existed a Committee charged with the general management of affairs in the Parliamentary interest; and it appears from the Minute Books of the Dorset Standing Committee—the only one whose records are now accessible—that in that County at least the payment of fifths was enforced.

The adoption of Presbyterianism in 1643, had been the result of mixed motives, in which the desire to conciliate the Scots was the dominant factor. Many, therefore, who voted for its establishment approved in their hearts of a very different kind of Presbyterianism from that of Scotland—a Presbyterianism such as had appeared in the Root and Branch Bill, in which there were no Church courts and in which all ecclesiastical jurisdiction was exercised by lay commissioners. Even when Parliament authorized the establishment of Presbyterianism its mode of doing so was of the nature of a compromise—as the Church courts although called into existence were subjected to the control of the lay Parliament. In practice the system established was even more remote from the rigid theocracy of the Scottish system. Although the often repeated statement that Presbyterianism was only established in London and Lancashire is far from the truth; yet it is true that for some little time only London and Lancashire accepted the new scheme: London because there was there a strong middle-class to take possession of the eldership; and Lancashire because strong Puritan organization was made popular by the presence of a vigorous Roman Catholic element in the population. If, however, the Dorset Committee Book may be taken as an exponent of the system which prevailed in the rest of England, the new Church organization outside of the Metropolis and Lancashire resembled that of the Root and Branch Bill far more than that of the later Parliamentary Ordinances. In place of the lay Commissioners of that Bill, there were the County Committees. These committees, indeed, had no definite authority to govern the Church; and did not interfere in any high-handed fashion, unless in cases in which the patronage of a living was under sequestration. Otherwise, patrons still presented to the livings in their gifts; and when the Committee assumed the right of exercising patronage belonging to delinquents, it appointed the candidate most acceptable to the parishioners—subject to his being able to produce a certificate of orthodoxy and good conduct from three approved ministers.

With the Dorset Committee, at least, interference with the Church went little further. In the course of many years it

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only inhibited two ministers: one—Samuel Forward, curate to Dr. Davenant at Gillingham, afterwards restored—for using portions of the Book of Common Prayer; the other, on 6 January 1647—Mr. Stapleton a separatist preacher at Radipole near Weymouth—whom, however, it only ventured to meddle with on the pretext that his sermons attracted the soldiers of the garrisons from their duties, and thus exposed the fortifications to an attack from the enemy. Public worship for the most part followed the rules laid down in the Directory; but of internal discipline in the parishes themselves there is no trace—a fact which goes far to explain the ease with which the country at large, in spite of occasional ebullitions of feeling when maypoles were cut down and Christmas sports prohibited, accepted ecclesiastical changes sufficient in other times to set every county in England ablaze. The notion that Englishmen were at this time ardently craving for relief from Puritan teaching is one which receives no countenance from documentary evidence. If they were ever driven to revolt, it would be by a desire to throw off the burthen of taxes or to free themselves from military rule, not from any eagerness to change the Puritan doctrines for those which found credence among the cultivated divines who adhered to the fortunes of Charles.[1]

The Minute Books of the Dorset Standing Committee (1646-50) display the Committee exercising their power of determining the delinquency, scandal, or malignancy of the incumbent of a benefice—whether he has gone to the King's forces, or preached against the Parliament. They enforce the use of the Directory on (6 May 1647) Mr. James Colquhoun at Poorstock; on (14 January 1647) Dr. Edward Davenant at Gillingham; and at Lyme Regis, where on 10 November 1648 there was no resident Minister. They appoint other persons—when approved by three or more ministers selected for that purpose—to officiate in the sequestered cures; assigning the whole profits in payment except where the appointment is temporary, in which case one pound a week—sometimes half that sum as at Silton—is the amount named. They order additions to small stipends from other sources—as in the cases of Mr. Nicholas Watts at Chettle, of Mr. Edward Osborne at Abbotsbury and of Mr. Leonard Clatworthy at Caundle Bishop; advise the augmentation of benefices by the Committee of Plundered Ministers for over fifty parishes; and order the payment of fifths to wife and children—in one case, that of Mrs. Bridget Figg,

1. Shaw, I, 9, 32, 38. Gardiner, III, 198-200, 202. Minute Books, Introduction.

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widow of the Rector of Turner's Puddle, ordering such a payment for a year after the incumbent's death. They appoint Lecturers, as at Sturminster Newton; assign stipends to the schoolmasters of Beaminster and Dorchester (Gabriel Reve); and order the payment of a parish-clerk (John Stephens of Sturminster Newton). Difficulties in regard to the custody of the Church key came under their notice at Stoke Abbott, where William Gallop the sequestered Rector if he still refuses to give it up is to be imprisoned at Weymouth until he has paid the fine of £20; at Cheddington, where it was retained by John Downe the Parish-Clerk; at Hilton, where the Churchwardens are ordered to take it into their custody; at Tarrant Rawson, where William Keyle, Farmer, is to open the Church for Mr. William Savage, the present minister; and at Bere Hacket, where Mr. John Strode, gentleman, of Ryme Intrinseca, had refused to surrender the key to Mr. James Pope, the Committee's nominee to the living. The Committee order repairs to a Church (Durweston), and a parsonage-house (? Fordington). Several benefices or portions of benefices are required to be united, *viz.*, Knighton to Lillington, Bere Hacket to Yetminster, Stockwood to Melbury Bubb, Knolton to Horton, Chilcombe to Askerswell, Wraxall to Rampisham, the three Wareham churches, and East Holme to East Stoke; and the inhabitants of the annexed Church are ordered to attend the other. Motcombe is to be separated from Gillingham. But the operations of the Committee were not always smoothly effected. Threats of distress are made in the Division of Dorchester for recovery of rents and arrears from sequestered lands, and there are several instances of the refusal of parishioners to pay tithes to newly appointed ministers: *e.g.*, at Compton Abbas to Edward Wotton; at Chideock to Robert Smyth; at Whitechurch Canonicorum (?) to John Salway; at Hilton; at Beaminster; at Winterborne Clenston to Tobias Walton; at Stockland to Gideon Skinner; at Shaftesbury to John Devenish; at Melbury Bubb to John Forward; at Wareham to Thomas Chaplin; at Motcombe to Thomas Andrews; at Cheselborne to Joseph Hall; at Frome St. Quintin to John Young by Captain Richard Christmas—who is to be fined £20 for his obduracy and to be brought before the Committee by six of Colonel Heane's musketeers (6 February, 1648); at Fordington; and at Puddletrenthide to Benjamin Walter or Waters. There were disputes of the inhabitants of Charlton Marshall with Mr. John Trottle, and of Silton with Mr. Samuel Boles. In the latter case they had grown so high that the Committee say, "we conceive the

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said Mr. Boles will not be able to do any good in the way of his ministry in that place." On the other hand, the intruded ministers were unwilling—in some instances—to pay the fifths which had been ordered to the wife and children of the 'outed' incumbent: as John Galping to Mrs. Richard Hooke at Durweston; James Rawson to Mrs. Thomas Clarke at Hazlebury Bryan; John Salway to Mrs. Samuel Lockett at Whitechurch Canonicorum; John Monlas to Mrs. John Ryves at Tarrant Gunville; William Hardy to Mrs. Edmund Dickinson at Sturminster Marshall; Bartholomew Wesley to Mrs. Samuel Norrington at Charmouth; and Henry Lamb to the children of Nicholas Ridgway at Burton Bradstock.

The Committee, moreover, in several instances—certainly in the first, second, and fifth of the cases mentioned above—had to use threats to secure payment.[1]

In the Westminster Assembly of Divines, which met in Henry VII's Chapel on 1 July, 1643, Dorset was represented by John White, M.A., (Oxon), Rector of Dorchester who, with his brother-in-law Dr. Burges, acted as Assessor (Vice-Chairman) to the Prolocutor; by Stanley Gower, Rector of Brampton Bryan, and afterwards, apparently, of Holy Trinity, Dorchester; by William Lyford, M.A., (Oxon), Vicar of Sherborne, who, however, never took his seat; by Edward Peale (or Pile) of East Compton, who seems to have died before 31 December 1645, for on that day the Commons appointed as his successor William Strong, (Cantab.), Rector of More-Crichel. Strong was driven by the stress of the Civil War to London; where he was afterwards Minister of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, and preached in Westminster Abbey. In July 1654, he died suddenly and was buried in the Abbey. Joshua Hoyle, D.D., (Oxon), Vicar of Stepney and of Sturminster Marshall, Dorset, was afterwards Master of University College, Oxford.[2]

The ultimate failure of State Presbytery had left two gaps in the Church system of the time:—

(1) A want of means of ordination; for the Commissioners for Approbation did not ordain, and the Classes were in a state of decay.

(2) A want of such a modified discipline as would satisfy the clerical conscience and enable them to administer the Sacrament; whilst not harsh enough to alienate or repulse the laity.

1. Minute Books, Introduction and text, passim.

2. Masson, 515-23. Dr. William Twisse, Rector of Newbury, Berks, was Prolocutor or Speaker but, dying July, 1646, was succeeded by Charles Herle, Rector of Winwick in Lancashire. William Strong's remains were cast out of the Abbey after the Restoration.

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Hence from 1653 onwards were formed the Voluntary Associations; first those of Worcestershire and Cumberland. That Dorset was associated, probably in 1655, is asserted by Richard Baxter. Calamy's mention of Robert Bartlett of Compton Over, furnishes a possible instance of an ordination by a Dorset Classis (or by the Classis of Salisbury in Wiltshire). The same writer notices that Thomas Rowe was ordained at Maltravers about 1658. In cases of ministers who had been imprisoned by order of either House for whatever cause, and whose cures were thereby left unserved, the Houses nominated persons to supply the cure. For instance, on 4 January 1643, the parish of St. Mary's at Wareham, petition that, as their curate—James Crouch—is now imprisoned in Dorchester for traducing Parliament, they may have in his stead John Sacheverell to supply the cure. It is ordered thereupon that Sacheverell is to be recommended to the said parish to celebrate Divine service and to preach in the said Church, as well on the Lord's Day as at other times convenient. On 19 August, 1644, in the ordinance for associating Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall, and Somerset, the Deputy Lieutenants and County Committees were given power to call before them all ministers and schoolmasters, "that are scandalous in their lives or ill-affected to Parliament and to examine witnesses with power to eject all such; and in their place to nominate and appoint such orthodox, learned, and godly divines as they with the advice and assent of three or more godly and learned divines of the said county, whom they shall call unto them for that purpose, shall think fit." In July 1645, the Committee for Plundered Ministers was strengthened by the addition of Lord Fairfax and Sir Walter Erle. In September 1654, the powers of the Plundered Ministers' Committee were transferred to the Trustees for Maintenance; and in an account containing "the totals of all revenues charged (including arrears) in all the counties" for the year ending 25 December 1657, Dorset is entered as supplying £2236 13s. o½d. The ordinance of 6 June 1649, for Maintenance of Ministers empowered the Commissioners of the Great Seal to issue commissions into every county for an inquisition into the yearly value of all parsonages and vicarages presentative; and of all other spiritual and ecclesiastical benefices and livings to which cure of souls attached. In accordance with this clause a draft commission was presented to the Commons on 8 February 1650; but being in Latin was rejected, and replaced six days later by another commission in English. The commissions were issued forthwith, being addressed to the persons who had been nominated as commissioners by the Members of Parlia-

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ment; or, in case of no such nomination, then to the commissioners for the County for the last preceding monthly assessment.

Of the Puritan Lecturers, nominated or recommended by the Long Parliament up to the outbreak of the war—so far as they appear in the Journals of Parliament—the following occur in Dorset:—

13 July 1642, Mr. Tuchin, Lecturer of Bridport.
2 May 1643, John Crofts, Lecturer of Weymouth.[1]
17 May 1643, Robert Tutchin, Lecturer of Chideock, a member[1] of the parish of Whitechurch.

The Parliamentary sequestrations of Royalist clergy from the outbreak of the war, and the subsequent nominations of Puritan clergy in Dorset—so far as they appear in the Journals of Parliament—are as follows:—

18 February 1643, Dr. Joshua Hoyle recommended for parsonage of Sturminster Marshall. (Member of Assembly of Divines; Master of University College and Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford from 1648 to death in 1654).
4 July 1643, Henry Way to be put into the parsonage of the Isle of Portland, loco Dr. Humphrey Henchman (Bishop of Sarum 1660, of London 1663).
18 October 1645, Rhodolph (Rudolph) Gough to be instituted to the rectory of Oweemoigne (Ower Moigne).
3 June and 9 July 1646, John White to be instituted to Pimperne.[2]
19 August 1646, Bartholemew Hussey to Beor (Bere) Regis, void by death of John Rogers. (Hussey was dead by 16 March 1648).
16 February 1647, Onesipher (*sic*) Toupe to Bradford Peneroll (Peverell), void by lapse, on presentation under Great Seal.
1 March 1647, Charles Mason to Stower Provost, void by death of Thomas Griffin. (Mason, chosen by King's College, Cambridge, where he had been Fellow, Rector of Stower, seems to have held this living with other benefices until his death in 1677. He was a Royalist).

1. J. Crofts died 1682, aged 84, having been Rector of Puncknoll for 44 years. R. Tutchin a Trier, identical with Tuchin of Bridport above, where he was certainly in 1646.

2. Son of Mr. White of Dorchester; he was forced to quit in 1660. "Of eminent piety," says Calamy.

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20 August 1647, William Seymour to Iwerne Courtney alias Shoton (Shroton), with the chapel of Faringdon, void by death of John Eastmond (Seymour died 1656).

14 September 1647, Thomas Hallett to Cheddington, void by death of George Lutherell (Luttrell?). (Hallett, who had been one of the Wednesday Lecturers at Shaston, died at Cheddington 1665).

1 December 1647, Augmentation to John White at Dorchester.

7 February 1648, Hope Sherrard to Melcombe, alias Horsey's Melcombe and Bingham's Melcombe.

28 Mar. 1648, James Stronge to Betscombe (Bettiscombe), void by cession of William Dolmon. (In 1646 Stronge had succeeded Peter Ince as minister to the town and garrison of Melcombe Regis).

12 April 1648, Jonathan Lawrence to Upwey. (On 26 March 1647, the County Committee had appointed him to Church Knowle).

21 June 1648, Case of augmentation out of the impropriation of Poole.

8 August 1648, Thomas Boult to Compton Abbas.

26 December 1648, Stanley Gowre (Gower) to Trinity, Dorchester—succeeding John White. (Gower was born at Dublin in 1603; Chaplain-in-ordinary to Archbishop Usher and a member of the Assembly of Divines).[1]

Among the Impropriations purchased in by the Commissioners sitting at Goldsmiths' Hall occur the following:—

17 Januarii, 1647.

Robert Lawrence of Cruch-Graunge in the County of Dorset, Esq., to settle £140 per annum for ever upon such places as the Parliament shall appoint: for which he is allowed £1400, and so his Fine is reduced to £28 15s. 0d.

Colonel Robert Lawrence of Creech Grange, the defender of Corfe Castle, and son of Sir Edward Lawrence, on 24 March 1652, begs discharge of his assessment of £400 on the Act of Pardon, he not being sequestered. This is granted.

22 Martii, 1647.

John Crooke of Mottcombe, Esq., to settle £120 per annum for ever, *viz*, £50 per annum upon Christ Church, £35 per

1. Shaw II, 157 to 451, passim. Minute Books, and Hutchins, passim.

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annum upon Ellingham, and £35 per annum upon Ripley, all in the County of Southampton: for which he is allowed £1200 out of his Fine of £4885. On 1 February 1649, Lady Kildare was to have the assessment of John Crooke of Motcombe. On 30 November 1648, he had been assessed at £1500; and on the previous 19 June the Committee for Compounding had issued an order for the forbearance of all proceedings upon the sequestration of his real estate.

In the general report on Augmentations made to the Protector by the Trustees for Maintenance of Ministers, in November 1655, the following entries relate to Dorset:—

	£	s.	d.
To the Minister of Netherbury	40	0	0
To the Minister of Burstock	15	0	0
To the Minister of Poole	40	0	0
To the Minister of Cerne Abbas	38	0	0
To the Minister of Longburton	10	0	0
To the Minister of Whitchurch	20	0	0
18 July—			
To the Minister of Turner's Piddle	40	0	0

The last entry represents a resolution of the Lord Protector and his Council of State interpolated in the original report.

Among the Sundry Ministers and Lecturers who received augmentations and stipends from the sale of Dean-and-Chapters' lands between 30 April 1649 and 15 December 1657 were:—

Philip Lamb of Alton Pancras, for 9 months, £37 10s. 0d.

(On 22 November 1648, the County Committee receive an order from the Committee for Plundered Ministers to pay Lamb £50 out of the estates of the Dean and Chapter of Sarum. Calamy gives him as of Bere Regis and Kingston. A Cambridge man, after the Restoration he ministered at Clapham, Surrey, for the remainder of his life. He was offered £600 a year if he would have conformed.)

Joseph Crabb of Beaminster, for 6 months, £20 0s. 0d.

(By 8 May 1650, Crabb had been appointed by the County Committee to the cure of Netherbury in place of Dr. Paul Godwin, who had deserted his livings of Beaminster and Netherbury. Ejected at the Restoration Crabb afterwards conformed; but "always kept up relations with his persecuted brethren.")

Richard Squibb of Balditch (Walditch), for 9 months, £30 0s. 0d.

(On 28 February 1647, in pursuance of an order from the Committee for Plundered Ministers of two days earlier the County Committee order Squibb to be paid a yearly sum of £40, or his proportion thereof, out of Dean-and-Chapter's lands.)

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Argentore Bazeley of Marshwood, for 6 months, £8 os. od.
Benjamin Barber of Preston and Sutton, for 6 months, £10 os. od.
Henry Hallet of Powerstock (Poorstock), for 9 months, £12 15s. od.
Jerome Turner of Netherbury, for 9 months, £30 os. od.
(By 8 May 1650, Turner had been appointed to Godwin's deserted Cure of Beaminster.)

On 6 January 1647, the Committee for Plundered Ministers ordered the augmentation of various livings in Dorset, among which appear most of those mentioned above:—the further yearly sum of £40 for the increase of the maintenance of the Minister of Netherbury, being at present but £60 a year; the further yearly sum of £40 to Beaminster, being at present but £60 a year; the further yearly sum of £50 to Cerne Abbas, being at present but £25 a year, and £50 a year for the maintenance of a lecture there; the yearly sum of £30 to Marshwood, being at present but £20 a year; the yearly sum of £20 to Preston and Sutton, being at present but £50 a year; the yearly sum of £50 to Poole, being at present but £20 a year, and £50 for the maintenance of a lecture there; the yearly sum of £30 to Burstock, being at present but £25 a year; the yearly sum of £40 to Long Burton and Holnest, being at present but £40 a year.

In an account of the annual Tenths of the Clergy, 25 December 1657 to 25 December 1658, occur:—

	£	s.	d.
Edward Ruddocke, Receiver of said Tenths for Somerset and Dorset	580	2	0

There was paid in augmentations in Dorset:—

John Light of Preston and Sutton Poget (Pointz?) (half-year to 2 April 1658)	20	0	0
Joshua Churchill of Fordington ... (one year to Lady-day 1659)	20	0	0
Sebastian Pitfield of Winfrith ... ... (9 months to 15 January 1659)	7	10	0
Francis Bamfeild of Sherborne ... (half-year to Lady-day 1659)	10	0	0
Benjamin Bird of Charmouth ... ... (the same)	12	0	0
Cuthbert Bownd of Warmwell ... ... (3 months to same date)	7	10	0
John Westly of Winterbourne Whitchurch (same)	7	10	0

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In the same account under the allowances to sundry Masters of Free Schools, occur :—

James Hallet, Schoolmaster of Bure (6 months to 2 January 1658)	10	0	0
Henry Parson, Master of Bridport Free-school (6 months to Lady-day 1659)	7	15	0

Of the Dorset clergymen mentioned in the above list some further account may, perhaps, be given.

Light was among those silenced at the Restoration. Churchhill was ejected in 1662; and afterwards assisted William Benn in preaching to a dissenting congregation at Dorchester; and ultimately succeeded him in his pastoral office. Benn, M.A. of Queen's College, Oxon., had been incumbent of Allhallows, Dorchester; and was wont to pray in his study seven times a day, giving thanks for certain deliverances from danger which befel him in 1636, 1643, and 1645 respectively. On 10 April, 1650, Churchill had been appointed to the Rectory of Over Compton, on the death of Roger Abington, upon the recommendation of John Abington the patron.

Sebastian Pitfield, sometime Quarter-master, having been ordained by the eighth Classical Presbytery of London, was on 29 January, 1650, appointed to the Cure of Caundle Bishop. Two curious letters of his are preserved. They were probably addressed to Thomas Gollop of Candel Marsh, one of the County Coroners, among whose papers they were found.

> "Sir,—Had not the American design justled out all private businesses, I had gotten Mr. Crispe's orders sooner; but at last with much bustling I obtained them, leaving our papers behind as a pawn (as all do) for his submission to examination which must be done in the country by a letter of reference to some here from the Commissioners for approbation above; a favour of the largest size, obtained by special favour of some eminent men—for it is his Highness's custom to examine whom he presents himself before he presents them. Before we are to receive that letter we are to send up a certificate penned more suitable to the words of the ordinance, which will be sent up with as much speed as may be: in the mean time you may do well to pay me what is in arrear to bear his charges. I shall only wish God's blessing on his ministry amongst you. Mr. Ben Hanham[1]

1. On 27 October, 1648, upon the petition of Benjamin Hanham the Dorset Standing Committee order the tenants of Putton and Chickerell, sequestered estate of James Hanham, a recusant, to pay all the old rents (which amount to £8 a year) and arrears to Benjamin for his good service for Parliament. Thomas Hanham of Caundel, late M.P., compounded in 1645, being then aged 76.

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labours much to get his brother's estate, who is (as he saith) dead; and offers me a living and £100 to assist him in it; he cries out much against you, further of which I shall inform . . . . . now at Bridport Sessions. I am in haste, but truly, Sir,

Very much your faithful friend to serve you,

SEBASTIAN PITFEILD.

Winfrith, October 1mo.

Pray assist him as to a settlement with yourself or some other."

The other letter reads as follows:—

"To prevent the 'Crucify' and uphold the 'Hosannah' of the giddy monster called Mobile Vulgus, of which Candel Marsh . . . . . toe *(sic)*, and Rob. Thomas, an excrement, I have sent to London since I received yours to hasten down the papers. In the mean time you will by a letter to Mr. Butler, procure an order for the arrears, for the present livelihood of Mr. Crispe and his pretty consort, as you call her. I hope, ere long, to kiss your hand, which will be an honour,

Sir, to your real friend and servant,

SEBASTIAN PITFEILD.

Winfrith, November 9th.

Francis Bampfield, by January, 1647, had been presented to the two livings (which were then joined) of Rampisham and Wraxall by his father, John Bampfield of Poltimore, Devon, the patron. Born in 1615, M.A. of Wadham College, collated to a Prebend in the Church of Exeter, Francis Bampfield was zealous for the King and publicly read the Book of Common-Prayer longer than any other Minister in Dorset. After Mr. Baxter brought him over to the Parliament party he took the Engagement; succeeded William Lyford at Sherborne in 1653; was ejected by the Act of Uniformity in 1662; and afterwards kept a conventicle at Sherborne and in London—for which he was imprisoned several times during the last ten years of his life. In 1683 he was found guilty at the Old Bailey of refusing the oath of Supremacy and Allegiance; died next year in Newgate; and was buried in the Anabaptists' burial-place in Glasshouse Yard, Aldersgate Street. Anthony Wood says he had been a Churchman, Presbyterian, Independent, "or at least a sider with them, and at length almost a complete Jew."

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C. Bownd, who died in 1702, is responsible for :—

"A Prophysy related by Mr. John Sadler, late of Warmwell, in Dorset, who was a very learned and pious man, in the year after the return of King Charles the Second."

Mr. Sadler being under some distemper of mind, kept his chamber and had one servant, one Thomas Gray of the same parish, to attend him there; and I, Cuthbert Bownd Minister of the parish, coming to visit him found him sitting up in his bed, his wife and servant being with him. He caused his wife presently to depart and the door to be shut; made his man to come on one side of the bed and myself on the other; and, looking very earnestly towards the end of the room, asked us whether we saw nobody nor heard no voice. We answered that we neither heard nor saw any thing, but persuaded him to lie down in his bed and take some rest; and he bade us be quiet, because there was a man that had great things to tell him and spake so loud that he did wonder we did not hear him. Presently he ordered his man to fetch his pen, ink, and paper; and, looking towards the place where the man stood, he began to write and so wrote on as if the man did still dictate to him; and every now and then would be asking him whether it was so or not. And, after he had ended the matter, he read the papers distinctly over twice; and, at the end, asked whether he had written right. He then caused us to set our hands to the paper; "for he will not be gone until he sees that done." When we had done so, he said, 'Now he is gone,' meaning the man he had told us of. What he related to us was :—

That there would die in the city of London so many thousands, mentioning the number which I have forgotten, and the time that the City would be burned down, great part of it; and that he saw Paul's tumbled down as if beaten down with great guns.

That we should have three sea-fights with the Dutch; and that there would appear three blazing stars, and that the last would be terrible to behold.

That afterwards there would come three small ships to land in west of Weymouth that would put all England in an uproar, but it would come to nothing.

That in the year 1688 there would come to pass such a thing in this Kingdom that all the world would take notice of it.

That after all this there would come good times, and that I should live to see great things come to pass, but he and his man should die; and further that some wonderful thing would come to pass afterwards which he was not to make known.

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That he should be able to go abroad the next day and there would come three men to see him—one from Ireland, one from Jersey, and his brother Bingham—which certainly did come as he had told us; and I saw him walking early in the morning the next day in his ground. Upon the report of this, his man Thomas Gray and myself were sent for before the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County and made affidavit of the truth of this before Colonel Giles Strangways, Colonel Coker, and many others yet alive, within three or four days after he told it me. CUTHBERT BOWND."

In another version the three persons who visited Sadler, as prophesied, are said to have been, "the Lord Steel out of Ireland, Colonel Bingham of Bingham's Melcombe, and one Mr. Withers from Guernsey.[1] John Sadler (1615-74) was in 1649 Town Clerk of London; in 1650 Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge; in 1653 M.P. for Cambridge; in 1658 M.P. for Yarmouth; and in 1659, First Commissioner under the Great Seal for probate of wills. In the fire of London his house in Salisbury Court, which cost him £5000 in building, and several other houses belonging to him, were burned down. He, John Bingham of Bingham's Melcombe, and William Sydenham, married daughters of John Trenchard of Warmwell.

John Westley (Wesley) M.A. of New Inn Hall, Oxon, soon after his appointment to Whitchurch near Blandford, married a daughter of John White, the Patriarch of Dorchester, and niece, somehow, to Thomas Fuller. When examined by Dr. Gilbert Ironside, Bishop of Bristol, he said he was sent by the church of Melcombe to preach at Whitchurch (May 1658); was informed against by Sir Gerard Napier, Mr. Freke, and Mr. Tregonwell; but that Mr. Glisson and Sir Thomas Fulford would answer for him. He had preached (being then 25) at Radipole, Melcombe, Turnwood, Whitchurch, and at sea. The Bishop accused him of wearing a sword in the time of the Committee of Safety; and of having abided even until Hesilrige's coming to Portsmouth. Westley answered that the King had pardoned all this. The Bishop then said he

1. Sadler's prophecies concerning the Plague and Fire of London, the Dutch War, Monmouth's landing at Lyme, and the Revolution may be compared with those of Michael Nostradamus (1503-66), who appears to have foretold the Fire of London, the death of Henri II, the execution of Charles I., the French Revolutionary Kalendar of 1792, and the landing of Napoleon from Elba at Fréjus! Prince Rupert instanced Mother Shipton's prophecy concerning the Fire of London. *v.* H. B. Wheatley's "Diary of Samuel Pepys" (1905) VI. 28, 150 n. *Cf.* The poem of "Do-well" in the "Liber de Petro Plowman" where occurs the curious prophecy (14th century), that a King would one day come and beat the religious orders for breaking their rules, and then should the Abbot of Abingdon receive a knock from the King, and incurable should be the wound.

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would not meddle with him. But at the beginning of 1662, Westley was seized on the Lord's Day when coming out of church; carried to Blandford; and there imprisoned. Bailed out by his chief enemy, Sir Gerard Napier, who was sorry for him—Westley having broken his collar-bone—he was bound over to appear at the Assizes; where he came off much better than he had expected. He was indicted for not reading Common Prayer. When finally ejected (26 October) he removed to Melcombe; but was driven from thence. He then dwelt at Bridgewater, Ilminster, and Taunton. He was then offered by a gentleman a house at Preston near Melcombe—to which he removed with his family at the beginning of May. He preached both at Preston and Weymouth; was finally called to Poole; but died at Preston in 1678. Although extremely prudent he was four times imprisoned—once at Poole for six months; and once at Dorchester for three. He was grandfather of John Wesley, the great Methodist leader. His father Bartholemew Westley (1595?-1679?), third son of Sir Herbert Westley of Westleigh, Devon, by Elizabeth de Wellesley of Dangan, Co. Meath, held the sequestered Rectories of Charmouth (from 1640), and Catherston (from 1650), from both of which he was ejected in 1662, subsequently practising as a physician. He married Ann, daughter of Sir Henry Colley of Carbury, co. Kildare. He used a peculiar plainness of speech, which hindered his being a popular preacher. The story that on 23 September 1651, he gave information intended to secure the capture of Charles II, who had lodged at Charmouth after the battle of Worcester, seems authentic. The King appears to have owed his escape to the length of Mr. Westley's prayers, "and by the way, it may be observed, that long prayers proceeding from a traiterous heart once did good, but by accident only."[1]

Henry Parsons was ejected from the living of Burstock in 1662. He suffered much for his nonconformity during the reigns of Charles II and James II. He was a zealous opponent of the hierarchy and Common-Prayer-Book; and, after his ejectment from Burstock, refused the living of Uplyme, worth about £300 a year. After the passing of the Toleration Act he became pastor to a dissenting congregation at Stoke-under-Hambdon in Somerset; where he died in 1717, aged 88.[2]

The Minute Books of the Dorset Standing Committee give the names of some sixty Royalist clergy who were outed,

1. Tract 14, Dorset.

2. Shaw II, 491 to 599, passim. Hutchins I, 203, 435, IV, 139. Minute Books, passim. Cal. C.A.M., 73, 983, 1376. Calamy, vol. ii, 257 to 451, passim.

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sequestered, or silenced. To these some fourteen other names may be added from divers sources, such as Add. MSS. 8845, Walker and Hutchins. Twenty existing incumbents of benefices appear from the Minute Books to have possessed the confidence of the Committee. The officiating ministers employed by the Committee number 118 according to the Minute Books: these were the unbeneficed men appointed by the Committee to the cure of souls in the sequestered parishes. The sequestration of an Incumbent did not vacate the benefice he held. The Committee merely appointed a locum tenens to "officiate the Cure;" although he is sometimes spoken of as incumbent, and he held the post during the Committee's pleasure. But as soon as the sequestered incumbent resigned —as Thomas Clarke, Rector of Hazlebury Bryan, at the beginning of 1648—or died, the right of the patron to present revived as at Thornford in April, 1650, and his nominee was appointed subject to the approval of the Triers. In the case of a lapse, the Committee affected to present; as at Melbury Bubb in October, 1646, when John Forward was presented to the Rectory. Henry Browne, Vicar of Poorstock, and Richard Gillingham, Rector of Lillington, although their benefices were sequestered, seem to have received some subsequent employment from the Committee. Thomas Bravell, ejected from his Rectory of Compton Abbas for joining the Clubmen, was afterwards reinstated; and Dr. Edward Davenant, Vicar of Gillingham, was "tenderly treated," as the Committee term it, but his curate, Samuel Forward, was required to conform to the Directory. Dr. Whinnell of Exeter, applied to the Committee for employment. In the Minute Books eleven persons appear as Triers for examining the qualifications of candidates for Cure of Souls:—William Benn, Rector of All Hallows, Dorchester; Andrew Bromhall, Minister at Maiden Newton; Walter Burgess, Minister at Buckland Ripers and afterwards preacher at Radipole; Simon Ford, Minister at Puddletown and Lecturer at Shaston; John Godwin, Minister at South Perrott; Hugh Gundry, Rector of Maperton; John Hardy, Minister at Symondsbury; Henry Lamb, Minister at Burton Bradstock; John Trottle, Minister at Spettisbury and Lecturer at Blandford; Robert Tutchin, Minister at Bridport; and John White, "the Patriarch," Rector of St. Peter's and Holy Trinity, Dorchester.[1]

Dr. W. A. Shaw's general résumé as to the exercise of Church patronage (1646-60) is as follows:—

1. Minute Books, introduction and text, passim.

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(1) Non-delinquent or non-sequestrated private patronage was not interfered with throughout the whole period.

(2) Delinquent or sequestrated patronage, and patronage pertaining to the hierarchy, was mostly exercised by Parliament and by delegation from it successively by the Plundered Ministers' Committee, the Committee for the Reformation of the Universities, and the Trustees for Maintenance of Ministers. The interference of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, and subsequently of Cromwell, in the exercise of these classes of patronage would therefore be exceptions from the rule, although the exceptions may well prove more numerous than the observances of the rule.

(3) University livings after the period of the cleansing of the Universities were not further interfered with.

(4) Royal rights of presentation were exercised by the Commissioners of the Great Seal up to the Protectorate, and afterwards by Cromwell.

(5) The exercise of the rights of popular election by the parish amounted in most cases to an usurpation by the parish, and the prevalence of such usurpation can only be explained (*a*) by the early wide adoption of the custom of providing voluntary maintenance for freely elected lecturers; (*b*) by the supineness or ignorance of the central authority in London as to the doings in small and distant chapelries; (*c*) by the merely political desire of the central authority to indulge parishioners.

From the time of the meeting of the Assembly of Divines the Houses had to their hands a ready-made mechanism for the certifying of Ministers. At every point Parliament referred itself to the Assembly for the selection of ministers for a particular locality or purpose, or for its testimony as to the fitness of this or that minister. The authority of the Assembly in this matter was systematized by an order of the Commons of 9 October, 1643, providing that no sequestration order of a living should be brought into the House unless reported from the Plundered Ministers' Committee and with the approval certificate of the Assembly of the proposed nominee. For the purpose of discharging this office the Assembly nominated a Committee, under Mr. John Ley, for the examination of Ministers, appointed rules for it, and decided that a special record should be kept of all its recom-

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mendations. Such continued to be the system of certification of ministers up to the time of the definitive creation of the Presbyterian system. Had that system been not merely legislatively conceived but actually enforced, it contained within itself a sufficient provision for a fitting trial and recommendation of ministerial candidates. As, however, the course of events made it ultimately a merely voluntary organization, the guarantee of the ordinance for ordination was lost; and no system for approbation and certification of ministers remained. In place of it there remained only the single test of the acceptance of the Covenant, the reference to the Assembly during its existence, and whatever scrutiny was implied in the judgement of the Plundered Ministers' Committee or of its successors,—the Committee for Reformation of the Universities, or the Trustees for Maintenance, or, finally, of Parliament itself. As this scrutiny was only exercised in cases of sequestrations or applications for augmentations, such a machinery was avowedly imperfect. In the cases of private patronage, which must have formed a large proportion of the total presentations in the country, there was nothing to prevent a nominee who scrupled Presbyterian ordination, but who had the sense to read according to the Directory, from entering on his cure without any ministerial ordination or trial. Numberless instances, moreover, occur in the Journals of both Houses of their resort to the officials of the Bishops for purposes of institution and induction for their own nominees. The exercise of this function by these officials of the deposed hierarchy was tolerated until at least as late as October, 1647, when the Lords ordered Dr. Heath and Dr. Aylett not to press ministers who came to them for institution and induction to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles. In July, 1648, the Commons ordered that the Presbyterian classes should have power to grant institution. But it does not appear that an ordinance for that purpose was ever introduced. On 20 March, 1654, Cromwell issued an Act on his own and his Council's authority. This Act established the Commissioners for Approbation of Public Preachers; giving them power from 24 March, 1654, to grant admission by an instrument in writing under an appointed seal as equivalent to institution and induction. The act was made retrospective as far as related to all presentations made since 1 April, 1653. The Commissioners were not to grant any such instrument of admission to any who could not produce a testimonial or certificate of three persons of known godliness and integrity, one of them a minister, to whom the applicant was to be personally known. The Subscription to the Thirty-nine

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Articles was abolished. Finally, the Act prescribed that not only applications for admission in presentation should be qualified as above, but also all ministers receiving or who in future should receive augmentations. By the later Act of 2 September, 1654, the power of the Commissioners was limited in one particular: they were not to grant admission to sequestered or delinquent ministers except upon a signification from the Protector and his Council. This ordinance was subsequently confirmed by Cromwell's second Parliament in 1656.

Immediately on meeting the Long Parliament had appointed a Grand Committee for Religion to sit every Monday. On 12 December 1640, the Grand Committee nominated a subcommittee—made a week later a Committee from the House—for setting up and maintaining preaching ministers and to consider of some way of removing scandalous ministers. This body is referred to confusedly and indifferently as the Committee for Preaching Ministers and the Committee for Scandalous Ministers. It was concerned only with the persons and lives of the clergy. Its meetings were frequently suspended; and when revived by order of the House, were for most of the year 1641 restricted to the consideration of some particular matter—such as the consideration of the state of all hospitals and free-schools in England and Wales. After the war broke out, among the reasons for the sequestration of Royalist livings was the present plea of scandal in the life of the incumbent. The old Committee for Scandalous Ministers had disappeared in the light of the advent of the Plundered Ministers' Committee; and the Bill for scandalous ministers had remained abortive. In the absence of that systematic measure more temporary expedients were adopted. At different times different bodies were empowered for the exercise of such of the functions of the old Committee as concerned the trial and ejection of such ministers. In September 1643, it was resolved to bring in an ordinance to enable the Parliamentary Committees generally in all the counties to sequester the livings of scandalous ministers, and to put religious and learned men in their places. In the end, the powers of these various bodies were gradually absorbed by the Committee for Plundered Ministers originally appointed on 31 December, 1642. Such portions of the functions of the old Committee for Plundered Ministers as concerned the ejection of scandalous ministers were not allowed to cease with the lapse of the Committee itself in 1653. They were undertaken at first directly by Cromwell himself and the Council of State, and carried out with characteristic vigour. The proposals of certain divines for the better Propagation of the Gospel,

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which were submitted to the House on 11 February 1653, included the following:—

(4) That care be taken for removing the residue of ministers who are ignorant, scandalous, non-residents, or disturbers of the public peace; and likewise of all schoolmasters who shall be found Popish, scandalous, or disaffected to the Government of this Commonwealth.

(5) That to this end a number of persons, ministers and others of eminent piety, etc., be appointed by authority of Parliament to go through the nation to inquire after, examine, judge of, and eject all such persons as shall be found unfit for the ministry or teaching school.

(6) That for the expediting this work these persons may be assigned in several companies or committees to the six circuits of the nation to reside in each of the counties for such a convenient space of time as shall be requisite until the work be done; calling to their assistance such godly and able persons, ministers and others, in each of the counties where they shall then reside to assist them in this work as they shall think fit.

The Rump, in its debates of February to April 1653, never reached the above particular portions of the Proposals. But all the subsequent schemes—that of the Nominated Parliament, and that of Cromwell himself—followed broadly the lines thus laid down in the Acts for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales and the Northern Counties of February 1650, and repeated by the divines in these Proposals of February 1653. Cromwell's ordinance of 22 August 1654, dropped the idea of circuit judges, and appointed separate bodies of commissioners for each county of England and Wales, assisted in each case by a nominated number of divines. The Commissioners were empowered to eject, after trial, all ignorant, scandalous, insufficient or negligent clergymen and schoolmasters. The remainder of the Act concerned the charitable relief of the ejected and the nomination of his successor in the cure or school. This ordinance of 1654, was left to be confirmed by the Act of 1656.[1]

Some typical biographies of the Royalist and sequestered clergy may be given from the pages of their apologist, John Walker, and elsewhere. Gamaliel Chase, B.D., Rector of

1. Shaw, passim.

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Wambrook, Dorset, since 1620, and Vicar of Yarcombe, Devon, had been Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxon, where he was Tutor to Edward Pococke the Orientalist. During the war, Chase was dispossessed of both livings; turned out of his parsonage with his wife and seven children; and plundered, by Lyme garrison and his neighbours, of his corn, cattle, books and MSS. His temporal estate of £100 a year was sequestered; for which he compounded for £112. He was several times imprisoned. Once he hid himself in a heap of wool; where the soldiers soon discovered him by thrusting in their swords—one of which wounded him in the thigh. Another time a party of them plundered from him two excellent horses; and he, entreating them to let him have one of them again, was mounted upon one of his own horses behind the fellow who rode it and carried prisoner to Lyme; and from thence to Exeter and the Marshalsea in London. He was succeeded at Wambrook by William Randell "an idle, sottish fellow;" who lived to deliver it up to him again in 1660, when Chase also regained Yarcombe. The Dorset Committee forbade the fifths to be paid to Mrs. Chase, whilst her husband still retained Yarcombe. In 1648, they thought of appointing John Chase, his son to Wambrook—of which Gamaliel had become the patron. John ultimately succeeded his father there on the latter's death in 1680. After sequestration he was forbidden to read the Common-Prayer, or expound a chapter, even in his own family. A neighbouring J.P., required him to pay three shillings for three Sundays' absence from Church. Gamaliel Chase was in Exeter when that city was held for the King. He had contracted in 1641, with Lieutenant John Paris of Chardstock for the purchase of lands to be settled upon him and his heirs for £150, to be paid when the settlement was perfected. But the Governor of Lyme Regis, taking Paris to be a delinquent, imprisoned Chase for the said sum one month in Lyme; and ten or eleven months in Portsmouth. On his release he was so harassed by the soldiers of Lyme for the non-payment of the remaining money that he fled to Exeter. On 7 September 1649, it is ordered that Chase be discharged from his assessment of £150—on certificate from Goldsmiths' Hall that he has compounded on the Exeter Articles and paid his fine.

Dr. Edward Davenant, of Queen's College, Cambridge, was Vicar of Gillingham in 1625. Nephew of Bishop John Davenant of Salisbury, he attended his uncle to the Synod of Dort in 1618; and was Treasurer of Salisbury. During the war, he was sequestered; his house plundered; and his library, worth £1000, seized by a party of Waller's soldiers, but

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redeemed by him. On the whole, however, he was mercifully dealt with, being allowed to continue at Gillingham; and, it is said, was only deprived of the chapels belonging to his church—out of regard for his uncle, who was an eminent Calvinist. But it appears certain that he was succeeded there by Thomas Andrewes, sometime organist at Warminster, a Lecturer at Shaston and late Minister of Motcombe; and the Register mentions John Pannel, who officiated at Gillingham in 1657. At the Restoration, Davenant was restored; made D.D.; and died in 1679, aged 84, being buried in the chancel of his church. He was a very learned man.

William Douch, of Trinity College, Oxon, was Rector of Stalbridge in 1648. In 1649 he was ejected and plundered; but recovered his living at the Restoration. His son William was a landowner in the parish and protected by the Dorset Committee. The father was allowed his fifths; but Nathaniel Fairclough, who succeeded him on his sequestration and died in 1656, is said to have used Douch very ill, denying him his fifths.

Thomas Fuller, B.D., of Queen's College, Cambridge, was educated under his uncle Bishop Davenant of Salisbury when President of Queen's. In 1640 he was fined £200 for subscribing to the canons; and in the same year abandoned both his living of Broad Windsor, which he had held since 1635, and his Prebend in Salisbury Cathedral. He says he was "never formerly sequestered"; but ceased to officiate or receive the income. In 1643 he withdrew from London to Oxford. At the Restoration, Fuller found one John Pinney in possession; and, having heard him preach, allowed him to remain in the charge—apparently as curate. Pinney was, however, dismissed before January 1662; and, after many troubles, settled in Dublin—where he was minister to a dissenting congregation for ten years. The Revolution afforded Pinney the means of settling among his old parishioners at Broad Windsor, to some of whom he continued to preach until his death. Fuller died in 1661; and is remembered as a Church historian. One of his sisters was widow of Henry Hewett, Vicar of Hilton in Dorset; who was maltreated by the Royalist soldiers and taken prisoner in the north, where he died. Fuller purchased an estate in Dorset for Mrs. Hewett, who was confirmed in the enjoyment of it by the County Committee.

Dr. Humphrey Henchman was sequestered in 1643; his Rectory house and library at Portland were destroyed; and he had to pay £200 for composition to the Parliamentarians. He was succeeded in his livings of Portland and Wyke Regis by

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Henry Way. On 23 April 1647, the Parsonage of Portland being of very small value and the houses belonging thereto much decayed, Thomas Allen then minister is excused paying Mrs. Henchman and her children their fifths—the more so as Dr. Henchman is quite able to maintain them. Mrs. Henchman was Ellen, daughter of Bishop Townson, niece of Bishop Davenant, and first cousin of Thomas Fuller and Archbishop Lamplugh. On 7 April 1648, the Commissioners for Compounding order further proceedings upon the sequestration of Dr. Henchman's real estate to be suspended. He was largely instrumental in arranging for the escape of Charles II from England after the battle of Worcester in 1651. He was Bishop of Sarum in 1660; and of London in 1663—and, during the great plague, set a noble example to his clergy by remaining firmly at his post. He died in 1675 in the 83rd year of his age.

Roger Clark, M.A., Rector of Todbere, a living worth but £40 a year, was not sequestered; although he always used the Common Prayer. In the time of Penruddock's rising, Mr. Dewey of Bloxworth and one Baker came to the parsonage about midnight with a company of Foot and a troop of Horse in order to take Hancock Clark, the Rector's son. But Hancock, upon notice of their arrival, leapt out of a back-window into the midst of the Horse in the orchard with his drawers, shirt, and one stocking on; and, being set upon, gave Dewey a dangerous blow with an iron pin of an axle; whilst the rest, in the darkness, were struck off their horses by the limb of an apple-tree. Hancock made good his escape to Mr. Nicholas, Rector of Stawell in Somerset. Then the doors being opened, the enraged assailants are said to have taken Roger Clark the father, aged 70; to have bound him neck and heels until the blood ran out of his eyes; to have carried him forthwith to Sturminster-Newton Castle; and to have burned his fingers with matches—of which torture he was about six months in recovering. Another son, Roger Clark the younger, M.A., (Oxon), was Prebendary of Bishopston in the Church of Sarum and Rector of Ashmore, Dorset. He betook himself to the royal army under Hopton; for which he was plundered of all he had—the soldiers tearing up the beds, and scattering the feathers abroad. "They took the two young sons, being twins, the elder Roger and the other (who tells the tale) Richard; and laid them stark-naked in a dripping-pan with a design to roast them. But a certain woman, whose name was Pope, came; snatched them from the fire; and carried them away in her apron. Their mother was stripped of all her clothing save her shift and petticoat." On 27 November 1646,

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Clark "who hath been in arms against the State, and not submitted himself" is ordered by the Dorset Committee to forbear officiating in Stower Provost, into which parish he has lately intruded; and is required to appear before the Committee at Blandford on Tuesday next. In February 1647, the County Committee order the sequestration of his estate at Ashmore to be suspended as nothing as yet appears against him. Walker, however, declares that Clark, having been dispossessed for refusing the Covenant, was forced to fly into Herefordshire with his wife and younger son (where they were succoured by an aunt of Lord Hopton's); and had £100 set upon his head. During his abode there he was twice imprisoned for having said or done something in favour of the rising of Penruddock and Booth—once in Chepstow Castle, and once in Monmouth Castle. He died two years before the Restoration.

William Bartlett, sometime Vicar of Yetminster and Rector of Church Knowle, in a letter from prison of 18 October 1646, to Edward Moore at Westminster, records how he was deprived of all his means by the County Committee—forfeiting both parsonage and vicarage under the ordinance against pluralities. He has been twenty-two weeks in prison; owes £400; and has no assets. He is owed about £20 on arrears, but cannot obtain them. His accusers—William Oldish and Benjamin Miller—own neither house nor a foot of ground in the parish; and have maligned him of old for reproving their vicious living—the one for beating his wife, the other for drunkenness. A third accuser, Richard Rogers, did him more good than harm; for he showed the other two to be perjured; so that, had Bartlett had equal judges, he had not only been quiet but his accusers severely punished. The accusations brought against him were:—

(1) That he never observed a fast appointed by King and Parliament.

But he reminded his accusers he did observe it, preaching from the desk. "Yes, said they, but you did not preach from the pulpit; and quickly gave it off; although it was proclaimed from Wednesday to Friday. But we that were well-affected, quoth Oldish, went to Thornford, two miles off, where it was duly observed; and then Mr. Bartlet caused all his bells to be rung out to hinder our devotion there"; whereas the whole parish of Yetminster are ready to testify the contrary.

2) That he read Common Prayer, on Thursday and Saturday next before Easter last, after he had received the Directory.

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This he denied; and Oldish and Miller confessed they were not present, but that Rogers would testify it. But he utterly denied it.

(3) That he was at a Bonfire some three years ago.

He confessed this to be true. Hearing a great shout outside his door he went out to know the cause, and found at least three-fourths of his parishioners assembled round a bonfire. Rogers affirmed it was near the end of the bonfire before Bartlet came.

(4) That he preached and prayed against Parliament in his first sermon, after his first coming out of prison, upon the text "If God be on our side, who can be against us?" This sermon, said his accusers, was invective against Parliament.

This is false. On coming out of prison there being no book in his house and his people expecting something from him the following Sabbath, he took the notes of the above text which he had in prison with him; and preached the same sermon to his people *verbatim* as he had preached twenty years before.

Bartlet attributes his continued misfortunes to the hostility of John Mintern of Batcomb, who had married Bridget, sister of John Browne of Frampton, M.P. for Dorset, and Chairman of the County Committee, and was cousin to Walter Foy, another Committeeman. But Coker, another Committeeman, told Foy and others that they had done what afterwards they would be ashamed of in condemning Bartlet; and refused to put his hand to the commitment. "I have lived Vicar in Yetminster" says Bartlet, "thirty-nine years—time enough to know me inside and outside; but, notwithstanding, all my possessions are taken from me which were my father's patrimony, whereunto God hath called me and wherein I was settled by the laws of the Kingdom." In April 1649, Samuel Ball, Minister of Church Knowle is ordered to pay Mrs. Rose Bartlet her fifths; and certain parishioners of Yetminster are to be compelled to pay her their arrears of tithes in lieu of her husband's fifths.

Thomas Clarke, Rector of Hazlebury Bryan, admitted in 1618, was sequestered and plundered. "His temporal estate of between £300 and £400 a year was," says Walker, "sequestered; and this afterwards was possibly pleaded as a bar against his right to the fifths which I find he could never recover." The County Committee are, however, discovered in November 1647, ordering his successor James Rawson to pay fifths to Mrs. Clarke; and in September 1648 threatening him with

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punishment if he omits to do so. Clarke's son William, also in orders and of a great courage, was shot with his servant in 1644, upon the road between Hazlebury and Weymouth. The elder Clarke died before the Restoration; which gave occasion to James Rawson to lay claim to the living on the King's return. But the Commissioners would not allow it; because he had said in a sermon that the Queen-Mother was "a whore" and all her children "bastards," and had publicly prayed that God would root out the royal family root and branch. "If this is true"; Calamy comments, "it is not to be wondered at if he was dispossessed."

James Crouch, Rector of Hinton Martel—a living worth £100 a year—was twice imprisoned, once in the County Gaol and once at Weymouth. From the latter place of durance he escaped to the royal army; his wife and children being reduced to great extremity. He was supported by the charity of Mr. Freke of North Wilts; and was, with some trouble, restored to his living in 1661. As he was thought to be the first sufferer in Dorset; so he was, also, the last to be restored in this county.

Dr. Richard Fitzherbert, Archdeacon of Dorset, Rector of Cheselborne from 1639; and of Stoke Courcy and Cucklington in Somerset—lost his Dorset and one of his Somersetshire livings. He was more than once imprisoned and plundered; once especially by Colonel Foy, whose sister the Archdeacon's eldest son—then a Royalist Major—had married; and she interceding with her brother to spare her father-in-law's house, Foy told her—if he could catch her own husband he would make him an example to his brethren the Cavaliers.

Dr. John Pitt, Warden of Wadham College, 1644-8, Rector of Blandford St. Mary, was sequestered in 1645. In April 1647 he was appointed Rector or Prebendary of Chardstock to be held with the Rectory of South Brendon, Somerset. He was plundered of his household goods and books; his estate sequestered; and was deprived of his Wardenship by the Visitors. He was father of Governor Thomas Pitt, who was grandfather of William, Earl of Chatham.

John Potter, Rector of Great Fontmel, was imprisoned at Weymouth for several months for inveighing on a certain Sunday against Cromwell. He proved that he was that very day in London; although the invective sermon in question had indeed been preached in his own parish church.

William Lyford (1598-1653) was Vicar of Sherborne 1631 until his death. He was B.D. of Magdalen (and in 1624 nominated a Charter Fellow of the new foundation of Pembroke College), Oxon. His Calvinistic views left him un-

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disturbed during the war; he was chosen member of the Westminster Assembly but did not sit—a fact which perhaps accounts for the mistaken assumption that he was a Royalist. Fuller says he drank a deep draught of the bitter cup with the rest of his brethren. In January 1647, he is allowed to continue officiating at Sherborne on condition he takes the National Covenant; and in April he is granted £80 a year out of the Sherborne estates of Lord Bristol, who had presented him to the living.

Dr. Bruno Ryves, a native of Dorset and author of "Mercurius Rusticus," subsisted upon charity at Shaftesbury from 1642 to 1649. After the Restoration he was successively Dean of Chichester and Dean of Windsor. In April 1648, the County Committee permit his wife Katherine, daughter of Sir Richard Waldram Kt., to enjoy a small copyhold tenement in the Manor of Fordington belonging to her.

William Wake, Rector of Holy Trinity and St. Michaels, Wareham, suffered much during the war. At the Restoration he re-possessed himself of his living, but died in 1661. The return to the Commission of 1650 was that the tithe and glebe of Holy Trinity amounts to £45 a year; out of which and St. Michael's £15 os. od. is paid in fifths. The Chapel of Arne is annexed to it. Thomas Chaplin, M.A., of St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge, with his assistants supply the cure. There is a sermon every Sunday morning. While at Wareham, Chaplin rigorously put down children's games on Sundays; and at the Restoration retired to Cambridge—where he died in 1667 aged 46. Captain William Wake of Shapwick thus describes his father's sufferings: "Parliament . . . . having given a commission to one Mr. Robert Morton[1] of Wareham—a bastard son of that family who had been some time in the Low Countries—to fortify that town, having an old rampire about it, and garrison it for Parliament; upon a Sunday afternoon at the Cross, there being a great number of the inhabitants got together, he made a declaration of the power given him and of his resolution to proceed upon the fortifications, and encouraged the inhabitants to assist him. My father being on foot and Morton on horseback, with his pistols before him, my father spoke to the people not to give credit and be misled by a pretended authority of Mr. Morton's; upon which Morton drew out one of his pistols and—taking the barrel in his hand—struck my father with the lock over the head, somewhat to his detriment; which

1. Of the Milborne St. Andrew family of which Cardinal-Archbishop Morton had been a member.

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was all that passed at that time. Next day Morton, with his factious assistants, proceeded to the fortifications; and my father and one Mr. Harding,[1] being out at the end of the town taking the air, at their return without the works met Morton on horseback, who questioned my father for what he had said on Sunday; drew out a pistol charged with great shot; fired in my father's face; and, presently drawing his other pistol charged with bullets, shot him in the head—when one of the bullets lodged in his forehead at the breaking of the hair; and he fell to the ground. Morton then called to his boy—a poor child taken out of the town—and bade him make an end of him as he lay on the ground; which the boy refused to do—having had many times relief at my father's door. Whereupon Morton drew his sword; and give him two cuts over the head, which he thought had despatched him." But Wake was not dead; and was carried home in a chair. Meanwhile "one Susan Bolt, a servant of my father's being in a field hard by fetching of pease, came and with her corn-pike made at Morton; who rode from her and was by her pursued to his own doors. There was no surgeon nearer than Corfe Castle—one Mr. Palfrey—who was sent for to take care of my father, but was—by the guard on the south bridge—denied entrance; upon which a boat was got for him to get over the river, as he did;" and Wake recovered. But he was hardly well again "before Major Sydenham, by order of the Committee, seized him with several others close prisoners in the Black Rod at Dorchester; and in a short time after were, in all likelihood poisoned, several dying. And my father, one Mr. Ware, Mr. Gardner, and Mr. Moon,[2] taking a quantity of plague waters," did not succumb, although grievously sick. "In the meantime they plundered and sequestered my father; continued him in prison; and turned my mother and three children out of doors—seizing what goods they had remaining. So soon as my father got his liberty he went into the King's army, and was in Sherborne Castle when it was taken, and, after, a prisoner in custody was stripped naked and led with several others, men and women, in triumph through all the town, which was near half a mile from the Castle to the upper part of it. From thence he was sent prisoner to Poole, where the plague then was, and there continued until exchanged to Corfe Castle; in which Castle, when it was betrayed, he was again taken and barbarously

1. Probably John Harding.

2. Perhaps William Wear of Portisham; William Gardner of Whitechurch Canonicorum; and Maximilian Mohun of Fleet.

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dealt with. During all this time his estate was under sequestration; and my dear mother and sister were enforced to work for bread for themselves, the children and my dear father—who was for the most part a prisoner. And after the King's army were all suppressed, and his garrisons taken and surrendered, my father came to live in Blandford and with Mr. Hooke,[1] a sequestered divine, and others kept up the discipline of the Church of England at Bryanston Chapel; and, when prevented there, constantly in his own house—out of which Mason, Pelham, Dewy, Lee, Chaffie,[2] and others pulled him out of his bed and kept him, a very infirm man, on their guards; and daily moved him with them, as they were commanded, from place to place. They afterwards brought a troop of dragoons to seize him and such as frequented the prayers of the church; and barbarously murdered one Walter Elkins, a cutler, who made good his house, and refused to be their prisoner. They then again seized my father, and mounted him behind a dragoon to carry him to Dorchester prison; when, being market-day, town and country rose and pursued them; and, after two or three miles pursuit, I got up with them and, by the assistance of Major Uvedale coming thence from Dorchester Assizes, rescued him and brought him back. But in a little time after he was again seized, and carried prisoner to Dorchester; where he continued a prisoner until these villains were thrown out of commission. He was nineteen times a prisoner; and all the while under sequestration. His blood was the first spilled in opposition to the rebels in the West of England; he, receiving the wounds above mentioned before the Commission of Array came down, or the action of Sir John Stawell at Mattock's Tree in Somerset. . . . Morton had a great sickness before the rebellion, and was sustained by my mother's milk: he was taken prisoner by the King's party; brought into Bridgewater; and there by a court-martial condemned to be hanged. My father got him off, and sent him home to Wareham; who in a little while put my mother and her children out of the town a second time, and caused her to be plundered. This I aver to be a true and just account . . . . I, who was—in the time of the rebellion—eighteen times a prisoner, and twice condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered—got off from the first by a rebel uncle, and the second time by the articles I made with Captain Croke at South Molton." A curious

1. Richard Hooke, sometime Rector of Durweston.

2. Probably Capt. Pelham; Capt. James Dewey of Bloxworth; Capt. John Lea of Bridport.

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allusion to the elder Wake occurs in 1635: "Before I parted" from Wareham, says the writer, "I had a free and generous entertainment from the honest, merry, and true-hearted parson there, both at his own house and in the town, and enjoyed much mirth from him. . . . . He was both a good scholar and a good soldier, an excellent drum-beating parson; his preparations, troops, voluntaries, marches, skirmishes and retreats, he beats *ad voluntatem*."[1]

On 3 December, 1646, the Dorset Committee order the Provost Marshal for the County to arrest and convey to the Marshalsea at Melcombe Regis the Rev. William Wake and six other persons. On 18 April, 1647, on the petition of his children, Magdalen and Edward Wake, the Rev. John Galping—lately officiating in Wareham—is to pay them fifths. On 6 April, 1648, "forasmuch as the parsonage of Bryanston is sequestered from Mr. Robert Baskett for his delinquency, and the said parish hath been destitute of a minister for a good space, by which means one Mr. Wake, a turbulent person, and other ill-affected ministers have had opportunity to preach there to the disturbance of the peace of the County . . . . . these are to authorize Mr. William Browne, M.A., to officiate in the Cure of Bryanston." On 22 November, 1648, Mr. Thomas Chaplin, her father's successor, is ordered to pay Magdalen Wake £15 for the ensuing year—beginning from 29 September last past—by quarterly instalments in full of fifths, for the maintenance of her mother, herself, her brothers and sisters. On 7 February, 1649, Nathaniel Child, Mayor of Wareham and Commissary, and John Harding are ordered to collect all arrears of tithes due in 1646-7, and out of the same to pay Mrs. Magdalen Wake all the arrears they receive out of the parishes of Trinity and Michael towards the fifths due to her in those years; and the residue, if any be, to Mr. Thomas Chaplin.

William Wake, the younger, born 28 April, 1628, had an ensign's commission in the royal army by 1646; for on 12 May of that year, Fairfax commanded all officers and soldiers under his command to suffer Ensign Wake "to pass your guard to Blandford or Wareham, there to remain—he having engaged himself not to bear arms against the Parliament without first rendering himself prisoner to the Parliament's forces." His son, the third William Wake, when Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote an account of his family. The father was condemned at Exeter to be hanged, drawn and quartered

1. Lansdowne. "Relation of a short Survey of Western Counties, etc., 1635." By a Captain, Lieutenant, and an Ancient of the Norwich company.

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for being concerned in Penruddock's rising of 1655. "The chief persons who headed it," says the Archbishop, "were Colonel Penruddock, Mr. Richard Reeves, Messrs. Robert and George Duke, to whom came in afterwards Mr. Joseph Wagstaffe, Mr. Hugh Grove, etc." The design being discovered, a small number of them went to South Molton in Devon; where they were attacked by Colonel Croke. There they entered into a treaty with him that they should be secured their lives, liberties, and estates on condition that they went home peaceably. But as they were separating Croke seized them; whereupon they were all tried and condemned to death. Penruddock and Grove were beheaded; and some others hanged. However, Mr. Wake, having refused Croke's promise and surrendered himself upon written articles, got those articles carried up to Cromwell by one of Croke's own officers "Who, ashamed of the perfidiousness of his Colonel, voluntarily undertook to ride up post with them from Exeter; upon which his execution with that of others mentioned in those articles was not only stopped but, by an ordinance of Parliament, he and six others were pardoned and restored in blood for all offences by them committed before 12 October, 1656," about which time the Act passed. However, he continued in prison until after the Archbishop's birth in 1657. He married Ann, or Amy, daughter of Edward Cutler, a rich farmer who lived at Stower Payne and Nutford. They were, it is said, married first according to the form of the Church of England, and then according to the method of marriages prescribed in those times at the Church of St. Bartholomew-the-Less, West Smithfield. Wake entered the clothing trade; amassed a fortune; and ultimately purchased the Manor of Shapwick Champayne. "The King being restored, Mr. Wake settled at Blandford Forum, and there carried on his trade of cloathing for some time after; until, falling in with Mr. Robert Pitt of that place (brother to Dr. John Pitt), they rented of the Duke of Richmond the aulnage of the five Western Counties (which they held about eighteen years)." Wake's services were not forgotten; for, on 10 January, 1675, John Lord Poulett as Lord Lieutenant of Dorset appoints "William Wake, Captain Lieutenant of the first company in the Regiment of Foot under Sir William Portman, Bt., Colonel of the Eastern regiment in the said County." Wake died in 1705, aged 77, and was buried in the old Church at Blandford.

After the return of the King a conference, known as the Savoy Conference from its place of meeting, was held in April, 1661, between certain Bishops and Presbyterian clergy.

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But the two parties differed too much to come to terms, and the whole question of the settlement of the Church was left to the Cavalier Parliament. In 1662 Parliament decided it by passing the Act of Uniformity. Every clergyman and every schoolmaster refusing to express, by 24 August, his unfeigned consent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, was to be precluded from holding a benefice. On St. Bartholomew's Day (24 August) about 2000 clergy—known hereafter as the dissenting clergy—resigned their cures for conscience sake. In like manner their opponents had, in the time of Puritan domination, been driven from their livings rather than take the National Covenant.

Some of the Dorset dissenting clergy, not already mentioned, may be noticed here.

Humphrey Phillips, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen, Oxon, lost his Fellowship at the Restoration, and was ejected from Sherborne with Francis Bampfield. They continued, however, to preach in a house at Sherborne until apprehended and sent to an Inn, which was made a prison for them and twenty of their hearers; "for which entertainment they had to pay a considerable charge." On coming out Bampfield and Phillips went to Thomas Bampfield's of Dunkerton near Bath, where they preached. Thomas Bampfield and Phillips, now his chaplain, were sent to Ilchester Gaol; where the latter abode eleven months. From thence brought in the depth of winter to the Wells Assizes, Phillips was put into a chamber "like Noah's Ark, full of all sorts of Creatures; and put into a Bed with the Bridewell keeper, where the sheets were wet and clung to his flesh." When discharged he went over to Holland with a son of Colonel Strode, M.P. Returning to Dunkerton he found Bampfield had espoused the Seventh-Day-Sabbath, and difficulties arose. Driven from place to place, he finally settled on his own estate at Beckington, where he lived for many years preaching.

Christopher Lawrence, of Came, near Dorchester, was born at Dorchester in 1613, when the town was in flames. B.A. of Queen's College, Oxon, he was presented by Sir Walter Erle in 1654 to Langton Matravers in Purbeck, but, removing to Came in 1658, was ejected in 1662. He spent much money in rebuilding the parsonage-house, but could get no allowance made him for it. In 1665, the Militia "being raised under pretence of a Plot in the North," some soldiers were sent to apprehend Lawrence; but missing him, although he was in his study, broke many pots and bottles full of medicine—with which his wife was wont to cure the poor gratis. Joseph Whittel, his brother-in-law a Dorchester

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merchant, coming peaceably to the house was knocked down with the butt-end of a musket. Next day Lawrence surrendered himself to the Deputy-Lieutenants and, with other ministers, was committed to Dorchester Gaol; where he contracted an illness from which he never thoroughly recovered.

Ames Short, M.A., gentleman-commoner of Exeter College, Oxon, went to Lyme Regis in 1650; rejoiced at the Restoration, and preached a thanksgiving sermon at request of the Mayor and Corporation; but was ejected and silenced by "the Bartholomew Act." On his refusal to conform his father gave him nothing; and the Five Mile Act of 1665 confined him to his house. The County troops often sought him; and rifled his house. Being several times disappointed they caught his son; pointed a pistol to his breast; and threatened to kill him if he did not say where his father was. The child answered: "My father does not acquaint me whither he goes." As they were searching chimneys, chests, boxes, etc., they threatened the servant-maid after the same manner who said: "My master doth not hide himself in such places; he hath a better Protector." To which she had this reply: "The Devil take him and his Protector too!" In 1668 Captain Gregory Alford accused him of being seen at the head of 200 men, but this was not proved. Short, meanwhile, having ridden to London concealed himself; and Alford, being much in debt, soon lay at the mercy of his creditors. About the time of the Ryehouse Plot the county-troop, commanded by Mr. Strode, came to Lyme to seize Mr. Short and Mr. John Kerridge the schoolmaster.[1] Some of the town broke into the meeting house; pulled down the pulpit; and were destroying the seats, when Strode stopped them. In 1682, Short was seized at Exeter; convicted upon the Act against Conventicles; and imprisoned for six months there. In 1685 he was convicted at Lyme upon the same Act; and committed to Dorchester Gaol for five months; but, upon Monmouth's landing, was with some others removed from thence to a dungeon at Portsmouth. Often summoned to appear at the Assizes, Short, a man of undaunted courage, was at last outlawed. While he was imprisoned at Dorchester, "a pretended friend, Solomon Andrews of Lyme, was heard to say at his seat in Somerset: 'I will stick close to Mr. Short as his skin doth to his flesh;'" but, as he was returning to Lyme in order to go to the Dorchester Assizes as Foreman

1. M.A. of Corpus Christi College Oxon, formerly schoolmaster at Abingdon. His father, ejected from Wootton Fitzpaine, died in 1662.

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of the Grand Jury, he was found dead in the road. On 25 August, 1687, after liberty had been granted to the dissenters, a public meeting was held at Lyme when eight candidates for the ministry were solemnly ordained. Short's son John educated young men for the ministry at Lyme and Colyton, and died pastor of a congregation in London.

In the case of John Mitchel, of Langton Matravers in Purbeck, "some gentlemen of the neighbourhood who were warm enough for the Church of England waited on the Bishop in order to his keeping of his place; but nothing would do without that entire Conformity, which he could not by any means be satisfied in."

Timothy Sacheverell of Tarrant Hinton (of Gussage St. Michael, April, 1648), educated at Trinity College, Oxon, was brother of John of Wincanton, Somerset, and of Philologus of Eastwood, Essex, and great-uncle of the notorious Dr. Henry Sacheverell. Between the Restoration and St. Bartholomew's Day he was down on a list with several others to be sent to prison; but Sir Gerard Napier refused to set his hand to the commitment—so they all escaped for that time. Long after Bartholomew-day several Militia-troopers rushed into his house, while he and his family were upon their knees praying. One presented a pistol to Sacheverell's back, commanding him in the King's name to stand up; but he still continued praying. And when he had concluded he stood up and asked the trooper how he durst thus pretend in the King's name to disturb them—while the family were presenting their petitions to the King of Kings. He continued at Tarrant Hinton after his ejectment until the Five-Mile-Act. Afterwards he removed to Winterborne; where he opened his house to all comers, and preached until the Indulgence of 1672. Then, going to fit up an out-house as a meeting-house, a fire, supposed to have been kindled by incendiaries, occurred in his house which consumed nearly all his books, sermons, and MSS. He died in 1680 at Devizes.

Jeremiah French, of South Perrot (and formerly of Over and Nether Compton, and Pulham) had been at Newport when Charles I was hurried away from Carisbrooke Castle. He preached in the forenoon on Hosea v, 2, and in the afternoon on Titus i, 16—for which he was imprisoned in Carisbrooke for three months; then carried by sea to London; tried for his life; but got off at great cost by promising not to preach again at Newport. After ejectment he lived at Bradford Abbas, and preached. When the time of liberty (1671) was at an end, several warrants were out against him; but could not be executed owing to his persecutors not knowing his Christian

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name.[1] Afterwards he was pursued by a troop of Horse, whom he narrowly escaped; but durst not see his wife on her death-bed. He died in 1685 worn out by care.

John Hardy, M.A., of Wadham College, Oxon, of Simondsbury, a Trier, was one of the ministers who preached at Westminster Abbey on the day of thanksgiving for the Restoration. He was a partial conformist; a distinguished preacher and of great integrity. His younger brother, Samuel Hardy of Charminster, had been sent down from Wadham for refusing to take the oaths when supplicating for the M.A. degree. While at Charminster he was Chaplain to Trenchard at Wolveton. He went to Poole on the petition of the inhabitants; and was ejected from thence by a commission of three Bishops, etc. While at Poole he redeemed many captives from slavery, having collected nearly £500 for that purpose.

John Weeks, of Buckland Newton, was after ejectment many years a minister in Bristol. He was twice imprisoned for non-conformity—six months at a time—when he preached out of the prison windows. Once he was carried to gaol from his pulpit.[2]

That youthful religious body, the Society of Friends—who had embraced the opinions of the Waterlander Memnonite Church of Amsterdam, a sect originally founded more than two centuries before the appearance of George Fox by Caspar Schwenkfeld, a Silesian nobleman—do not appear to have attained any great prominence in Dorset during this period; although William Lyford, Vicar of Sherborne, is absurdly reported to have died there, on 3 October 1653, "of a painful and sharp disease, by the witchcraft, as 'tis said, of certain Quakers." In 1662, however, 200 Quakers were imprisoned in Dorset. At the end of this century and at the beginning of the next seven persons are recorded to have been prosecuted for refusing to pay tithes and church rates. William Mocket of Broadway, had eight cows taken away in 1697 in lieu of 6 years tithe at the suit of John Page, then Rector; James Haviland[3] of Corfe Castle had to pay heavily in 1699 for refusing the church rate to the Rectors of Langton Matravers and Corfe; and Thomas Strong of the same parish suffered

1. Thomas Rowe, M.A. (Exeter College and chaplain at New College, Oxon), of Litchet Matravers escaped arrest several times owing to his name being wrongly given on warrants. Thomas Crane, M.A., of Rampisham (a living given him by Cromwell) Lyford's son-in-law, escaped imprisonment at Bridport Sessions being charged through error with coming to Divine Service instead of *not* coming, etc.

2. Walker, passim. Calamy, Dorset, 1713, 1727. Minute Books, passim. C.C.A.M. 73, 754, 983, 1376. Hutchins I, 121, 203, 231, 435; II, 152, 332, 831, 856; III, 646, 681; IV, 139. C.C.C., 1236, 1322, 1418.

3. Of the family of Havelland of Wilkswood.

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even more severely for the same reason. In 1706, the Widow How was prosecuted for 4s. 6d. "demanded for a Church-Rate (so-called)"; George Harris of Tarrant Rushton, spent seven months in Dorchester Gaol for refusing tithe; and Ann Seymour, widow, of Marnhull, lay two years in the same prison for not paying 4s. 5¾d. In 1720, Thomas Hart of Beaminster, baker, was prosecuted in the Exchequer for five years tithes at 5s. per annum at the suit of the Rector of Netherbury. This poor man, to avoid ruin and prevent loss to his creditors, sold what little he had, and "paid his just debts; after which the parson dropped his suit."[1]

There is more evidence of the presence of Anabaptists in Dorset during this period. Sometime before the ejectment of John Pinney—Fuller's successor at Broad Windsor—one Hine, an Anabaptist, came with a large following and said he must preach in the church. This being refused, his party urged Pinney to preach himself; hoping by that means to get the church doors opened. But Pinney wavering, the intruders reflected upon ministers in general as dull blockheads and dumb dogs; who would neither preach themselves nor suffer others to preach that would. Provoked at this the minister in possession offered, if they would give him a text, to discourse upon it off-hand to all the company present in a field hard by; provided that their prophet would do the like on a text that he should propose. This being agreed to, they gave Pinney a text whereon he discoursed. But while he was preaching the prophet walked under a hedge at a little distance, meditating upon the subject given him; which was Acts xx, 30, "Also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things to draw away disciples after them." When he, in his turn, came to work his prayer was short and modest, but his discourse incoherent, absurd, and false. Pinney made his objections on the spot, but was vouchsafed no reply. Then the Anabaptists carried their prophet off in triumph; but he never came again.[2]

On 15 May, 1658, John Cooke,[3] Daniel Cary, and George Forde write to Sir John Copleston. They inform him that, in pursuance of his instructions, they hastened to Dorchester; where they arrived on Monday night about eight—delaying until then so as to avoid observation; and, in order to conceal themselves, leaving their swords at Bridport. Immediately after their arrival they delivered Copleston's letter to Mr. Bushrode,[4] who thereupon readily engaged his best assistance,

1. Besse, p. 33. V.H. Dorset, II.
2. Calamy, 266.
3. Soon afterwards made secondary Judge in Ireland.
4. Probably John Bushrode (Mayor 1654). The Mayor in 1658 appears to have been John Whiteway.

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and acquainted them that some of the Anabaptists had been with the Mayor—himself and Major Strange being present—and desired to have one of the churches to meet in; which after some consideration and debate, he refused to grant them. On Tuesday morning, a trusty agent, who attended them to get knowledge of the number and quality of the persons assembled and what they did, acquainted Cooke and his companions that the whole forenoon was spent in receiving and reading certain letters—by them styled epistles—sent by their respective Churches; whose messengers, of whom there were many, met together in that place. The inscription of all which epistles was this, *viz.*: An epistle from the Church of Christ in ——— to the messengers of the several Churches of Christ, who are now assembled at a general meeting in Dorchester. The subject matter of most of them—besides salutations—was to inquire the estate of the other churches and give an account of their own; the motive of both being the consideration of the season, which they assert to be a time of apostasy and persecution, wherein the sufferings of Sion were. Their subscriptions were under such terms: Subscribed by your fellow members and sufferers in the body of Christ. The regulator of this affair was one Collier, a clerk,[1] who all the while attended and recorded the said epistles. The afternoon was spent in prayer, and in such kind of preaching as they customary use; wherein as many as eight were employed. In their prayers all of them much complained of the bonds and sufferings of the saints: some calling it the time of Sion's affliction, wherein those that have been glorious lights on the right and left hand are shut up in bonds; vehemently praying that—in order to deliver them—God would put a hook into the nostrils of and destroy him who is the enemy of God and His people. In both these meetings there were about 300 persons. The same afternoon came Captain Kiffin, Captain Deane—one of the Treasurers of War—Messrs. Warren and Harrison with six more from London to attend this meeting. On Wednesday forenoon the like or a greater number met in the same place again; and, after prayer by Captain Kiffin, many so-called epistles were presented and read under the same inscription and of like substance with those of the preceding day. The remainder of the time, as also the afternoon, was consumed in answering certain questions, *viz.*:—

(1) Whether one of these church-members, being poor, might lawfully seek after and receive relief from the poor?

1. Perhaps Thomas Collier.

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(2) Whether a church-member might lawfully marry with an unbeliever?

(3) Whether a teacher might preach and press such truths—not being fundamental—on his hearers, as appearing so to him, are yet not generally received for such by the Churches in general?

(4) What is to be understood by anointing with oil mentioned in the Epistle of James, etc.; whether it were material oil they anointed with; and whether such unction be now in use?

(5) Whether laying on of hands be now requisite to be used?

The debate about these questions was very great; and the answers to them at last resolved on were so empty as not to be worth reciting. All that was done besides was the proposal of a little MS. they had got printed, entitled "Certain Questions and Answers proposed and answered at four general meetings;" two whereof were to be sent to each of the Churches, which had sent their messengers thither—"the contents whereof I could not understand." That afternoon one John Cary (Carew), Captain Vernon, and Adjutant-General Allen came to the town. At night was held a private meeting at the George, where many of the principals were present; and, among other matters there debated, a great contest arose about their joining with the Fifth-Monarchy-Men; which, for that time, was not concluded by reason of Captain Kiffin's opposition. On Thursday morning, a little after eight o'clock, there met at the George Inn all the grandees with the pastors and teachers. But there—the door being shut fast and all resort of others until two in the afternoon forbidden—they sat close in debate; but whether about Fifth-Monarchy business, or what else, Cooke's informant could not learn. All day the public meeting was carried on as before; but in the evening another private meeting was held—to what purpose is unknown. On Friday morning they met again at prayer in the accustomed place. At the close of this meeting it was published that the messengers of the Churches were desired to meet, in the same chamber as the night before, to receive an account of the result of the General Meeting in order that they might communicate it to their several Churches; and to receive information of the day and place appointed for the next general meeting. But what their conclusions were, or the day and place assigned for the next meeting, could not be learned by the interested spectator. This done the company dispersed to their respective homes.

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"The principal persons at this meeting: Mr. John Cary (Carew), Adjutant-General William Allen, Captain Vernon, Captain Deane, (one of the Treasurers of War), Londoners; Captain Kiffin, Mr. Warren, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Collier, of Wells; Mr. Strange of Barnstaple; Mr. Sheires of Plymouth; Mr. Mercer of Bridgwater; Mr. Glasse of Bovey-Tracy; Mr. Hitch of Lyme. The names of the others we could not get."

On 11 September 1658, Copleston assures Thurloe, from Exeter, that he is keeping an eye on his neighbours Carew, Vernon, and Allen as commanded.[1]

In May 1660, an address of congratulation to Charles on his restoration 'numerously signed' was sent from Dorset. But almost immediately signs of the old spirit began to appear. Next year the Deputy-Lieutenants of Somerset and Dorset had "just cause of suspicion of a general disturbance," and feared lest the disaffected should assist one another. Walter Stone of Sherborne prophesied a rising before November, and said that although only 50 of that town were in the plot the old soldiers would join. Next year "the sectaries boast that they shall have their day soon, a rising in Dorset and Somerset being daily expected." The severities of the Clarendon Code, however, reduced the malcontents to outward submission, and, it was reported in October 1664, that all was again peaceable. In December of the last-mentioned year, out of nine Nonconformist Ministers at Dorchester five had been imprisoned upon suspicion of being implicated in the supposed plot. Six Ministers and seventy other persons were then in prison for Nonconformity. Loyalty to the Stuarts, never very marked, was strengthened for the moment by the issue of the Declaration of Indulgence (15 March, 1672). A number of Nonconforming Ministers instantly availed themselves of it at Dorchester; but there was much sore feeling about the tampering with Borough Charters which marked the last years of the reign.[2]

1. Thurloe, VII, 138, 385. John Carew of Antony, Cornwall, the Regicide. William Kiffin, merchant, Baptist Minister and Captain in the London Militia. On 3 January 1649, the trustees sold the lordship and manor of Chard and borough of Chard in Somerset, together with about 700 acres of land, the property of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, to Nathaniel Whetham of London—a native of Dorset. Colonel Whetham, who in 1659, was Governor of Portsmouth, held the Manor until the Restoration when it reverted to the Bishop, who leased it for three lives to John, Lord Poulett, for £5000. Eng. Hist. Rev., p. 553.

2. C.S.P., (1660-1) 4, 504. C.S.P., (1664-5), 130. Dorchester Records.

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APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.—*Ordinance of 19 August, 1644.*

(1) The Committees of 1 July, 1644, are to put into execution the forementioned ordinances (rehearsed in the ordinance of that date).

(2) In the aforesaid Counties the respective Committees are to establish a Standing Committee—of five at least in Dorset, and of three at least in Poole—to be always resident in such part of the Counties as the major part of the respective Committees shall appoint; to advise and direct all things they shall think fit for the good government of their respective Counties according to the orders and ordinances of Parliament.

(3) At the first meeting they shall appoint a place for their sitting, the persons that shall sit, and their turns: provided that none of the said Committees shall be enjoined to sit at one time above fourteen days together; except the Chairmen who shall continually be one of the five or three of the Standing Committee for the next fourteen days.

4) Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland; Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury; John, Lord Robartes; Thomas, Lord Bruce; and the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons for the respective Counties, Cities, and Places to be a Committee for the preservation and safety of the said Associated Counties; and that they, or any eight of them, shall from time to time have power to appoint Treasurers for the said Counties.

(5) The said Committees, or any three or more of them, shall have power from time to time to cut and take sufficient timber—standing upon the lands of Papists or Delinquents' Estates—for the making of Fortifications.

(6) The abovesaid Lords and Commons shall issue their warrants to Constables, Churchwardens, and Overseers of the several parishes, requiring them at certain times and places to deliver them a schedule of the names of all persons from the age of 16 to 60 (being of ability of body) and of all

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horses, mares, and geldings, and of all arms, guns, and other weapons of war, with the names of the owners of them; except such horses, men, and arms as are now, or hereafter, listed in the Trained-Bands and Trained-Troops.

(7) The abovesaid Lords and Commons, or any eight of them, shall have power to nominate and appoint all Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Serjeant-Majors, both of Horse and Foot, to be over the forces of Horse and Foot to be raised by virtue of this ordinance; and the Lord-General, or whoever shall command-in-chief in the Associated Counties, is desired to grant them Commissions; and the Standing Committees are to nominate all Captains, to be under the said Colonels and Lieutenant-Colonels.

(8) The abovesaid Lords and Commons are to order the Standing Committees to direct the said officers to raise forces.

(9) If any officers or soldiers refuse or neglect upon summons to attend their duties, or to appear with their horses and arms, or to send some other able men with horses and arms—they shall be fined by the Standing Committee not exceeding the sum of £10, and by them imprisoned until it is paid.

(10) If any person, charged to serve with the arms of any other person, refuse or neglect to appear at musters—he shall be fined not exceeding 40s. for each offence, and imprisoned until it is paid.

(11) The Standing Committee may fine any one who disturbs their proceedings, or the peace of the County, not exceeding the sum of £20; each offender to remain in prison until the fine is paid.

(12) The Committee may charter carts, carriages, and horses for use of Parliament, allowing every cart with five horses after the rate of 12 pence per mile outward only, and so rateably for more or fewer horses; and for every single horse after the rate of 2 pence per mile outwards only; every wilful neglecter or refuser to provide his cart, etc., to be imprisoned by any three of them, or fined not exceeding £10.

(13) The Committee shall give such allowance to the Collectors and Treasurers, etc., as by the several ordinances are appointed. And if in any case no provision is made for the same, the Committee shall allow 6 pence in the pound, and no more, to be disposed of to such Collectors, Treasurers, and other officers; and in such proportion as they shall think fit.

(14) The said Treasurers are to keep a perfect accompt of all monies they receive or pay, and to deliver copies monthly of their accompts to the Standing Committees; who may advance by way of loan or borrow any sums, granting warrants to those lending to receive the same again of the Treasurer. If any Treasurer or Collector shall refuse or neglect to receive money so assessed, the Committee may fine him not exceeding £20—to be levied upon him by way of distress and sale of his goods.

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(15) The Forces raised by virtue of this ordinance are not to be carried out of their County without the consent of the Standing Committee; or without particular directions from Parliament or the Committee of Both Kingdoms: provided that if any Committee Man, Treasurer, or Collector, refuse or neglect to take the Vow and Covenant of 29 June 1643, or the late National Covenant appointed to be taken by every person in the three Kingdoms—they shall not be admitted to any of the aforesaid Committees; and the Committees are to tender respective Covenants to all persons who are to execute the present ordinance or that of 1 July, 1644; and no person who has not taken these Covenants shall be eligible for an officer or a commander in the said service.

(16) The Committee are to demand and take from time to time accompt of all musters made by the several Commissaries: all Captains of Horse or Foot are to give a list of all under their command and the losses from it; and every Captain, and every other superior or inferior officer—whose pay comes to 10s. a day or above—shall take but one half the pay due to him, and the public faith for the other half until the war be ended; and every officer, whose pay amounts to 5s. a day or more and under 10s. a day, shall accept of two parts of three of such pay due to him, and respite the other third upon the public faith; and when there is three months pay due to any, a certificate under the hands of the Committee shall be sufficient warrant to such officer to demand and receive what is owing unto him upon the public faith.

(17) No free quarter shall be taken in any of the said Associated Counties; and if any forces take free quarter, every officer is to have but one third of the present pay due to him for so long as he or they have had, or shall have, free quarter; and every common foot-soldier but half pay; and every common horseman or trooper 14d. a day; and the residue of their pay to be reserved for payment of their quarters, and employed for the above-mentioned purposes.

(18) Twenty-one or more of the Committees appointed 1 July 1644, (three at least for Dorset, and two or more for Poole) have power to assemble together in any place in any of their Counties as often as they think fit, to advise and direct all things in common that they conceive require their attention.

(19) The County Committee may secure the persons of all dangerous malignants or delinquents, being or residing in their County; and may examine and, if need be, remove all scandalous, ill-affected, or non-resident Ministers and Schoolmasters; sequester their estates and revenues; and place others, well-qualified and orthodox in their room—such as have been appointed by three or more godly and learned divines, or any three or more of the Assembly of

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Divines; and they may make such allowance for the maintenance of such Ministers and Schoolmasters as they shall think fit.

(20) The Committee may nominate and appoint the necessary Solicitors, Collectors, or other officers within their County: provided this ordinance shall not extend to the putting out of any Treasurers, Solicitors, or other officers, formerly appointed by the Committee of Lords and Commons, by virtue of the ordinance of Sequestrations.

(21) The Committee may call to accompt all such as have received money or goods from Parliament and have not made even payment therefor; and if they refuse an accompt or payment they may fine them double the sum charged upon them and, if this is not paid within six days after demand, the Committee shall give order for distraining for the same; and if there be not sufficient distress wherewith to satisfy may imprison the offender and sequester his estate until the money charged and fine set be satisfied.

(22) And if any person be overcharged by any assessment, then the Committee may ease him as they shall think fit.

(23) Every person to be rated for the estate he has in each several place: tenants to pay their proportion of their landlords' charge, and to deduct the same out of the next rents payable by them.

(24) If any of the local forces are commanded out of the bounds and limits of the Association, the County or Town concerned shall not be charged with payment of them during the time of absence unless they march out of the County with the consent of the Committee.

Appendix II.

The Desires and Resolutions of the Clubmen of the Counties of Dorset and Wilts: with articles of their Covenant and Certain Directions for present behaviour, made and agreed on at a meeting at Gorehedge-Corner on 25 May 1645, and read at Badbury in Dorset by Mr. Thomas Young a lawyer; where there were present neare 4000 armed, with clubs, swords, Bills, Pitchforks, and other severall weapons.

We miserable inhabitants of the said Counties being too too deeply touched with the apprehension, and sense of our past and present sufferings, occasioned only by these Civil and unnatural Wars within this Kingdom; and finding by sad experience that, by means thereof, the true worship of Almighty God and our Religion are almost forgotten, and that our ancient Laws and Liberties, contrary to the Great Charter of England and the Petition of Right, are altogether swallowed up in the arbitrary power of the sword.

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And foreseeing that Destruction, Famine, and utter Desolation will inevitably fall upon us, our wives and children, (unless God of His infinite mercy shall, upon our true humiliation, be graciously pleased to impose a period to these sad destructions) are unanimously resolved, wherein we desire the concurrence of all the Garrisons of this County to join in petitioning His Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament for a happy Peace, and accomodation of present differences without further effusion of Christian blood. Without which accomodation we cannot expect the enjoyment of our Religion, Liberties, or properties. And lest any false aspersion of endeavouring or desiring to introduce Popery or Arbitrary Government should be cast on all or any of us, we do all with one heart and mind profess, before God and the world, ourselves enemies to both. And that we aim at nothing herein save only the glory of God and the good of the Church and State. And for that purpose we do here declare that we really intend to the utmost hazard of our lives and fortunes—

(i) To maintain and defend the true reformed Protestant Religion, and the inheritance of the Crown:

(ii) To join with and assist one another in the mutual defence of our Liberties and Properties against all Plunderers, and all other unlawful violence whatsoever:

(iii) We do hereby resolve, and faithfully promise each to other, that if any person or persons whatsoever which shall concur with and assist us in these our Resolutions, happen to suffer in his person or estate in the execution of the premisses, that shall be accounted as the suffering of the generality and reparation shall be made to the party suffering according to his damages; and in the case of loss of life provision shall be made for his wife and children, and that at the Country's charge:

(iv) We do hereby declare all such unworthy of our assistance, as shall refuse to join with us in these our just intentions.

Whereas by articles of Association we belong unto an Association we challenge unto ourselves no other freedom for the present from the burthen of the War than to preserve ourselves from plunder and all other unlawful violence. It is therefore advised by the Generality that until such time as we receive answers to our petitions from the King and the two Houses of Parliament:—

(1) Every town, tything, parish, and great hamlet, make present choice of three or more of the ablest men for wisdom, valour, and estate, inhabitants of the same, unto whom at all times they may repair for assistance and direction:

(2) That the Constable, Tythingman, and other officers of the town, etc., in pursuance of the Statute in that case provided, set a constant watch of two at the least, and they every night well-armed and if required by day also; the number of watchmen to be increased according to the direction of the said chosen able men and officers:

(3) That the watchmen are to be charged not to stop, molest, or examine any soldier on his march, or any other passenger,

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who passeth peaceably, but if friendly spoken to by any passenger to return a friendly answer, to encourage him in his peaceable behaviour:

(4) That the watchmen are to keep walking in their precincts with as much secrecy, as conveniently they may, to avoid a sudden surprisal; and as soon as they or either of them descry any violence offered to any person, house, or goods (if they are not of sufficient strength of themselves to suppress or stop the said violence), then one of them presently repairing to one or more of the said chosen men, by his and their advice to raise the parish, tything, town, or hamlet into arms to assist the distressed, and the other watchman to repair with all speed to the most neighbouring watch or watches, if need so require, and—there in like manner raising the same into arms—to bring presently with him to relieve the distressed half the men there armed, the other half to remain ready armed in their own precincts to protect the same, and to apprehend the Plunderers in their retreat:

(5) That all such as pretend themselves soldiers, and are taken plundering or doing any other unlawful violence, be presently disarmed and after examination (having confessed into which army he doth belong) to be safely guarded thither (together with sufficient witness to prove the offence), from tything to tything, until they be brought unto the next garrison belonging to the said army, and there to be delivered to the Commander-in-Chief with tender of witnesses to prove the crime. But in case they say they belong to an army that doth quarter near the place where the offence was committed, then in like manner to convey them to the Commander-in-Chief of the said army:

(6) That to avoid false alarms no man shall rise into arms but such as are so summoned by the watchmen, unless they see apparent violence, or in case the watchmen be defective or surprised:

(7) That all men furnish themselves sufficiently with as many and good arms and ammunition as they can procure; and the rich out of a good conscience to relieve the poor herein, as also in their labours of watching, and other assistance in some proportionable measure:

(8) That the weekly contribution money and all other provision and necessary maintenance for armies, if it be demanded by a lawful warrant directed to an officer of the place, be not denied, but every man as he is able in some reasonable proportion forthwith to contribute; and for those truly unable, a certificate of inability to be made by the said officer with the advice of the said chosen able men of the place, unto their Commander-in-Chief from whom the warrant issued, with petition for respite and mitigation of the proportion of said warrant required, until they shall be better enabled:

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(9) That if quarter be demanded according to Orders Martial, the soldier is to be friendly entertained behaving himself fairly in his quarters, but if he plunder or offer any other violence then he is to be restrained and delivered up unto his Commander-in-Chief to be by him corrected:

(10) That whatsoever person, though seemingly associated himself, shall be found to occasion any outcry or by other means to assemble any in favour or opposition to either party, King or Parliament, or on behalf of any person not associated, or in any other way contrary to the articles of our Association; he shall be accounted unworthy of our protection as dissembling his inclination to our party in frustrating according to his power our real intentions for the Counties' good:

(11) That no person or persons upon any pretext whatsoever presume to search a house or seize the person or goods of any of the Associated inhabitants of the County but only Constables, Tythingmen, and other sworn officers of the County for that place and upon lawful warrant:

(12) Not to admit any man to subscribe to the Articles of Association with you who is in arms for either party, or is known to be no Protestant, neither are you to protect any man who doth not associate.

Dorset: 24 June 1645, at the general meeting of many of the chosen and able men of every division of this County at Sturminster Newton the adjoining directions were agreed upon to be published and observed by all lovers of the County's peace.

The printed tract ends after direction No. 9 with the words: "If any inconvenience shall be found to ensue on the observation of these Directions, it is desired to be made known at the next general Rendezvous, that upon consultation had, it may be amended. *Vera Copia.*"[1]

Petition of the Clubmen to the King.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The Humble Petition of the Distressed Protestants inhabiting the County of Dorset.

Sheweth—the petitioners since these unhappy wars having in a deeper measure than other your subjects in this Kingdom suffered by means of the many Garrisons in this little County (these being ten in number) and the armies yearly drawn into these parts by reason thereof—did lately hope (while this treaty[2] between your Majesty and the two Houses continued) once again to have been restored to the blessing of peace by a happy accomodation of present differences without further effusion of Christian blood. But finding such their great hopes frustrated and having too too just cause to fear they are not yet brought to the extremity of misery

1. Tanner, vol. lix, f, 163.
2. The so-called Treaty of Uxbridge, 29 Jan. to 22 Feb. 1645.

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which the continuance of this war will in all probability produce and conceiving nothing under God can reduce this miserably divided Nation into any proportion of its former happiness save only an unbloody accomodation—

Do most humbly beseech your most excellent Majesty to lend your favourable ear to the renewing of a treaty for peace when it shall be proposed to your Majesty by the two Houses of Parliament (for the proposal whereof your petitioners have made their addresses unto them) that before this wretched Kingdom through the divisions and debility thereof be made a prey for a foreign Nation such a peace may be established therein as may be for the glory of God, the maintenance of the true reformed Protestant Religion, your Majesty's royal person, honour, and estate, the power and privilege of Parliament, and the lawful rights and liberties of your subjects—

And likewise humbly beseech your Majesty that during such treaty your Majesty be graciously pleased to consent to a Cessation of arms (?) on your Majesty's part in case the two Houses of Parliament shall do the same—that a treaty tending to peace may not proceed in blood.

But if Almighty God hath decreed further scourging of this nation (being not hitherto fitted for so great a mercy as the enjoyment of peace) by the continuance of these Civil Wars and by consequence thereof a necessity ensue of keeping some of the garrisons of this County for defence of the same—your distressed suppliants who are not able any longer to subsist under the intolerable burthen of the contrary commands of the said Garrisons and of the armies aforesaid which by contributions, taxes, free quarter, and plunder have scarcely left your Petitioners sustenance for themselves much less any ability for supplying the soldiers' further necessities or arbitrary demands—most humbly beseech your sacred Majesty with your wonted eye of clemency so to reflect upon the miseries of the Petitioners, your distressed subjects of this your County, so to condescend to the intrusting in their hands so many of your Garrisons held by any of your Highness's forces therein as shall be thought necessary to be continued (in case the two Houses of Parliament shall upon your Subjects' petition do like for Garrisons in their hands) be maintained at the charges of the Petitioners. And not by this to be delivered to any person or persons whatsoever but unto such only as by joint consent of your Majesty and the said two Houses shall be authorised to receive the same.

And they humbly pray that during their service in maintaining the said Garrisons your Majesty will be pleased graciously to except them from all manner of payments and other charges towards these wars.

And inasmuch as lewd and wicked persons taking advantage of these times of distemper to the great dishonour of Almighty God and scandal of your Majesty's Government do daily commit many heinous offences against God and the established laws of this your Realm, and through want of execution of Justice escape unpunished —your Petitioners further beseech that Acts of Parliament which stand unrepealed may be presently put into execution against offenders by such officers as (are) by the same acts (appointed)

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thereunto without disturbance of those officers in the due execution thereof. And that your Majesty will be graciously pleased that all such persons as either are or have been in arms, or otherways assistant unto either party, may be permitted (if they shall desire it) to lay down their arms and return to their wonted habitations. And that the like favour to return be granted to all others, who from fear of either party, have absented themselves from the places of their usual abode; or that, by reason of affection to either party, are imprisoned or otherwise restrained of their liberty. And lest any misconstruction may be made of your Petitioners' intents in assembling themselves in this your County they humbly remonstrate their aims therein have been for no other ends save only to represent their great grievances by way of humble petition to your Sacred Majesty and to the two Houses; and to associate themselves (as they humbly conceive they lawfully may) for the maintenance of the reformed religion, preservation of their laws, liberties, and properties against all plunderers and all other unlawful violence until it please Almighty God to put a period to these sad distractions. Which that it may be speedily effected your Majesty's most humble Petitioners with humble hearts and bended knees shall not be wanting daily to invocate the God of peace, and to pray for your Majesty's long and prosperous reign over us.[1]

On 30 *June, Col. Robert Butler wrote from Wareham to the Clubmen,* declaring that if they would help his party to get rid of the Royalists the land garrisons would speedily be relinquished. The Clubmen, however, should manifest their good intentions by—

(1) Prohibiting Papists and notorious enemies;
(2) Declining the counsels of eminent men in arms against Parliament;
(3) Not suffering scandalous and drunken ministers;
(4) Not allowing any malignant to be clerk or officer amongst them;
(5) Reading his party's letters and returning the messengers as safely as those of any other party;
(6) Allowing Parliament soldiers free egress and regress amongst them, "and that if they misbehave you acquaint us with their misdeeds so that we may punish them. If you perform these things then you are our friends—if not, our enemies."

He further states that:

(1) Both Houses of Parliament have agreed to send propositions to the King for peace, and require a positive answer;
(2) The reading of the malignant book printed at Oxford has given little satisfaction to reasonable men, who will, doubtless, be fully satisfied in the Declaration which Parliament are putting out concerning the same;

1. Tanner, vol. lix, ff. 198-200.

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(3) What faithful Protestant can be so blind as not to confess that the sins of the royal army are exceedingly great and barbarously cruel? And what redress is promised? Taxes and free-quarter shall be done with moderation, and severe justice promised for plundering; but should that be fulfilled the King would soon hang up all his soldiers.

(4) For the trusting of any to keep the garrisons for the King, it is notoriously known that the Queen must approve of them and none but Papists entrusted therewith.

(5) The kingdom is very sensible that want of justice has been a great cause of these wars; of which Papists, Jesuits, and Delinquents were the fomentors as a protection from the power of Parliament.

Some Queries presented by Mr. Willis at the Clubmen's Rendezvous at Weston Common, Somerset, on 30 *June*, 1645.

(1) To choose ten or twelve well known men to present the Counties' Petitions to King and Parliament.

(2) Whether it be not necessary for us, who take up arms for peace of kingdom, to make a choice of such as we know to be the ablest among us to be officers and commanders?

(3) If we choose officers, whether such of the parish as have enlisted themselves should not be summoned with such speed as may be to repair to their colours?

(4) That day-labourers be paid by general rate once a week by chief of the parish for as many days as they have been on the general employment—*viz.*, by the Dorset Rate of 8 pence a day.

(5) Whether the able and rich who will not join with us be not only counted ill-affected but liable to pay for the poor who do their county service?

(6) Whether it be not convenient for all who can to provide horse and arms for service—to preserve themselves and the County?

(7) What course is to be taken for furnishing each part of the County with ammunition?

(8) Whether all such may not be accepted by us who have been pressed men and so forced on this unnatural uncivil war?

(9) Whether we may not punish robbers and pillers if the next-adjoining governor refuses to do so?

(10) Whether it be not necessary that the County adjoining repair to the Governor of Bridgwater to demand the passage-boat of Commage (Combwich?) that eastern and western parts may have commerce and trading together and pass either to other, and likewise for Borough Bridge?

(11) That if any man active in our affairs be violently surprised to the loss of life or liberty by the soldiers of either side; whether it be not necessary for whole counties to bind themselves by oath to join together as one man to avenge the abuse?

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(12) Whether any gentleman of our country, active on either side, be accepted or no if willing to join us?

(13) That any officer or other who is proved to have joined us owing to any plot, etc., shall suffer death.

(14) Whether such articles as are agreed upon be published in every parish church by the minister together with the four articles which Dorset and Wilts have subscribed unto? And any minister who refuses be held an enemy to us and peace; and so be proceeded against as his offence shall deserve.

Note by a Parliamentary critic:—

The Query of Queries—Whether the Knave of Clubs was not Trump in all this dealing?[1]

Appendix III.—*Terms of Surrender of Portland.*

On 4 April, 1646, it was agreed between Captain William Batten, Vice-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of all forces by sea for the King and Parliament, and Colonel Thomas Gollop, Governor of the Castle and Island of Portland in the manner following:—

(i) That the said Colonel Gollop on Monday, 6 April, by ten o'clock in the forenoon shall surrender to the said Vice-Admiral, for the use of Parliament, the Castle and Island of Portland together with all cannon, arms, and ammunition now there and not contained in the ensuing articles. And until the further pleasure of Parliament be signified all is to be left in the hands of such an officer of Weymouth garrison, as the said Vice-Admiral and Colonel William Sydenham shall appoint.

(ii) That all officers and soldiers now in the Island and Castle shall have free liberty to march away out of the Island with all horses, not above the number of fifteen, full arms, matches lighted, bullet in mouth, Colours displayed. drums beating, and bag and baggage to Oxford and £120 (?) delivered to the officers in lieu of one week's pay for all officers and marching soldiers within the Garrison, and that they shall have horses and carriages provided to carry baggage and goods, and not be solicited by any to forsake their Colours on their march.

(iii) That all such soldiers as are willing shall have free leave to take up arms for the Parliament and all such soldiers shall have present entertainment and constant pay, as also two shillings advance cloths for every soldier; and such as are willing to go to their own homes shall have passes; and such as desire to march to Oxford safe conduct; and not to be compelled to march above eight or ten miles a day.

1. Tract, Clubmen, No. 4.

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(iv) That the Porter, Gunners, and such other officers that have places in the Castle of Portland, shall either be continued in their places or have satisfaction for the same.

(v) That we do faithfully promise to use our best endeavours to both Houses of Parliament for the speedy taking off of their several sequestrations (if any such there be) upon any of their estates, and that they may repossess their lands, goods, and chattels, free as formerly they have done.

(vi) That the Islanders of Portland shall peaceably enjoy the true Protestant Religion, agreeable with and grounded on the Word of God, and according to such a discipline as is or shall be established by Parliament, and that they shall have no other Preacher but such as is orthodox, and without any just exception.

(vii) That Islanders and Strangers (called locally Kemberlins) shall have and enjoy their lands and estates as formerly they have done, together with all their immunities, etc.,—notwithstanding any act of hostility committed against Parliament either within or without the Island since these unhappy wars began.

(viii) That no oath, imposition, or tax shall be imposed upon any of the inhabitants or others now resident in the Island, other than what shall be enjoined by Parliament and conformable to other parts of the Kingdom.

(ix) That all strangers now in the Island such as Lieutenant-Colonel Duke, Lieutenant Armstrong, Robert Mohun, gent, (Major, of Buckham and Beaminster), John Browne (of Hyde?) and William Weare, yeoman (tenant at Portisham?) shall have liberty and freedom quietly to return to their several habitations and to take their arms, horses, and such other goods as properly belong to them, and there remain without any molestation or trouble.

(x) That the late Governor of the Island for Parliament, (Captain John Arthur) who was there when the Island was lost to the King's forces, shall not be Governor there any more during these Wars.

Articles agreed in the presence of

Thomas Gollop, Governor.
Thomas Salway, William Dyer, Thomas Weare, Robert Gillow, Thomas Wiggat and Christopher Gibbs for the Island.
Colonel William Sydenham, Governor of Weymouth.
Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Coker of Mapowder, Lieutenant-Governor of Weymouth.
Captains Edward Hall, Thomas Herbert, Robert Row, and John Fry of Tarrant Gunville.[1]

1. Tanner, lix, 35, 37.

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Appendix IV.

MS. Rawl. Poet 84 (19 verso; 19, 18 verso.)

THE NINE UNWORTHIES OF DORSETSHIRE.

I CANNOT forgett these unworthy blades yet
Tho' they acted with a commission,
I'le tell you soe, they are gentlemen too
Tho' some of the latter edition.

There's Lieutennant Waddon,[1] tho' he is a bad one
My Muse cannot safely leave out,
I tell you but soe, hee's an officer too
And intends to have another bout.

And although by his fate as it chanced of late
He was like to breake's neck w^th^ a gunne,
W^ch^ was none of his own, yet I'le have it well known
W^n^ others fight stoutly hee'l run.

This great Covenanter did act like a ranter
But now he goe's under the notion,
Of a priest-biteing Widgeon, that has lost his religion
Since he rose in the last comotion.

There's Bedford[2] once keeper, now sitts like a sleeper
Tho' he march'd in his rich Coat of Mayle,
Yet I must tell him, his grandmother Pelham
Will hardly keepe him out of Jayle.

This great drooping clown, tho' his beaver be down
Yet I'le have you take notice he is one,
That scorns to be base, you May see by his face
And his keeping his whores in prison.

There's munchy-faced Dick[3] will shew you a trick
To cozen the Lords of their farmes,
But now like an elfe, he hath cheated himselfe
Since he tooke his brown Betty in 's armes.

1. Leiutenant Waddon of Bradpole.
2. Bedford Goaler of Dorchester.
3. Captain Richard Laurence* of Steepleton.

* The Lawrences were lessees of a farm at Winterborne Stepleton under the Marquess of Winchester. Capt. Richard Lawrence matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxon, in 1636, aged 18. He wrote two or three small tracts on divinity. His lease being expired, he renewed it from Parliament and refused an advantageous offer made him by Lord Winchester, then reduced to great necessities. But the Restoration soon following, he was unable to renew; and died a foot soldier in London.

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Some say they are marryed, tho' long time they tarryed
It was not all good before,
Tho' they had noe child, yet the bed was defild
And he scarce knew his wife from a w——e.

Away with y^r flanders q^th Corporall Sanders[1]
My wife is noe dirty fat sow,
Nor am I the man swear all what you can
That stole Mr. Hardy's cow.

Indeed for his plate, it became well my state,
To drinck to my wife now and then,
But for other plundered ware I had noe more share
Nor part then another man.

I see noe greate law to keep men in aw
Q^th Saunders—nor yet noe great reason,
Why small theives should dye nor yet why should I
W^ht onely for Murder or Treason.

Great John of the North,[2] will hardly hold forth
W^ch he got by his carding and spinning,
For since this great clown, his armes lay'd down
He cannot much boast of his winning.

This slave to kill hunger, is turn'd a mault-munger
In hopes by that calling to thrive,
But I hope all the gains, he will have for his pains
Will hardly preserve him alive.

There are others behind w^ch I can't call to minde
I thinck as unworthy as the best 'ome,
But because I can't name 'em, I will not much blame 'em
Let the t? [ ] censure the rest 'ome.

Blank in MS.

Yet Lieutenant Pitman,[3] whome I held a fitt man
To dance in an hempen string,
This poor silly Wheymouth, beeing late at Weymouth
Tooke a young gent: for the King.

Conceive now I pray, marke well w^ht I say
Whether this were a Man of Reason,
And not worthy to smart, for acting his part
To take up the King for high treason.

John Baptist of Shepton[4] did thinck to have kept one
To preach in his house of long standing,
But some cross disaster hath befaln this Master
Since the time of their last disbanding.

1. Leiutenant Sanders of bowett (?)
2. John Holdsworth of Binpert (? Bridport).
3. Leiut. Pitman (William Pitman)
4. John Long of Shepton.

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They say their best teacher was the tallow-faced preacher
Yet ? blincke some-time did stand too,
Both were but Millers and deadly-soule spillers
And must shortly expect to disband too.

There's another great Hero as bloody as Nero
To discover him I'le endeavour,
You may know the clowne, by his lookeing down
Tho' he cocks up his lip like a beaver.

Tis Lieutenant Smith,[1] run almost out of breath
Yet he may hang himselfe now in his garters,
For when this poor fool was frighted frô Pool
He pawned all his guns for his quarters.

There's lay parson Dammer[2] that ne're read gramer.
May pay for his priest persecution,
Hee'l serve w^th^out fear to bring up the rear
W^n^ he comes to his execution.

This compound of pride, w^th^ a Thorn in 's side
Was a prick to the Cavalier Clergy,
But now their'e ty'd short, theres an end of the sport
They'le sing him a sorrowful dirgy.

It's time to conclude my poetry rude
But if I knew more I would shew it.
So God bless K. Charles, and end all our quarles
And give us some sack for the poet.

1. Leiutenant Smith of Buefirt (?) (? Bridport).
2. Damer† of Godmerston (Godmanston).

† John Dammer, or Damer, buried in Nether Cerne Church in 1675, aged 75.

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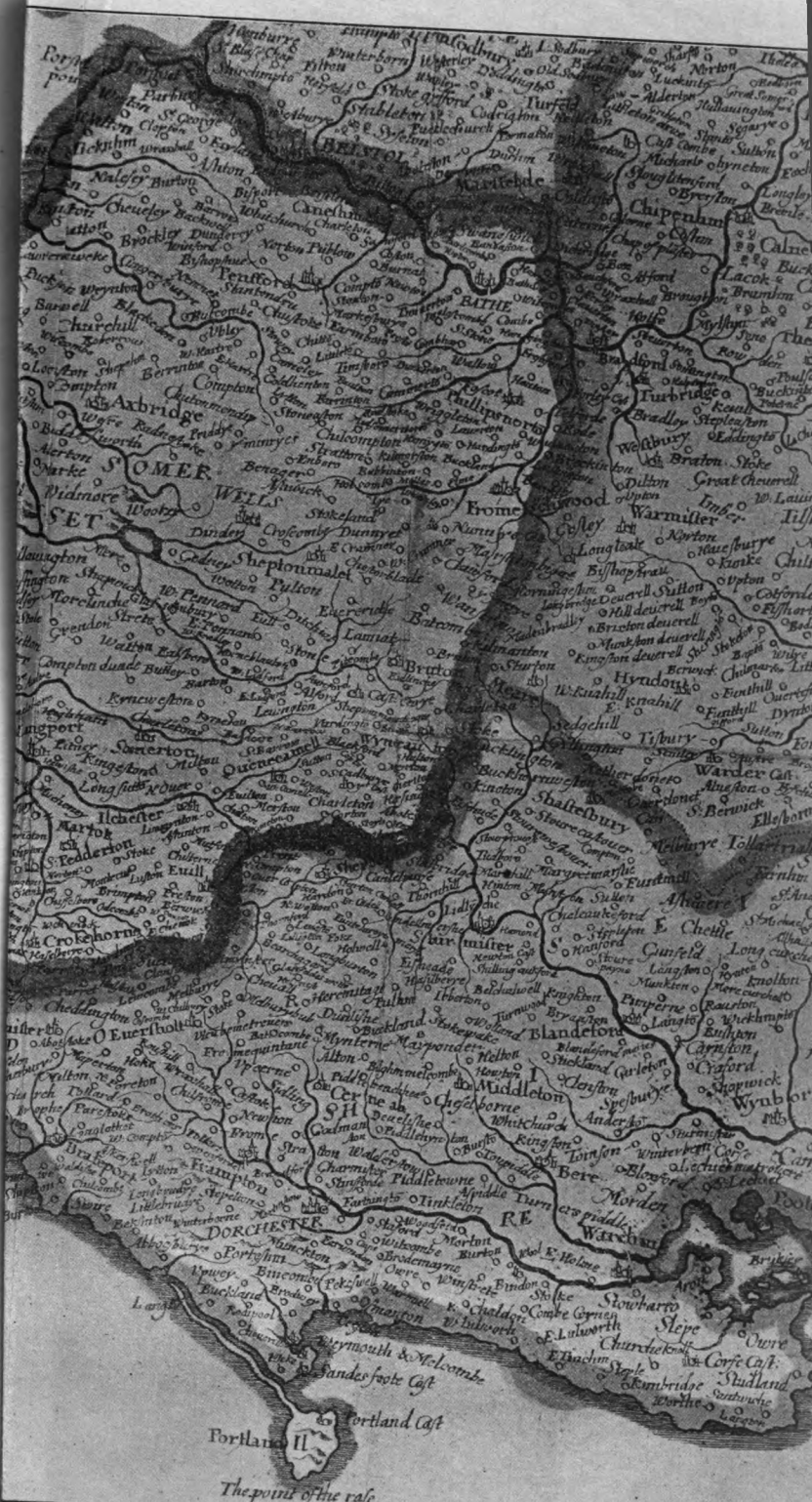

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